## **JOURNAL**

#### OF THE

## ANNAMALAI UNIVERSITY

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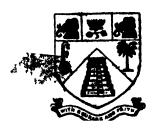
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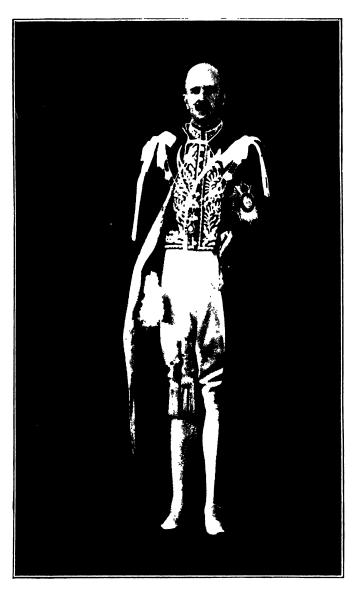
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### **JOURNAL**

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No. 1

## The Rasa Doctrine and the Concept of Suggestion in Hindu Aesthetics

By

P. S. NAIDU,
(Annamalai University)

T

The Rasa doctrine is still a sealed book to thinkers of the present day. Samskritists who have so far attempted to analyse the doctrine approached the problem without proper psychological training, and so their efforts have been fruitless. And psychologists who are eminently fitted, by their training and research experience, to tackle baffling problems in aesthetics have not turned their attention to the study of Rasa either through disinclination, or through lack of the necessary linguistic equipment. This state of affairs is lamentable. I shall, therefore, indicate very briefly in this part of the paper the lines along which a fruitful approach may be made to the ancient Hindu aesthetic doctrine of Rasa.

That the Rasa theory rests upon a very carefully conceived psychological foundation goes without saying. The propounders of 'Rasa' had deep and clear insight into the nature of the human mind, its structure and function, and also into its mysterious ways. Not only our ancient aesthetic thinkers but also metaphysicians, religious teachers and political theorists had intuitive insight into the psychology of the human mind.

I have attempted to show in a recent1 paper how the Gita teaching is based on sound psychological principles very similar to those formulated by the most advanced school of psychology in the West. The Upanishads, the Darśanas, and the various Śāstras and Purāṇas contain a mass of psychological data which will amply repay the labour of scientific research. The information culled from these sources should be critically treated and reduced to a system. The results of the little systematic work that was done by the ancients are lost to us mainly through the fault of our scholars. In the field of aesthetics, successive generations of scholars came to be preoccupied with literary criticism, rhetoric and poetics, and lost touch with the vital psychological foundations of the subjects of their study and research. And modern students of literary criticism, being utter strangers to psychology, tend to distort the foundations of the ancient doctrine in order to establish startlingly novel conclusions of their own. The effect of this state of affairs is that a reconstruction of the original psychological foundations of the aesthetic doctrine has become exceedingly difficult, and demands an unusually strenuous effort of creative imagination.

That the present is an exceptionally favourable moment for the task we have set to ourselves is indicated by a significant event in the history of European Psychology. The cult of intellectualism, which reigned supreme over all departments of knowledge in the West, dominated over psychology too, and for a long time associationism was the universally accepted principle of explanation. But association psychology or mosaic psychology, with its over-emphasis on the cognitive aspect of the mind. is incapable of dealing with feelings and emotions. And a psychologist of the last century would have failed utterly had he attempted to deal with our Rasa doctrine, for Rasa is all feeling and emotion. The year 1908 witnessed a great revolution in western psychology, as great as the Copernican or the Einsteinian revolution in mathematical physics. William McDougall published in that year his epoch making work on 'Social Psychology.' The book is, in fact, a treatise on general psychology dealing with the fundamental structure of the human mind, and it reveals the utter futility and barrenness of the systems of psychology that were then in existence. The founder and leader of the new school, known as the Hormic or Purposivistic school, developed, within three decades the hormic doctrine to a fairly high degree of perfection. And at his death, about eighteen months ago, the great man left to the cultured world in general, and to the world of psychology in particular, an imperishable and priceless legacy in the shape of a system of psychology

<sup>1.</sup> Naidu, P. S. 'The Horme in Purposivistic Psychology and Karma in The Gita—A comparative study' this journal, vol. vi, 1937.

which alone is capable of dealing with the active and feeling side of human nature. McDougall published many voluminous works, and among these we may single out three books for special mention, Social Psychology, An Outline of Psychology and The Energies of Man. These contain the various aspects of the hormic theory which I propose to employ for giving a psychological orientation to the Rasa doctrine.

Unlike the behaviouristic, mechanistic or materialistic school of psychology, the hormic or purposivistic school assumes the existence of mind. (This proposition may sound exceedingly naive to our ears, but in the West it is still the subject of great controversy). Unlike the metaphysician the hormic psychologist takes a definitely scientific attitude towards mind. Mind is real in the sense in which the election is real to the physicist, and the gene to the biologist. This mind has a structure, the elements of which are inherited. We are now familiar with the biological (and in particular with the Mendelian) laws of heredity so far as the body of the organism is concerned. Laws almost identical with these are believed to be operative in the mental realm too. It may be mentioned, in passing, that McDougall is a dualist, animist and inter-actionist in his views on psycho-physical problems. He believes that in the present state of knowledge mental energy and physical energy should be conceived as two different but mutually interacting forces.

The inherited mental structure reveals, on a careful analysis, certain fixed and universal elementals common to all the members of a given species. Comparative psychology is pressed into our service here, and yields a very rich result. The behaviourist also makes use of the knowledge drawn from the realm of animal life, but the credit of putting that knowledge to good purpose in the field of human psychology goes to the hormic psychologist. The inherited elements of structure have been called instincts. They are according to 'The Enegies of Man,' Mc-Dougall's latest work on general psychology, about twenty in numberfood seeking, disgust, sex, fear, curiosity, protectivity, gregariousness, self-assertion, submission, anger, appeal, construction, acquisitiveness, laughter, comfort and rest seeking (or sleep), and a "group of very simple propensities serving bodily needs, such as coughing, sneezing, breathing and evacuation. (The term instinct was used by McDougall in his earlier work, but as it became the storm centre of fierce controversy he replaced it by the less ambiguous expression 'propensity' in his later works). '..... there is no room for doubt that such inborn propensities are the very foundations of all our mental life, that they provide the driving forces, the hormic energies, manifested in all our activities from the simplest to the most complex.' In an oft quoted passage the great leader of the hormic school says, 'We may say, then, that directly or indirectly the instincts are the prime movers of all human activity; by the conative or impulse force of some instinct (or of some habit derived from an instinct), every train of thought, however cold and passionless it may seem is borne along towards its end, and every bodily activity is initiated and sustained. The instinctive impulses determine the ends of all activities and supply the driving power by which all mental activities are sustained; and all the complex intellectual apparatus of the most highly developed mind is but a means towards these ends, is but the instrument by which these impulses seek their satisfaction, while pleasure and pain do but serve to guide them in their choice of the means."

'Take away these instinctive dispositions with their powerful impulses, and the organism would become incapable of activity of any kind; it would lie inert and motionless like a wonderful clockwork whose main-spring had been removed or a steam-engine whose fires had been drawn. These impulses are the mental forces that maintain and shape all the life of individuals and societies, and in them we are confronted with the central mystery of life and mind and will.'2

At first sight the hormic view of the native endowment of the human mind and the Rasa view may appear to be identical, but there is a profound difference between the two. To the hormic psychologist the structure of the mind, as he conceives it, is essentially a conceptual hypothesis. In the physical and biological sciences the so called laws, theories and even some of the facts are merely mental constructs or empirical generalisations, based no doubt on experimental data, but yet partaking of the nature of working hypothesis, pragmatically true for the present, but subject to revision when new facts come to light. 'The structure of the mind' says McDougall' is a conceptual system that we have to build up by inference . . . . ' To the Hindu aesthetic thinker, on the other hand. the rasa view of the mind, with its metaphysical background embodied in the concept of Vasana, is an a'priori and speculative principle from which deductions have to be made for explaining our concrete experience. This difference between the empirical and the a'prioristic attitudes of contemporary Western psychology and ancient Hindu aesthetics should be constantly kept in view, for, my chief aim is to reconstruct the rasa doctrine on scientific foundations.

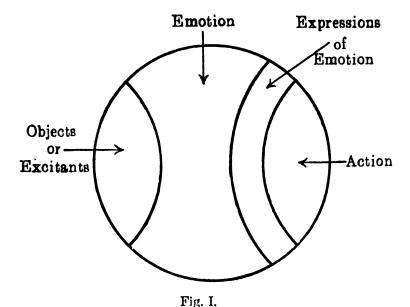
The elements of the innate mental structure, then, are the various propensities, and these propensities have been investigated exhaustively by comparative psychology. The results of these scientific investigations may be summed up as follows:

Each instinctual element (or propensity to use the revised terminology) reveals three aspects in its structural as well as functional side.

It is excited by certain 'objects,' and when so excited gives rise to a specific mental state called an emotion. The final result of the excitation is a course of action which, from the biological point of view, may be said to be beneficial to the organism, and from the psychological, as vielding satisfaction to the individual concerned. The three aspects may be called the cognitive, the affective and the conative aspects of the 'instinct' or 'propensity'. Taking the 'fear' propensity as an example, it has been experimentally demonstrated that three fundamental excitants of 'fear' in the mind of the child are, sudden loud rasping noise, sudden loss of support and physical pain. These excitants generate the emotion of fear, and the child cries out. In the case of the adult, the 'objects' or 'excitants' of fear may be many and varied due to the process of conditioning. Experience has taught the adult to be afraid of many things and persons. But whatever the excitant, whatever the effects of conditioning on the cognitive aspect of the native structure of the propensity, the emotion generated is identical with the primitive unalloyed fear of the cave man. The emotion finally results in the course of action appropriate to the structure, namely, flight from the 'object' of fear. In the adult, the process of conditioning modifies the last or the conative aspect too. One man may run away from the 'object,' while another may stand up to it and make it run away. So, the only constant element, the element which may be used for identification, is the central or the emotional element in the instinctual structure of mind.

Taking the central or emotional part, we find that each emotion has its own characteristic expression composed of muscular movements and glandular discharges, for the most part under the control of the autonomic system. In fear, there is pallor of the face, dryness of the mouth, horripillation, perspiration, trembling, loss of speech, crouching, fixed gaze, increase in the activity of the adrenal gland, discharge of the stored up glycogen by the liver into the blood stream, rushing up of extra energy to the muscles of the leg, hand and jaw, cessation of digestive processes, etc. All these movements dovetail snugly into the final activity of the organism. We may represent the facts mentioned so far in the diagram on the next page.

All the innate mental elements listed above have the same structure as that of 'fear.' Certain modifications, however, set in as the result of experience. The human mind is not a static thing. It is a living, growing, developing, dynamic entity. The mental structure which the baby inherits undergoes considerable modifications as he grows up and gathers experience. Just as chemical elements get organised into molecules, molecules into living cells, and these into living organisms, so the propensities get organised into sentiments, concrete and abstract, and the sentiments into a scale of values with a dominant



or master sentiment.<sup>2</sup> Let us consider the sentiment of 'hatred'! Hatred, when it is directed towards a person, is a concrete sentiment. It is composed of three elementary propensities, fear, anger and disgust, which are organised round a person. When two or more elementary propensities enter into union to generate a sentiment we should investigate the changes that take place in the three aspects of their structure, the cognitive, the emotional and the conative aspects. This problem which I have dealt with in detail in a recent paper,<sup>3</sup> has a special bearing on aesthetic theory, yet it has been relegated to a subordinate place by McDougall, and completely neglected by our aesthetic thinkers.

The method of tripartite analysis which has been so successful and useful in the lower level of elementary propensities, should be applied to sentiments too. In hatred as a concrete sentiment we notice that on the cognitive side the three different fields of his behaviour get merged into his whole personality, and that the man as such, or even the thought of the man, now serves as the excitant of the complex sentiment of 'hatred.' With regard to the central affective or emotional side there is a perfect blend of the three elementary emotions into the

<sup>2.</sup> This analogy should not be pushed too far. An injudicious use of it will lead us back to the discarded faculty psychology.

<sup>3.</sup> Naidu, P. S., 'A Reconstruction of the Hormic Theory of Sentiments.' A.U.J., vol. viii, 1939.

sentiment of 'hatred.' And on the conative side, once again we find a close organisation. Our action is a blend of activities appropriate to disgust, anger and fear. It would conduce to clear thinking if we could secure different sets of terms to denote the three aspects of the instinctual structure and of the sentimentative structure respectively. At present, the lack of such clearly differentiated terminology is responsible for a good deal of confusion in aesthetic theory.

The evolution of mental structure does not stop at the level of concrete sentiments. It proceeds to higher levels of abstract sentiments where the centres of organisation are ideas instead of objects and persons. Love, loyalty, patriotism, justice, etc., are thus generated in the mind of the cultured persons. These sentiments, both concrete and abstract, are arranged according to a regularly graded descending scale of values with some supreme sentiment at the top of the scale. For the Westerner at the present stage of culture, the self regarding sentiment is the master sentiment, while for us The Brahman-regarding sentiment has been from time immemorial, and should continue to be the master sentiment. We should allow no other sentiment, to displace it from its high eminence.

When a person succeeds in building up a permanent scale of values, wherein each sentiment has its own fixed place, with the same dominant sentiment always occupying the top place, then he or she has achieved real culture, and real character. As with individuals so with nations. National culture is merely the way in which the national mind is organised. And as culture must express itself in cultural 'objects' such as poetry, music, painting, architecture, etc., it is possible for us to reconstruct the foundations of national culture through an analysis of these objects. But these considerations will lead us away from our main theme. And we must now turn to the psychological foundations of Rasa.<sup>4</sup>

II

In this, the second part of the paper, I shall attempt to give a psychological orientation to the rasa theory. Utter confusion faces us when we take a glimpse of the rasa doctrine, for we discover at once that the rasa elements belong to different levels of mental organisation or culture. Bhayānaka, bībhaṭsa, adbhuta and raudra belong to the primitive emotional level of mental structure; hāsya and karuṇa and vīra to the higher sentimental level, while Śṛṅgāra is very near the top of the scale of sentiment values. But the source of confusion is deeper still. Dr. De, in speaking of the treatment of the rasa

<sup>4.</sup> Vide my papers in the A.U.J., 1938 and Prabhuddha Bharata, 1938 & 39.

doctrine in the Nāṭya Śāstra points out that Bharata's doctrine is tantalisingly simple, ........... 'but he (Bharata) is not clear as to what this process of evolution exactly is.' ........... 'As to what relation these elements bear to rasa, and how this state of relish is brought about, Bharata lays down in a cryptic formula:

#### Vibhāva-nubhāva-vyabhicāri-samyogad-rasa-niṣpattih-

Bharata's own explanation.....that just as a beverage is accomplished through various seasoned articles and herbs, so the permanent mood (the sthāyi-bhāva) reinforced by various bhāvas, attains the state of rasa, and it is so-called because its essence consists in its taste or relish........ He also explains that the sthāyi-bhāva is the basis of rasa because it attains as it were mastery or sovereignty among forty-nine different bhāvas mentioned by himself. Dr. De rightly remarks that this theory is vague, and the vagueness and confusion increase a hundred fold when we consider the accounts of bhāva, vibhāva, anubhāva, sancāri bhāva, vyabhicāri bhava, etc., given by the writers on Hindu Æsthetics. The relationship that they establish between these elements of experience is so confusing that one has to turn away from their unscientific and unanalytic discourses in utter despair.

The simple psychological analysis outlined in the first part of the paper, will, if applied to our aesthetic doctrine, introduce system into the elements, just as loosely scattered and disorganised iron filings get organised when placed in a magnetic field. It must be stated at the outset that the peculiar mental experience indicated by rasa is the result of an advanced stage of evolution. It is highly complex. We should therefore go down to the fundamental elements and begin our analysis at the lowest stage.

Hindu psychology too starts with the innate endowment of the human mind. The concept of vasana indicates clearly that our thinkers believed that the fundamental elements of mental structure were inherited. But they did not grasp the distinction between structure and function. We should emphasise the distinction, and then start with elements which are really fundamental and primitive. The sthayi bhāvas are undoubtedly the most elementary and fundamental units of mental structure, but we can accept the usual alamkara list only with certain modifications.

The sthayi bhavas are the propensities of Western psychology, and of these krodha, bhaya, jugupsa, vismaya may be accepted as heing really elemental. Hāsya should be interpreted as laughter, and rati

#### 5. De: Samskrit Poetics, Vol. I. 26.

as simple sex passion (or lust in the sense in which it is used in German). Soka is not elemental, and so it should be replaced by tender emotion which is the most fundamental component of the complex texture of soka. Utsāha should be replaced by self-assertion. With these modifications we may accept the foundation of the rasa theory. It should, however, be noted that contemporary psychology recognises several other elements, but we may confine ourselves to the ancient Hindu list, since we want to build up a psychological structure suitable for the rasa doctrine. It is interesting to note that McDougall recognised only the following seven 'instincts' in his 'Social psychology.'

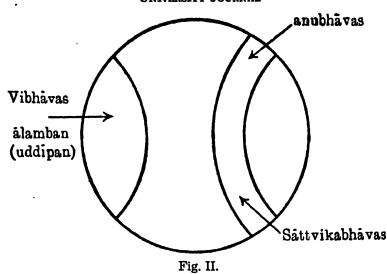
InstinctEmotionFlightFearRepulsionDisgustCuriosityWonderPugnacityAngerSelf AssertionElation

Submission Subjection
Parental Instinct Tender Emotion

The instinct of reproduction with its emotion 'lust' was added to this list along with a few other minor instincts. There is remarkable resemblance between the two lists—the Hindu and the McDougallian—and as the latter is based on experimental data, we need have no hesitation in accepting the scheme suggested above as a satisfactory foundation for our purposes.

Having fixed the number and nature of the fundamental elements—the sthāyi bhāvas—we should proceed next to analyse each sthāyi bhava. Careful experimental investigation and inductive analyses have revealed the existence of three aspects in each element, the cognitive, the affective or emotional and the conative. Each sthāyi bhāva is aroused to activity by the perception of certain stimuli, which generate a specific emotion and lead to a characteristic response. At this stage we have to reintroduce fig. I, and attempt to see how and where the various vibhāvas, anubhāvas, sañcāri and vybhichāri bhāvas fit into the scheme.

Each sthāyi-bhāva (or primitive structural unit of mental structure as presented in our modified scheme above) is excited by its specific vibhāvas. As the result of this excitation there arises an emotion whose expressions constitute the anubhavas and sattvikabhāvas. When an emotion is excited, it is accompanied by two types of bodily expression, one composed of the results of glandular discharges and movements under the guidance of the automatic system, and the



other of movements mostly directed by the Rolandic motor region. These are the sāttvikabhāvas and the anubhāvas. The last or the conative (active or executive) aspect of the natural sthāyi bhāva has been neglected by the Rasa theorists, because they were not concerned with the treatment of emotions under natural conditions, but only under the artificial conditions created by dancing, drama and poetry. If the natural conditions be analysed it will be seen that the last aspect is the most important one since it safeguards the organism. Usually two stages may be discovered in the last aspect, a preparatory and a consummatory stage; and the anubhāvas and sāttvikabhāvas are only subsidiary to the executive aspect. They reinforce and facilitate those movements which the organism must make to serve the biological ends.

When we enter into the region of vyabhicāri and sancāri bhāvas we find confusion doubly confounded. There are two reasons for this; one is the neglect of psychology by literary critics, and the other is the incapacity for analysis exhibited by those who attempted to describe the mental states. The relationship between sthāyi bhāvas and some of the vyabhicāri bhavas is analogous to that between chemical elements and the compounds formed out of them. The compounds could, no doubt, be analysed into the elements, but the former exhibit certain 'emergent' properties not found in the elements, and which could not have been predicted from a knowledge of the properties of the elements alone. The human mind is dynamic and very soon the primitive elements get organised into sentiments of different degrees of complexity and importance. Sometimes the intellectual elements form the

dominant components of the complex sentiments. We should keep the elements and the compounds apart in our analysis if we are to secure any degree of clarity in our thought. Many of the sancāri and vyabhicāri bhavas are compound sentiments, some are derived emotions, and to add to the confusion a few are merely physiological states. This confusion has been introduced even into the vibhāvas, for the alambanas are the natural excitants, while the uddīpans are the result of conditioning and belong to the sentiment level.

We have indicated the lines along which the foundations of the Hindu aesthetic doctrine should be clarified by accurate analytic treatment, and how the principles of Western psychology may be used for giving the proper orientation to the rasa doctrine. As the main theme of the paper relates only to a part of the doctrine, we have to drop the matter at this stage, and proceed to the third section of the article.

III

What is Rasa? This question has been asked and answered many times in the course of the history of Alamkara sastra, but rasa still holds its secret. It is yet a secret chamber to be unlocked, and the key that can open the door is in the hands of the hormic psychologist.

In the first and the second parts of the paper we have analysed the structure of the fundamental elements composing the human mind. It was shown how each sthayi bhava is activated by certain specific vibhāvas. Now, comparative psychology, social psychology sociology and field anthropology have detected a peculiar characteristic of the mind of living organisms belonging to the higher level of evolu-Each propensity (or sthāyi-bhāva) as well as sentiment is excited not only by its vibhavas but also by its specific anubhāvas and sātvikabhavas (or the expressions of emotions pertaining to it) in another individual of the same species. 'For each emotion....there are two classes of stimuli which have the innate capacity for evoking it. One of these is the actual object.... the other comprises the perception of the emotion in question as expressed in the behaviour of another. Thus the facial expression. cries and movements of fear directly arouse fear in a person witnessing them, and arouse it, as an instinctive response.' The wild horse is afraid not only when he sees or smells his carnivorous enemy, but also when he hears the neigh of fear sent forth by another wild horse, when the 'object' of fear perceived by the latter is invisible to the former. This process by which a sthayi bhava is excited by the visible or audible expression of its emotions is known as 'sympathetic induction' in contemporary psychology. Sympathetic induction operates both at the

primitive emotional level, and also at the higher sentimentative level. When induction is achieved at the higher level not through the natural expression of the blended emotion, but through such artificial means as poetry, drama and dance then Rasa is generated. Rasa is the peculiar experience which is generated in the mind of the adult whose mental structure has evolved to a fairly high level through the formation of complex sentiments, the excitant being an aesthetic object. Two characteristics of rasa experience stand revealed immediately by our analysis. One is that rasa can be experienced only by a highly cultured mind, and the other imaginary situation representing that natural objects of 'sentiment' will also arouse rasa. Rasa, then, may be defined as the mental counter part of the totality of experience generated in a cultured person by the sympathetic induction of blended emotions pertaining to sentiments by excitants of a purely aesthetic origin.

Our final task is to estimate to what extent the principle of sympathetic induction has been recognised by our aesthetic writers. After discoursing on vibhāvas, anubhāvas and vyabhicāri bhāvas, Bharata remarks, 'When all these are represented aided by poetry, music and other histrionic devices ...... the deep seated instinctive impression of love (sthayi bhava) is kindled in the mind of the audience and developed to that climax, when through complete imaginative sympathy with the situation the audience forgets all differences of person, time and the place, and the climax emotion reveals itself in a sort of blissful consciousness'.6 Here, there is just a suggestion of induction. The next stage of evolution is found in the writings of the Dhvanikaras. Amidst the mass of confused observations on Asamlakshyakramavyanja, we discern some glimmerings of true sympathetic induction. This stage is succeeded by that of Anandavardhana and Bhattanāvaka. In both writers the concept of 'induction' becomes clear. In Dasapuram a still higher level is reached with the definition of the concept of Sahradayatvam. In Abhinayagupta's Locana there is an element of added interest in the discussion of the great urge to creative activity experienced by the master artist. But it is only when we come to Visvanatha's Sāhitya Darpaṇam that we get the clearest evidence of this important psychological principle which is the very soul of rasa. An entire chapter (the fifth) is devoted to this topic, and the verses therein give a clear exposition of 'suggestion' But a scientific foundation and scientific analysis are needed. These ancient writers seem to challenge modern scholars in our country. And the challenge has yet to be taken up and answered!

#### 6. Dr. Sankaran, Rasa and Dhvani, ch. iii.

# Studies in Sanskrit Texts on Temple Architecture with Special Reference to the Tantrasamuccaya

By

N. V. MALLAYYA

#### NOTES.

#### PART II.

#### PAȚALA II (STANZAS 1-84)

#### STANZA 1

A general reference to Type, Size and Orientation.

#### The Meaning of Prāsāda.

Having dealt at length with preliminary matters connected with architecture, the author now proceeds to treat of architecture proper. He gives in this stanza a general reference to the type, size and orientation of a Prāsāda. The etymology of the term 'Prāsāda' (*Prasīdantyasmin*) lays emphasis on the subjective side of architectural idealism. Gurudeva defines the term thus<sup>174</sup>:—

## " देवादीनां नराणां च येषु रम्यतया चिरम्। मनांसि च प्रसीदन्ति प्रासादास्तेन कीर्तिताः॥"

'Prāsāda' is so called because in it, both gods and men feel delighted by virtue of its delightful setting. This definition instructs us to look upon architecture, not merely as a production of some hands in certain materials, but as a visible embodiment of the keen mental operation of great artists; for, architectural activity is vitally connected with mental processes. If we traverse through the pages of Indian architectural literature, we cannot but be struck by a high sense of aesthetic reasoning which pervades architectural idealism. The definition given by Gurudeva embodies a view similar to the one expressed by Ruskin when he remarked that the art of architecture is "the art which so disposes and adorns the edifice raised by man, for whatever use, that the sight of these may contribute to his mental health, power and pleasure." Enough has been said to show that, as understood by ancient architectural authorities in India, architecture forms the main setting of a happy life, that it presents before the mind's eye the flower-garden of spirit in which human and divine mind delights to tend. Amara delimits the connotation of the term 'Prāsāda' when he remarks ' वासो प्रासादो देवपूम्जाम् '. Palace and

temple are conspicuous structures and they convey a sense of loftiness which distinguishes itself from the quality of a humble dwelling. The theme of our author being essentially religious, Prāsāda refers to temple, the abode of God, 'sanctum sanctorum' as it is generally called.

#### A General Classification of Prāsāda.

According to its size, Prāsāda is broadly divisible under two classes, Alpaprāsāda and Mahāprāsāda. Under the latter class may be mentioned the different varieties known as Jāti, Chandas, Vikalpa and Ābhāsa, each different from the other in its measurement and number of storeys. The Yajamāna who desires to have any one of these types of temples built, approaches the Guru, his preceptor and guide in matters religious. The Guru in response gets a temple, worthy of the deity that is to be installed in it, constructed by Kārus or artisans. The term 'Kāru', as its etymology indicates, refers to 'workman' as distinct from 'Guru,' the guide. It denotes all classes of śilpins—Sthapati, Sūtragrāhin, Vardhaki and Takṣaka. The workmen turn out the practical part of construction in accordance with the directions of the Guru.

The author then refers to the rule of measurement which governs the 'Alpaprāsāda', the small class of structures, the smallest type whereof measures two cubits and eighteen angulas on each of its sides, the shape of the building implied here being square. In the Alpaprāsāda class, there are thirteen kinds of measure beginning with three cubits and ending with fifteen cubits. Each of these thirteen types admits of three variations, the increase in each succeeding type being by eight angulas with respect to that preceding. On the whole thus, there are thirty-nine varieties under thirteen types. They may be tabulated as follows:—

```
3 Cubits Measure Type
                          2-18 (y-1);
                                             3-2 (y-5):
                                                                3-10 (y-1).
4
                          3-18 (y-5);
                                             4-2 (y-1);
                                                                4-10 (y-5).
 5
                          4-18 (y-1);
                                             5-2 (y-5);
                                                                5-10 (y-1).
                          5—18 (y-5);
 6
                                             6-2 (y-1);
                                                                6-10 (y-5).
 7
                          6-18 (y-1);
                                             7-2 (y-5);
                                                                7-10 (y-1).
                    99
 8
                          7-18 (y-5);
                                             8-2 (y-1);
                                                                8-10 (y-5).
                    99
                          8-18 (y-1);
                                             9-2 (y-5);
 9
                                                                9-10 (y-1).
             ,,
                    ,,
10
                          9-18 (y-5);
                                            10-2 (y-1);
                                                               10-10 (y-5).
             77
                         10-18 (y-1);
                                            11-2 (y-5);
                                                               11-10 (y-1).
11
             ,,
                         11—18 (y-5);
                                            12-2 (y-1);
                                                               12-10 (y-5).
12
             ,,
                         12-18 (y-1);
                                            13-2 (y-5);
                                                               13-10 (y-1).
13
             "
                         13—18 (y-5);
                                            14-2 (y-1);
                                                               14-10 (y-5).
14
                         14—18 (y-1);
                                            15-2 (y-5);
                                                               15-10 (y-1).
15
```

24 angulas=1 cubit.

2-18=2 cubits and 18 angulas.

Y=yoni.

This prescription is based on the principle that temples should face either the East or the West, and thus get the full benefit of the Sun's course. The types of measure are so laid down that they are made to give any one of these two yonis, Eastern or Western. There are, no doubt, two more yonis, which are considered auspicious, but stress is laid on Dhvaja and Vṛṣa (yonis No. 1 & 5) because thus alone can temple be made to face the west or the east. The author accepts the uttama pakṣa, and prescribes varieties of measures which are the most desirable in the case of the sacred structure.

The measure type is prescribed with reference to the *Uttara*. Evidently in the opinion of the author, 'Uttara' is the most important member, from the point of view of the relative standard and starting unit of measure. The measure of the basement corresponds to the measure of Uttara. The term 'Uttara' is sometimes loosely rendered as entablature. Strictly speaking, it refers not to the whole assemblage of entablature, but to the lowest part thereof. It is the horizontal beam situated immediately above the pillars. Till the 54th stanza, the treatment is with respect to the Alpaprāsāda. The measurements of the Alpaprāsāda, which the present stanza lays down, are based on previous authorities like the Mañjarī and Bhāskarīya.

Thus the Manjari<sup>175</sup> observes:—

आरभ्य त्रिकराच पश्चदशकाद्धस्ताद्घस्तात् क्रमात् । प्रत्येकं प्रवदामि लक्षणमहं संक्षेपतो वैश्मनाम् ॥

And the Bhāskarīya<sup>176</sup> states:—

"त्रचतुःपश्चहस्तं तु षट्ससाष्टनवा दश ।
एक।दश द्वादश च त्रयोदश चतुर्दश ।
पश्चदशान्तविस्तारमेतेन विधिना विदः ॥"

#### STANZA 2.

Orientation of Temple according to its location in Isa etc.

According to the directions contained in the previous verse, temples possess either the Dhvaja or the Vṛṣa Yoni. We have already noticed

<sup>175.</sup> Prayogamañjari, an unpublished Ms.; a copy in Kerala character is preserved in the Adyar Mss. Library, Madras.

<sup>176.</sup> Bhāskarīya (unpublished), quoted from the Vimarśinī.

that a temple may be built in any place which is lovely either by virtue of its natural advantages or artificial environments created in the absence of natural surroundings. The present stanza specifies the yoni with its reference to particular quarters in places marked by human habitation such as a Grāma (village), Pura (capital) and Pattana (city). Temples located in any of the quarters beginning with Īśa and ending with Yama in a village, capital or city will have Dhvaja Yoni (i.e. Yoni No. 1). In the remaining quarters, the Yoni will be Vṛṣa, (i.e. No. 5). The image that is to be installed will possess the Yoni of the temple. Thus an image enshrined in a temple which faces the west will have Yoni No. 1, because the Yoni of the temple which faces the west is Yoni No. 1. The idea in brief is that the sanctum and the image will possess similar Yoni and facing. This view is expressed by other previous authorities such as the Pāśupata and Prayogamañjarī.

Thus the Pāśupata177 lays down:-

" ईशपूर्वाग्नियाम्यस्थं पश्चिमाभिमुखं शुभम् । उत्तरानिलवारीशराक्षसस्थं पुरोमुखम् ॥"

The Manjari observes: -

" लिक्कघ्वजस्थमृषभाश्रितमेव शस्तं तत्रापि मुख्यमनुरूपतया गृहस्य॥"

#### STANZA 3.

Yoni and other Formulas.

In this verse, the author lays down the group of formulas generally known as  $Ay\bar{a}divarga$ , which governs the measurement of any architectural object. According to our text and according to many others, they are Aya, Vyaya, Rksa, Yoni, Tithi,  $V\bar{a}ra$  as well as Vayas. Of these the first six are known collectively by the name  $Ay\bar{a}disadvarga$ , and to this group is added the formula of Vayas. Mention of  $Ay\bar{a}divarga$  is made in every work on architecture, but regarding the formula there is some discrepancy in certain texts. The formulas given in the  $M\bar{a}nas\bar{a}ra$  thus differ from those given in our text. The author of the Tantrasamuccaya treats of this topic on the strength of  $T\bar{a}ntrik$  authority. The formulas prescribed by the Tantrasamuccaya are as stated below:—

(1) 
$$\frac{P\times 3}{8}$$
 - R = Yoni.

(2) 
$$\frac{P \times 3}{14}$$
 - R = Vyaya;  
or  $\frac{P \times 9}{10}$  - R = Vyaya.

(3) 
$$\frac{P \times 8}{12}$$
 - R = Aya.

(4) 
$$\frac{P \times 8}{27}$$
 - R = Rksa.

(5) 
$$\frac{P \times 8}{30}$$
 - R = Tithi.

(6) 
$$\frac{P \times 8}{7} - R = V$$
āra. 
$$\frac{P \times 8}{27} - Q = V$$
ayas.

Here P=Perimeter; R=Remainder; Q=Quotient.

It is interesting to note that in all the formulas Perimeter is the central and common figure. The formulas prescribed here are the generally accepted ones. For instance, compare the following:—

- (1) " विस्तारायामराशौ वसुगुणित इनैर्माजिते शेष आयो रामघ्ने मन्ववासे व्यय इह वसुमिर्भक्तशेषस्तु योनिः । अष्टाभिर्विधितेऽसिंखिनवहृतफरुं तद्वयः शेष ऋक्षं पर्यन्ते त्रिंशदासे तिथिर्ऋषिभजिते वार आदित्यपूर्वः ॥"
- (2) " व्यासायामसमूहे वसुनिधिगुणिते दिनेशधर्महृते । आयव्ययमवशिष्टं रामध्नेऽष्टाहृते योनिः ॥"<sup>178</sup>

Kāśayapa<sup>179</sup> in the chapter on Āyādilakṣaṇa similarly deals with the topic. The writers of the Vāstuvidyā, <sup>180</sup> Manuṣyālayacandrikā, <sup>181</sup> Silpa-

<sup>178. (1), (2)—</sup>Quotations from Vimarśini; No. (2) is attributed to Maya.

<sup>179.</sup> Kāśyapaśilpa, Chapter XXV, stanzas 8-11.

<sup>180.</sup> Västuvidyä, Chapter VIII, stanzas 25-28.

<sup>181.</sup> Manuşyālayacandrikā, Chapter III. stanza 30.

ratna, 182 have also accepted the same formulas. Thus the view of our author is supported by the general consensus of opinion.

The following are the formulas given in the Mānasāra<sup>183</sup>:—

(1) 
$$\frac{L \times 8}{12}$$
 - R = Aya.

(2) 
$$\frac{B \times 9}{10}$$
 - R = Vyaya.

(3) 
$$\frac{L \times 8}{27} - R = Rksa.$$

(4) 
$$\frac{B \times 3}{8} - R = \text{Yoni.}$$

(5) 
$$\frac{C\times 9}{7} - R = V \hat{a} r a.$$

(6) 
$$\frac{C \times 9}{30} - R = \text{Tithi.}$$

Here L=Length; B=Breadth; C=Circumference.

It is worthwhile to notice in this connection that, while the *Tantra-samuccaya* and other texts require the Perimeter to be multiplied and then divided, the *Mānasāra* directs either the length or breadth or circumference to be so treated, and not the perimeter. Thus there is noticeable much divergence between Mānasāra and other authors with regard to the formulas stated; but they agree in respect of the divisor employed in the various formulas.

Each formula is a Śāstraik technicality and is known after the divisor in each case which is a figure corresponding to the number that forms each well-known group. Yoni thus represents the group of eight, viz., Dhvaja, Dhūma, Siṃha, Kukkura, Vṛṣa, Khara, Gaja and Vāyasa. Aya stands for the group of twelve commencing with 'Siddhi', and Vyaya for the group of fourteen beginning with 'Sikhara'. 'Rṛṣa' represents the group of 27 Nakṣatras beginning with Aśvinī, 'Tithi' the group of 30 lunar days starting with Prathamā (of both the Full and the New Moon) and 'Vāra' the group of 7 days of the week, beginning with Arka (Sunday). Thus the figures employed as divisor are clear enough, but con-

<sup>182.</sup> Silparatna, Chapter XV, stanza 9.

<sup>183.</sup> Mänasära, Chapter IX, lines 68-74.

cerning the multiplicatory numbers such as 3, 8 etc., nothing is known. The invention of Ayādivarga is an architectural device, the intention of which is to find out a proper orientation to the structure and a proper dimension. Among the architectural conventions of India, Ayādivarga occupies an important place. Every measurement before it is accepted is required to satisfy these six fundamental requisites. Every architectural treatise prescribes a variety of dimensions, but these have to be further subjected to an examination in view of the fact that Hindu structures have to satisfy the considerations of auspiciousness, propriety and orientation. It was with a view to enabling the builder to select the auspicious and proper measurement that these traditional architectural formulas known as Ayādiṣadvargas are described in Indian architectural literature.

The application of the different formulas may be illustrated with reference to 3 cubits measure type as follows:

The perimeter of a structure having 2¾ cubits breadth is 11 cubits. Here you is No. 1.

(1) Yoni 
$$=$$
  $\frac{P \times 3}{8}$   $R = \frac{11 \times 3}{8}$   $R$  is 1, i.e., Yoni is Dhvaja (yoni No. 1).

(2) Vyaya = 
$$\frac{P \times 3}{14}$$
 - R =  $\frac{11 \times 3}{14}$  - R is 5, i.e., Vyaya is 5.

$$= \frac{P \times 9}{10} - R = \frac{11 \times 9}{10} - R \text{ is } 9,$$
*i.e.*, Vyava is 9

(3) Aya 
$$=\frac{P\times 8}{12} - R = \frac{11\times 8}{12} - R$$
 is 4, i.e., Aya is 4.

(4) Rkṣa = 
$$\frac{P \times 8}{27} - R = \frac{11 \times 8}{27} - R$$
 is 7, i.e., Rksa is 7.

(5) Tithi 
$$=\frac{P\times 8}{30} - R = \frac{11\times 8}{30} - R$$
 is 28, i.e., Tithi is 28.

(6) Vāra 
$$-\frac{P \times 8}{7} - R = \frac{11 \times 8}{7} - R$$
 is 4, i.e., Vāra is 4.

Vayas = 
$$\frac{P \times 8}{27}$$
 - Q =  $\frac{11 \times 8}{27}$  - Q is 3, i.e., Vayas is 3.

#### STANZA 4.

The eight Yonis and their consequence

In this stanza the author enumerates the Yonis, locates the position of each yoni and mentions the good or bad effect of each. Of all the Ayādivargas, it is Yoni that is considered as the most important. It has claimed the greatest attention at the hands of every authority on architecture, and it is in the fitness of things therefore that our writer should give it the treatment it demands. Yonis are eight in number known as Dhvaja, Dhūma, Simha, Kukkura, Vṛṣa, Khara, Gaja and Vāyasa and these correspond to the eight quarters. They are sometimes referred to by numbers 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8. Dhvaja Yoni is accordingly called Yoni No. 1 and is positioned in the due East. Dhūma Yoni is Yoni No. 2 and is located in the South-East corner; Simha Yoni is yoni No. 3 and is located in the due South and so on.

Yoni constitutes the life and breath of the structure, particularly of a house. A proper and auspicious yoni is therefore required to be chosen for the same. Thus the Manuṣyālayacandrikā observes:—

" योनिः प्राणा एव धान्नां यदस्माद् श्राह्यस्तत्त्वोग्ययोनिप्रमेदः ॥"<sup>184</sup>

Considering the fruits thereof, the general rule is that all odd yonis are good and even ones bad. Accordingly, 'Dhvaja', 'Simha,' 'Vṛṣa' and 'Gaja' are auspicious and 'Dhūma', 'Kukkura', 'Khara' and 'Vāyasa' are inauspicious. The Silparatna<sup>185</sup> furnishes the details concerning the fruits that particular Yonis are supposed to yield. There is a consensus of opinion that Dhvaja is the best of all the auspicious yonis and this general agreement is obviously clear from such state-

<sup>184.</sup> Manuşyālayacandrikā, Ch. III, stanza 31 (T. S. S. Ed.)

<sup>185.</sup> Silparatna, Ch. XV, stanze 23.

ments as 'चन्नस्पर्वन पूजितः,' 'चना श्रेष्ठतमो मतः'. Our author, it might be remarked, prefers the two Yonis Dhvaja and Vṛṣa, and his inclination towards these two is evidenced by the phrases चन्नोत्याः and गोयोन्युत्याः found mentioned in Stanza No. 2. This predilection is founded on the consideration that temples should be made to face either the East or the West which is the course of the sun. A temple can be given the desired auspicious facing in the direction of the sun only when the two Yonis Dhvaja and Vṛṣa are accepted, for, their location as we have seen is such that Dhvaja, occupying as it does the due East, faces the West, and Vṛṣa, occupying as it does the due West, faces the East. Holding, as he does, the most desirable view regarding the orientation of the temple, the author shows his preference in favour of Yonis No. 1 and 5, though others, namely 3 and 7, are also declared to be auspicious.

The view of the author is confirmed by the following statements of other authorities.

Thus the Pāśupata<sup>186</sup> observes:—

"तत्रैकाद्यष्टपर्यन्ता ध्वजधूमादयः क्रमात् । ध्वजो धूमश्च सिंहश्च ग्रुनको वृषभस्तथा ॥ खरश्चेव गजश्चेव वायसो वास्तुयोनयः । आदिप्रभृतिचत्वार एकैकान्तरिताः ग्रुभाः ॥ द्वितीयाद्यास्तथैवान्ये चत्वारस्त्वग्रभाः स्मृताः ॥"

Similarly the Mayamata187 holds:-

ध्वजधूमसिंहश्वावृषखरगजकाकाश्च योनिगणाः ॥ अष्टौ योनय उदिता ध्वजहरिवृषहस्तिनः शुभदाः ।

#### STANZA 5.

#### Aya and Vyaya

The second most essential requisite that a dimension has to satisfy is Ayādhikya. An excess of Aya over Vyaya should always be secured. The use of the word 'Sarvathā' brings out the importance attached to the Aya formula. We may be indifferent in the matter of other formulas

<sup>186.</sup> Quoted by Sankara in his Vimarsini.

<sup>187.</sup> Mayamata, Ch. IX, stanzas 21(2) and 22(1); (T. S. S. Ed.).

like Tithi and Nakṣatra, but with regard to Aya, great care should be taken, as otherwise it is sure to bring calamity. The author of the commentary 'Tantrasamuccayavivaraṇa' 188 warns us against the improper application of the Aya formula. He remarks:

सर्वथेति —यद्यपि तिथिनक्षत्रादिषु किंचिद्युभत्वमुपेक्ष्यते तथापि व्ययाधिक्यमनु-पेक्ष्यमित्यभिप्रायः ॥

The Mayamata189 observes: -

आयाधिकमथ ग्रुभदं व्ययमधिकं सर्वनाशं स्यात् । विपरोते तु विपत्त्ये तस्मात् सम्यक्परीक्ष्य कर्तव्यम् ॥

Vide also for similar observation the Manuṣyālayacandrikā<sup>190</sup>, Śilparatna and others.

Naksatras and others being subjects which are commonly known through texts on astrology and the like, the author does not enumerate them here.

#### STANZA 6.

The Five Ages.

Of the different ages mentioned in this stanza, 'Yauvana' is the best as the usage 'atha' close to 'Yauvana' indicates. The author of the Manuşyālayacandrikā, who follows our author closely in his treatment, remarks:

इह (वयसि) तारुण्यं वयः शोभनम् ॥ 191

Of the four desirable ages Kaumāra and Yauvana are preferable to Bālya and Vārdhakya, for, it is said:

## बाल्यवार्धक्ययोगौ च रिक्ता चापि विनिन्दिता।।

- 188. A commentary on the *Tantrasamuccaya* by the disciple of the author; in Ms. form (Grantha characters) it is available at the Madras Government Oriental Mss. Library, R. No. 1994.
  - 189. Mayamata, Ch. IX, stanza 24 (T. S. S. Ed.).
  - 190. Manuşyālayacandrikā, III, 32 (T. S. S. Ed.).
  - 191. Manusyālayacandrikā, III, 39 (T. S. S. Ed.).

Considering the comparative estimate of these different ages, 'Yauvana' may be classified as the best, 'Kaumāra' indifferent, 'Bālya' and 'Vārdhakya' low, and 'Maraṇa' as the worst which should be discarded at all costs. The Silparatna thus remarks:—

मध्यमे बाल्यवार्धक्ये मरणं त्वधमाधमम् । अनुत्तमे तु कौमारयौवने वेति केचन ॥<sup>192</sup>

Also vide in this connection the Manuṣyālayacandrikā:—
बालत्वं कौमारं यौवनमथ वार्द्धकं च निधनं च।
पञ्च वयांस्येष्वन्त्यं नेष्टं शिष्टानि वास्तुनीष्टानि ॥ 198

#### STANZA 7.

The Height of a Building.

This stanza lays down the height of a temple from the lowest member of its basement (Pāduka) to the finial (Stūpikā), both inclusive. It is of four kinds according to our author, who accepts the rules laid down in previous writings. The alternative heights he has prescribed are in the wake of the following observation made in the Nibandhana<sup>194</sup>:—

सप्तांशच्यिर्धिकोऽध्यर्धः पादोनद्विगुणोऽपि वा । द्विगुणो वोच्छ्यः प्रोक्तो विस्तारात् सर्ववेश्मनाम् ॥

The total height of the temple, according to this statement, is of four kinds: 1%B, 1½B, 1¾B, 2B (B=Breadth). It is noteworthy here that it is with reference to breadth as distinct from length that the height is measured. There is no difference between length and breadth in a square building, but breadth has been distinctly taken as the standard for measuring the height. This reference to breadth as the standard is intentional, for the author while laying down this rule was having in his view structures such as the 'Ayatacaturaśra' where the length is greater than the breadth.

<sup>192:</sup> Silparatna, XV, 17, 18.

<sup>193.</sup> Manuşyālayacandrikā, III, 33.

<sup>194.</sup> Śaivāgamanibandhana, (Ms. from the Cochin State), Paţala XIII.

In such cases where the breadth is less than the length, it is with reference to breadth and not length that the height should be measured. It is to make this point clear that the term 'Vyāsa', which means breadth, has been used. In every treatise on architecture, breadth is determined first and then the height which always bears proportion to the breadth. The Alpaprasada class begins with three cubits measure type. Here, let us take for instance, the smallest variety which measures 2 cubits and 18 angulas for its breadth. Here, where the breadth is 2% cubits, the height can be raised up to 5 cubits and 12 angulas which is double the breadth. Of the four alternative proportions of height which the stanza under consideration permits, the generally accepted one in temples of small measure type is the fourth alternative which enjoins double the breadth for the height of the temple. But, in temples of greater measure type, the lesser proportions may be employed with prejudice neither to the beauty of the structure nor to the stability thereof. With reference to the enumeration of types there is difference of opinion. The Mānasāra, 195 Mayamata<sup>196</sup> and Kāśyapaśilpa<sup>197</sup> refer to five sorts of measurement pertaining to the height of structures technically known as Śāntika, Paustika, Jayada, Adbhuta and Sārvakāmika. The Mañjarī, on the other hand, gives the number four in one place and three in another and does not refer to the various technical names. The following stanza from the Mañjari<sup>198</sup> prescribes the four alternative heights:—

> विस्तारं मुनिभिर्विभज्य हुतभुक्भागाधिकोत्सेधकं वाध्यधे द्विगुणं तथा विरहितं पादेन विस्तारतः। विस्तारद्विगुणञ्चतुर्विधमभृदुत्सेधमत्युज्ज्वलं कर्तव्यं यजमानवृद्धिजनकं स्थानस्य संपत्करम्॥

The four varieties of height set forth in this stanza are in perfect consonance with the proportions observed in our text. With regard to the small type of measure, three heights are prescribed in a subsequent verse in the *Mañjarī* which runs as follows:—

विस्ताराध्यधेमुत्सेषं पादोनद्विगुणं ततः । विस्तारद्विगुणोत्सेषमुत्सेषं त्रिविषं भवेत् ॥

- 195. Mānasāra, Chapter XXXV, Stanzas 12, 13.
- 196. Mayamata, Ch. XI, 9.
- 197. Kāšyapašilpa, Paţala XXIV, 7.
- 198. Prayogamañjari (Adyar Mcs. Library), Patala VI.

Four out of the five varieties referred to in the Mayamata are the same as those stated in the Tantrasamuccaya. The five alternative portions laid down there are  $1\frac{3}{7}$ ,  $1\frac{1}{2}$ ,  $1\frac{3}{6}$ ,  $1\frac{3}{4}$  and 2 times the Breadth. The verse quoted below embodies all these proportions:—

केचिद वदन्ति देवानां मानुषाणां विमानके । विस्तारे सप्तषट्पञ्चचतुरूच्यंशेऽधिकं त्रिभिः ॥ शान्तिकं पौष्टिकं जयदमद्भुतं सार्वकामिकम् । उच्छायं द्विगुणं पादार्धाधिकं चापि सम्मतम् ॥ 199

Though most of the types given in the Gurudevapaddhati do not differ from the types mentioned in our text, there is some discrepancy in the measurement laid down in the Gurudevapaddhati.

Compare the following lines from the Gurudevapaddhati<sup>200</sup>:—

अथवाल्पकिनष्ठानां व्यासे सप्तविभागके ।
षडक्काधिकमुचं स्थान्मध्यानां पश्च चाधिकम् ।
व्यंशाधिकं चोत्तमानां प्रासादानामिहोन्नतिः ॥
अल्पोत्तमिवमानानां व्यासाद् द्विगुण उच्छ्यः ॥
द्विगुणात् सप्तमांशोनमल्पमध्येषु तुक्कता ।
तस्मादधींशहीनः स्यादुत्सेघोऽल्पाधमस्य तु ॥

The Mānasāra in the Chapters<sup>201</sup> entitled 'Bhūmilambavidhāna' and 'Sālāvidhāna' treats of this subject of height. The text of Chapter XI is so full of errors that no clear sense could be made out of it. It,<sup>202</sup> however, seems to contain the measures of 1½B, 1¾B, 1½B, 1¾B, and 2B classified under the following heads:—

Height of Kanişthaharmya—2B (Adbhuta).

Height of Madhyamaharmya— $1\frac{1}{4}$ B,  $1\frac{3}{4}$ B, (Jayada, Pārṣṇika and Sārvakāmika).

Height of Utkrstaharmya-1½B, and 1¾B (Santika and Paustika)

<sup>199.</sup> Mayamata, Chapter XI, 8 and 9 (T. S. S. Ed.).

<sup>200.</sup> Gurudevapaddhati (T. S. S. Edition), Uttarārdha, Paṭala XXX, 22, 23; 52; 53. (T. S. S. Ed.).

<sup>201.</sup> Mānasāra (P. K. Ācārya's Edition), Chapters XI and XXXV.

<sup>202.</sup> Mānasāra, Chapter XI, lines 13-23.

In the Chapter on 'Śalāvidhāna', the Mānasāra is clear on the proportions of height from the Janman to the Stūpikā. The following <sup>203</sup>lines deal with the topic:—

तद्विस्तारसमोत्तुङ्गं सपादार्धं तु तुङ्गकम् । त्रिपादाधिकमुत्सेधं विस्तारद्विगुणोदयम् ॥ प्रथमं शान्तिकोत्सेधं द्वितीयं पौष्टिकोदयम् । तृतीयं जयदोत्तुङ्गं चतुर्थं धनदोदयम् ॥ पश्चमं चाद्भुतोत्सेधं जन्मादिस्तूपिकोन्तकम् ॥

### According to these stanzas: -

\$\frac{\pmatrix}{\pmatrix}\$\frac{\pmatrix}{\pmatrix}\$\text{11/4B}.\$

Pauṣṭika height is =1\frac{11/4B}{2B}.\$

Dhanada or \$\frac{\pmatrix}{\pmatrix}\$\text{amika height is} =1\frac{34B}{2B}.\$

Adbhuta height is =2B.

Regarding the application of the technical terms 'Santika' and others to the proportions of height as laid down in Chapter XI and Chapter XXXV of the Mānasāra there is no consistency except in the cases of Adbhuta and Sārvakāmika. Similarly, when we compare the several texts, the terms Sāntika etc. as used and understood in one text are not similarly used and understood in the others. It is not possible therefore to accept this terminology about which there is so much of divergence of opinion. Both the authors of the Prayogamañjarī and Tantrasamuccaya refrain from the employment of these terms. They simply lay down the widely accepted proportions of height. Though there is no consensus of views in the matter of terminology, with regard to the proportions there is a general and remarkable agreement. Thus:—

- (a) 1%B is accepted by the Mayamata (XI,8-9); Prayoga Mañjarī (Paṭ VỊ); Silparatna; Mānasāra (Ch. XI, L-18). [The line here reads 'मीन्यंशे न्यंशिकिं.' The reading 'चतुरंशे' which P. K. Ācārya suggests seems to us unnecessary and unwarranted].
- (b) 1½B. is accepted by the Saivāgamanibandhana (Paţ. XIII); Mayamata (XI 8-9); Mañjarī (vide Quotation above);

- Gurudevapaddhati (Uttarārdha Paţ. XXX, 53); Śilparatna; Mānasāra (Ch. XI-L. 17, Ch. XXXV St. 11).
- (c) 1¾ B is accepted by the Saivāgamanibandhana (Paṭ. XIII); Mayamata (Ch. XI 8-9); Mañjarī; Silparatna; Mānasāra (XI L. 15, XXXV St. 11).
- (d) 2B is accepted by the Śaivāgamanibandhana; Mayamata (XI, 8-9); Mañjarī; Gurudeva (Uttarārdha XXX 52); Śilparatna; Mānasāra (XI, L. 13, XXXV, St. 11).

The foregoing references evidently indicate that, whatever may be the terminology adopted, the proportions stated are the most commonly accepted, and these widely approved proportions have not escaped notice at the hands of Nārāyaṇa. It will be noticed in this connection, that the author, while he is in favour of a nomenclature about which there is perfect consensus of opinion, carefully avoids acceptance of a terminology which is differently adopted by different writers. In such a case as this, where there is no uniformity in the understanding of terms, the author presents the ideas in plain descriptive language and uses expressions of primary significatory capacity. In his treatment of the subject of pillars, for instance, the description is simple and clear enough. The author describes the pillars<sup>204</sup> according to their shape and this description is divested completely of the use of a doubtful nomenclature.

#### STANZAS 8 & 9

The Height of Stambha and Adhisthana.

After having prescribed the height of the structure, the author proceeds to treat of the height of the two members, Adhiṣṭhāna and Stambha. In stanza 1, we have referred to the various classes of measure beginning with three cubits type, each variety differing from the other in the measure of eight angulas. Temples which come under the class of 3 cubits (i.e., which possess any one of the three alternatives 2 cubits 18 angulas, 3 cubits 2 angulas and 3 cubits 10 angulas), will have, according to the present prescription, pillars measuring two cubits for their height.

Those that belong to the 4 cubits type (viz. 3 cubits 18 angulas 4 cubits 2 angulas, 4 cubits 10 angulas) will have pillars which are two cubits and four angulas high and those of 5 cubits measure type will have

pillars that have 2 cubits and 8 angulas of height. Proceeding in this strain till we reach the final measure type of 15 cubits in the Alpaprāsāda class, pillars will have the height of four cubits. The Saivāgamanibandhana thus remarks:—

स्तम्भाः चतुष्कराः पश्चदशहस्ते तु मन्दिरे॥

Corresponding to the increase in the breadth of the temple<sup>205</sup> by one cubit under each class there should be an increase in the height of the pillar by four angulas. The following stanzas from the *Nibandhana* and *Mañjarī* support this point of view. Thus the *Nibandhana* observes:—

त्रिहस्ते द्विकराः स्तम्भा गोरुकद्वयवर्धिताः। हस्ते हस्ते स्थिता गेहादापश्चदशहस्तकात्॥

The Manjari<sup>207</sup> states:—

आरभ्य त्रिकराच पश्चदशकाद्धस्तादधस्तात् कमात् प्रत्येकं प्रवदामि रुक्षणमहं संक्षेपतो वेश्मनाम् । आरभ्य द्विकरात् क्रमेण विहितस्तम्भस्य वृद्धिस्ततः प्रत्येकं चतुर्ङ्गुरुं गृहवशादेकैकहस्ताश्रितः ॥

With regard to the height of the Adhisthana or the basement, the author declares that it is half that of the pillar.

In the Mānasāra, Mayamata, Kāśyapaśilpa and Gurudevapaddhati, the height of pillars is determined in its relation either to the height of the temple or the height of the basement. But, here in our text, the height of the pillar prescribed is relative to the breadth of the building, and the height of the basement is proportionate to the height of the pillar. The relative height of the pillar and basement in a structure coming under the Alpaprāsāda class whose measure type ranges from 3 to 15 cubits may be presented as follows:—

<sup>205.</sup> Saivagama Nibandhana (An Unpublished Ms. from the Cochin State), Paṭala XIII.

<sup>206.</sup> Ibid.

<sup>207.</sup> Prayogamañjari (Unpublished Ms.), Paṭala on 'Prāsādaprakarana.'

3	'ype.		1	Height	of	the pillar.	He	ight (	of the	basement.
Three c	ubits	type	2	cubits			1	cubit	0 ar	igulas.
Four	99	99	. 2	cubits	4	aṅgulas	1	**	2	**
Five	,,	"	2	"	8	91	1	,,	4	"
Six	"	"	2	"	12	**	1	,,	6	,,
Seven	"	,,	2	"	16	"	1	"	8	,,
Eight	"	"	2	,,	20	"	1	"	10	,,
Nine	,,	,,	3				1	,,	12	,,
Ten	,,	,,	3	,,	4	**	1	"	14	"
Eleven	"	"	3	,,	8	"	1	"	16	**
Twelve	"	,,	3	,,,	12	"	1	"	18	,,
Thirteen	١,,	,,	3	,,,	16	,,	1	,,	20	,,
Fourteen	n	,,	3	,,	20	1)	1	,,	22	,,
Fifteen	,,	99	4				2	cubi	ts	

The height of the basement, according to almost all the authorities we have consulted, is half that of the column. Stanzas quoted below from various authorities will illustrate the point. Thus the Niban-dhana<sup>208</sup> observes:—

## स्तम्भार्थोचमधिष्ठानं पादबन्धं प्रतिक्रमम्।।

The Mayamata<sup>209</sup>:—

स्तम्भोचार्षे वा मसूरोचमानं तत् षट्ससाष्टांशकं भागहीनम् । वास्त्वाधारोचें भवेत् सर्ववस्तुष्वेवं पूर्वे शम्भुना सम्यगुक्तम् ॥ आत्ताधिष्ठानतुङ्गस्य द्विगुणं पादतुङ्गकम् ॥

The Kāśyapaśilpa<sup>210</sup>:—

उक्तोत्सेथांशमानेन पादायामो विधीयते । उक्ताधिष्ठानतुङ्गस्य द्विगुणं वाऽङ्घितुङ्गकम् ॥

हर्म्योंचं वसुधा भज्य एकांशं हि तलोन्नतम् ।
द्विभागं चरणायामं .... ।।
सदनोच्चं दशांशैकमधिष्ठानोदयं भवेत् ।
साधेद्वधंशं त पादोचं .... ।।

<sup>208.</sup> Saivāgama Nibandhana, Paţala XIII.

<sup>209.</sup> Mayamata (T. S. S. Ed.), Chapter XIV, 47; and Chap. XV, St. 4.

<sup>210.</sup> Kāšyapašilpa (Ānandāśrama Series), Paṭala VIII, St. 3; XXVII, 14, 19, 20, 21, 22; also vide XXVII, 23, 26, etc.

'The Gurudeva paddhati: <sup>211</sup> एतेषामात्तविस्ताराद् द्विगुणः स्यादिहोच्छ्यः । उच्छये चाष्ट्या भक्ते स्याद्धिष्ठानमंशतः ॥

स्तम्भोत्सेथस्त भागाभ्यां .....

The Manasara: 212—

उत्सेषे चाष्टभागे तु चैकाशेन मसूरकम् । द्रिभागं चाङ्घिकोतुङ्गं .... ॥

अथवा तुङ्गमाने तु दशमागं विभाजिते । सपादांशमधिष्ठानं तद्द्रयं पादतुङ्गकम् ॥

अथवा हर्म्यतुङ्गे तु षोडशांशं विभाजिते । अधिष्ठानं द्विभागं स्यात्पादतुङ्गं युगांशकम् ॥ चतुर्भागमधिष्ठानं तद्द्वयं पादतुङ्गकम् ॥

Examples from the same context can similarly be multiplied to show that in the opinion of the author of the *Mānasāra* the height of the basement of a structure is half that of the pillar. This allotment of a considerable part to the basement of the structure, not only makes the structure supremely stable, but provides scope for the employment of lateral mouldings, which in their variety and richness characterise the Indian temples.

The height of the pillars and basement as set forth in the previous stanza is not fixed by invariable and fast rules. It is capable of being modified and increased as the fitness of the structure demands. Different shades of measure are prescribed which may be added to or diminished from the general proportion of measure already laid down. The choice is left to the option of the builder. The stanza under observation directs the variation to be effected as follows:—

Divide the height between the Udaya and the Uttara into parts six, seven, eight, nine, ten or eleven. 'Udaya' is interpreted as ' भिरोब्स्ट्रिय:,

<sup>211.</sup> Gurudevapaddhati (T. S. S. Ed.), Uttarārdha Paṭala XXX, Stanzas 60 and 61.

<sup>212.</sup> Mānasāra (P. K. Ācārya's Ed.), Ch. XIX, line 21 and 22, 48 and 49, 87 and 88; Ch. XXI, line 13,

पादकस्य मुळप्रदेशो दा'. It is the lowest part of the wall or the pillar. The six main parts of a temple, according to all authorities on the architecture of the Hindus, are Adhisthāna, Pāda, Prastara, Gala, Sikhara and Stūpikā. Uttara is the lowest member of Prastara and it rests on the pillars or walls. The portion required to be divided being below the 'uttara' and above the 'Udaya' (the bottom of wall or pillar), in plain words, it is the height of the pillar or the wall that is to be divided. Having divided the height of the pillar by any number six, seven, eight, nine, ten or eleven, one part thereof may be added to or subtracted from the height of the pillar laid down in the previous stanza. This modification may be illustrated thus: -Thus height of the pillar belonging to a temple of three cubits measure type is 2 cubits. According to the present rule, it may be 2 cubits 4 angulas, 2 cubits 3\% angulas, 2 cubits 3 angulas, 2 cubits 2\% angulas, 2 cubits  $2\frac{1}{5}$  angulas, 2 cubits  $2\frac{1}{1}$  angulas, a cubit and 8 angulas, 1 cubit and 8\% angulas, 1 cubit and 9 angulas, 1 cubit and 9\% angulas, 1 cubit 9% angulas, 1 cubit  $9\%_{11}$  angulas. The height of the basement of the temple of three cubits measure type is one cubit according to the previous rule. The stanza under explanation states that, having divided this height into 6, 7, 8 or 9 parts, one part thereof may be deducted from the height already generally prescribed and we get accordingly the varied measures of % cubit, % cubit, % cubit, % cubit. Variety of measure in the case of the height of the basement results only through subtraction of parts  $\frac{1}{6}$ ,  $\frac{1}{7}$ ,  $\frac{1}{8}$  and  $\frac{1}{9}$  and never through addition. In the case of the height of the pillar both increase and decrease are allowed. Thus we get in all, through the application of the principles of measure as set forth in the two stanzas 8 and 9, thirteen alternative proportions for the height of the pillar, and five alternative proportions for the height of the basement under each measure type of temple. The statements of other authorities on the subject confirm the author's statements regarding the manifold varieties of relative proportions we have observed.

The Mayamata<sup>213</sup> thus remarks:—

जन्मोत्तरान्तरगतं गृहपादमानं षट्सप्तनागनवपङ्क्तिहरांशमेकम् । न्यूनं करोतु गृहसंघृतिपादतोऽथ यद्वाधिकं निखिलसालगतेषु चैवम् ॥ स्तम्भार्थोचं वा मसूरोच्चमानं षट्सप्ताष्टाङ्केषु वा भागहीनः । वास्त्वाधारोचं भवेत् सर्ववास्तुष्वेवं पूर्वं शम्भुना सम्यगुक्तम् ॥

<sup>213.</sup> Mayamata quoted in Vimarśinī; also vide Mayamata, T. S. S. Ed., Chapter XIV, 47½.

The Kāśyapaśilpa<sup>214</sup> allows less number of alternatives:—

उक्ताधिष्ठानतुङ्गस्य द्विगुणं वाऽङ्त्रितुङ्गकम् । तस्मोत्तारतलोचं तु षष्ठांशं त्वधिकं तु वा ॥

### STANZA 10.

The Breadth of the Column.

In this stanza, the author treats of the breadth of the pillar at its base and top. It should be determined as directed below: —Let the height of the pillar from the Prati to the Uttara be divided into eight, nine or ten parts; one part thereof will constitute the breadth of the foot of the pillar. The breadth at the base being divided into eight, nine or ten parts, the upper extremity of the pillar will be diminished by one of those parts. The height of the pillar here referred to is to be measured from the Prati (the topmost moulding of the basement) to the 'Uttara' (the lowest member of the entablature). In other words, it is to be measured from above the base to below the lowest part of the entablature.<sup>215</sup> The breadth of the pillar at the base, according to the directions of the author, is \( \frac{1}{8} \), \( \frac{1}{9} \), or  $\frac{1}{10}$  of the height of the pillar. The breadth of the pillar at the top is  $\frac{7}{8}$ ,  $\frac{8}{9}$ , or  $\frac{9}{10}$  of the breadth at the base, the breadth at the top being less than that at the base by \( \frac{1}{8}, \frac{1}{9}, \text{ or } \frac{1}{10}. \text{ This is the breadth prescribed for wooden pillars. As for the breadth of pilasters attached to the wall the rule is that it should be half or two-third or three-fourth of the breadth prescribed for wooden pillars. The relative proportions of the breadth proposed with reference to the bottom and top of pillars or pilasters are in perfect agreement with those set forth in other texts. The proportions stated in our text are the commonest. A comparison of our text with others on this head serves to amplify the information furnished in our text. We shall therefore refer to, as usual, the Mayamata, Kāśyapaśilpa, Mānasāra and others.

The Mayamata<sup>216</sup> thus observes:—

पादोचपङ्क्तिनन्दाष्टभागैकं वाङ्घिविस्तरम् । दारुस्तम्भगतं द्वेतत् कुट्यपादमथोच्यते ॥

- 214. Kāšyapašilpa, (Ānandāśrama Series), Patala VIII, stanzas 3(2), 4(1).
- 215. Mänasāra, Chapter XV, line 7.
- 216. Mayamata:—This text quoted above is an extract from the commentary Vimarsini. These lines are also found in the Mayamata of the Trivandrum Sans-

तद्धे वा त्रिभागोनं चतुर्भागोनमेव वा । कुट्यस्तम्भविशालं स्यादेतत् सर्वेषु धामसु ॥ तन्मूलतारमाख्यातं तत्तारं तु तथा भजेत् । एकभागविहीनं तु शेषमम्रविशालकम् ॥

In the Kāśyapaśilpa, the same text is found with little modification. The readings given in the Ānandāśrama edition of the text pertaining to this subject are somewhat clumsy and contain errors. The idea of the author with regard to the measurement is, however, found in agreement with the Kāśyapaśilpa.

The text of the Kāśyapaśilpa<sup>217</sup> furnished in the Ānandāśrama Edition runs thus:—

भै पादोचं पङ्क्तिनन्दाष्ट भागैकं वाऽङ्घिविस्तरम् ॥ दारुपादतलं ह्येतत्कुट्यपादमथोच्यते । तद्धे वा त्रिभागैकं चतुर्भागोनमेव वा॥ °आव्यस्तम्भविशालं स्यादेतत्सर्वे सुधमसु । [तुङ्गं सप्तांशमथवा नवधर्मोश एव वा॥ स्द्रभान्वंशकं वाऽथ कृत्वैकांशाङ्घिविस्तरम् ॥]

krit Series (Ch. XV, 6, 7, 8), but they are not given there in the same serial order as furnished in the quotation given above. Certain lines are missing. In point of details and order of treatment, the *Mayamata* text quoted from the commentary Vimarśinī is closer and therefore we have preferred this quotation from the Vimarśinī.

- 217. Kāsyapašilpa, Paṭala VIII, 4(2), 5, 7(2), 8, 9.
  - (a) The correct reading is पादोचपङ्क्तिनन्दाष्ट्रमागैकम् etc., as given in the previous extract.
  - (b) The reading त्रिमागोन conforms to the idea of the text.
  - (c) The reading आह्मस्तम्म is evidently a scriptorial error; the correct reading is कुल्यस्तम्म
  - (d) The correct reading in the light of the Mayamata text here is सर्वेषु धानसु
  - (e) The portion bracketed furnishes alternative proportions more detailed than the previous ones. One-tenth, one-ninth, or one-eighth part of its height will be the width of the pillar; this is (for) the wooden pillar (Dārustambha). The (Kudyastambha) pilaster attached to the wall will be described now. Half this (or the width of the wooden pillar), or two-third, or three-fourth of it (i.e., the width of the wooden pillar mentioned above) will be the width of the pilaster. This is (the prescription) in the case of all houses.

# तन्मूलतारमाख्यातं तत्तारं तु तथा भजेत् ॥ एकमागविहीनं तु शेषमप्रविशालकम् ।''

Having divided the height into seven, nine, eight, eleven or twelve parts, one part thereof will be alloted for the breadth of the pillar. Considering these different prescriptions given by the Kāśyapaśilpa, we may hold, on the whole, that the width of the wooden pillar according to the  $\frac{1}{9}$ ,  $\frac{1}{10}$ ,  $\frac{1}{11}$ , or  $\frac{1}{12}$ Kāśyapaśilpa may be stated as  $\frac{1}{7}$ , the height of the pillar and that of the pilaster half, two-third or threefourth the width of the wooden pillar. This much indeed does the text of the Kāśuapaśilpa that we have before us warrant us to assert. But Rām Rāz in his Essay<sup>218</sup> observes: "The height of the pillar," says Kāśyapa, "may be three times that of the base, or six or eight times that of the pedestal; the breadth of the pillar may be a sixth, seventh, eighth, ninth, or tenth part of its height; if it be made of wood or stone, one-third, or one-fourth, or one-sixth of the height if it be a pilaster joined to a wall (Kudyastambha.)" And Dr. P. K. Ācārya in his Dictionary of Hindu Architecture states in the wake of Rām Rāz: "but according to Kāśyapa.....the diameter of a pillar may be  $\frac{1}{6}$ ,  $\frac{1}{8}$ ,  $\frac{1}{9}$ , or  $\frac{1}{10}$  of its height; if it be made of wood or stone,  $\frac{1}{3}$ ,  $\frac{1}{4}$ , or  $\frac{1}{6}$  of the height, if it be a pilaster joined to the wall (Kudyastambha)."219 It is not possible to agree with the authors of these statements in the light of the evidence that the Kāśvapaśilpa text before us throws on the subject. There can hardly be any doubt as to the authority of the text in our possession, since it is confirmed by other writers on the same topic. The text of Kāśyapa that we have quoted above in support of Nārāyaṇa's views on the width of the pillar, does not seem to have come to the notice of both the scholars Ram Raz and P. K. Ācārya.

According to the Nibandhana, the width at the top is less than that at the base by one-eighth. Thus states the writer of the Nibandhana:

म्लाष्टाङ्गविहीनामाः कार्योस्त्वष्टांशविस्तराः ॥<sup>220</sup>

Concerning the width of the pillar, Mānasāra states: —
तत् (कुड्यस्तम्भ) तद्द्विगुणितं वापि त्रिगुणं वा चतुर्गुणम् ।
एतत् स्कम्भविशालं स्यादथवा तुक्कमानतः ॥

<sup>218.</sup> Essay on the Architecture of the Hindus, page 29.

<sup>219.</sup> A Dictionary of Hirdu Architecture, page 644.

<sup>220.</sup> Śaivāgamanibandhana, Paţala XIII.

आदित्यस्द्रपङ्तयंशरन्ध्रं चाष्टांशकं भवेत् । एकैकं पादविस्तारं तत्तत्पादोनमम्रतः ॥ एतत्पादविशारुं स्यात् .... ॥<sup>221</sup>

The width of the (wooden) pillar, in the opinion of Manasara is then twice, three times, or four times that of the pilaster. Or, the height of the pillar having been divided into twelve, eleven, ten, nine, or eight parts, one of these parts may be the width (at the base). its top, it will be diminished by one part ( तस्याद ) of its respective division (into 12, 11 etc.). This is the width of the pillar. Dr. P. K. Ācārya in his translation of the Mānasāra has rendered the portion "tattad-pādonamagratah" as smaller by one-fourth at the top,222 and he states in his Dictionary of Hindu Architecture: "The height of a pillar being divided into 12, 11, 10, 9, or 8 parts, one of these parts is the diameter of the pillar, and at the top it is diminished by one-fourth."223 interpretation is hardly acceptable and assumes that Mānasāra deviates from the general line of proportions set forth by other equally important writers on the subject. The term 'Pāda' though often interpreted as one-fourth does not always mean that. Like the English term 'Quarter' which generally means 'one-fourth' it is employed sometimes in the sense of a division. The term 'quarter', for instance, when we speak of eight quarters means only a directional division and not onefourth. 'Pāda' is similarly used in the sense of a division in Jaimini's Pūrvamīmāmsa, where Chapters III, VI and X are described as consisting of eight Pādas each. We may thus feel justified in interpreting the term 'Pāda' here in the sense of a "part". Such a rendering further brings the Mānasāra nearer to the Kāśyapaśilpa, Mayamata and other works and brings about a consensus of opinion on the subject of the prescription of the width of the pillar.

The interpretation of 'त्त्रवादोनमञ्ज:' as smaller by one-fourth at the top further assumes that the diminution of the breadth at the top is constant irrespective of the altitude of the column. This is opposed to scientific principle and actual practice. To keep in with science and taste, the diminution of the breadth at the top of the pillar should be proportionate to the height of the pillar and relative to its breadth at the base. It should take into account the beautiful effect of different proportions and should be effected, therefore, gradually and fittingly.

<sup>221.</sup> Mānasāra, Chapter XV, lines 15, 16, 17, 18 and 19.

<sup>222.</sup> Mānasāra, Translation by Ācārya, p. 152.

<sup>223.</sup> Dictionary of Hindu Architecture, page 644.

There cannot be one and the same rule of diminution working when the proportions of dimensions are varying. The diminution by onefourth is hardy compatible with the principle and practice of ancient architects whether of India or of Greece and Rome. For, as Ram Raz observes: "in the Grecian and Roman architecture, the diameter of the upper part of the shaft, in a column of fifteen feet in height, is made onesixth less than its thickness at the base; and in a column of fifty feet, the diminution is one-eighth."224 The fundamental principle that underlies this prescription is that the higher the columns are, the less they diminish in their breadth at the top. This principle born of great scientific skill and refined taste is not a unique discovery of the Grecian architects, for the precepts derived from the same principle have been taught and practised in India from time immemorial. The interpretation of Pāda as one-fourth given by Dr. Ācārya pays no regard to this universally accepted principle. The rendering 'Pāda' as of 'part', on the other hand, gives a meaning which is consistent with the principle followed by the architects of India and Greece. Our interpretation is supported also by Ram Raz who renders the term 'Pada' as 'part' in this connection.

The view expressed in the Mañjarī also accords with the common view on the diminution noted above. Thus the Mañjarī observes:—

स्तम्भास्तत्र चतुष्कराः सुविहितानष्टांशको विस्तृतान् । मूलाष्टांशविहीनकामबहलान् संस्थापयेत्तत्र तु ॥<sup>225</sup>

The author of the Manuşyālayacandrikā follows the general strain when he states:—

स्तम्भोच्चाञ्चीषुषड्भूधरवसुनविद्मुद्रभागैकतः स्यात् स्तम्भाधोविस्तृतिस्तद्वसुनवदशरुद्रांशहीनोमतारः । दण्डास्त्र्यश्चायमेतेन च कुहचिद्यो मीयते दारुक्छप्तौ कुड्यस्तम्भामतारोऽप्यथ तदवयवाकस्पने दण्डसंज्ञः ॥<sup>226</sup>

The following statements found in the Vāstuvidyā may also be compared:—

अथ पादस्य दैर्घ्येन तद्विष्कामं च कारयेत् । दर्शनादिवसुद्वारपङ्क्तिरुद्रांशकैः कृतम् ।

- 224. Essay on the Architecture of the Hindus, pp. 38-39.
- 225. Prayogamañjari, Patala VI on 'Prāsādalakṣaṇavidhi' (Adyar Mss. Library).
- 226. Manuşyālayacandrikā, (T. S. S. Ed.), Ch. V, st. 24.

# तत्समां विस्तृतिं कुर्यात् .... ।। स्तम्भाग्रस्य च हीनत्वमष्टमांशादिकं भवेत् ॥<sup>227</sup>

The author of the Silparatna also follows our author closely in this connection.<sup>228</sup>

'चरणाप्रप्रतानोऽत्र दण्डः'. The last quarter of the stanza defines the term 'Danda.' Danda is the breadth of the pillar at the top, and it is employed as a standard of measure, by having recourse to which the different measurements of the parts of the wall are determined. the quarter 'च्रणात्रप्रतानोऽत्र दण्डः', the expression 'atra' is variously interpreted by various commentators. Sankara in his Vimarśini, understands it as referring to wooden pillars. The Vivaranakāra, on the other hand, takes it as referring to the theme of architecture, and remarks: 'अत्र प्रासादप्रकरणे इलार्थ:'.<sup>229</sup> It is not definitely stated by the Vivaranakāra whether Danda refers to a regular wooden pillar or to a pilaster attached to the wall. According to a Malayalam Commentary, 230 the breadth at the top of the pillar is described as Danda. K. Nīlakanthan Āśāri,<sup>231</sup> another Kerala commentator, tells the same thing about Danda. A third Malayālam Commentator,<sup>232</sup> K. Dāmodaran Nambūdirippād, observes that 'Danda' is the top measure of any kind of pillar. In this case, the measure will change with reference to the nature of the pillar according as it is wooden or stone or brick pilaster attached to the wall. In the Malayālam commentaries we have consulted, there is not to be found employed any delimiting adjunct restricting the application of the term to only the top of the wooden pillar or to only the top of the pilaster. The reference is therefore applicable to the top of pillar of whatever nature. There may thus be noticed a great variation in the interpretations as given by Śankara in his Vimarśinī and as furnished by others on the point in question. Leaving aside our text and its commentaries. and turning to other authors, there also we notice divergence in the matter of the interpretation of the term Danda. Parāśara, quoted by

<sup>227.</sup> Vāstuvidyā, Ch. VIII, st. 15, 16, 18.

<sup>228.</sup> Silparatna (T. S. S. Ed.), Ch. XXI, sts. 44-47.

<sup>229.</sup> Tantrasamuccayavivarana (Govt. Orient. Mss. Library, Madras), Ms. R. No. 1994.

<sup>230.</sup> Tantrasamuccaya Text in Sanskrit with a commentary in Malayālam, Ms. R. 4 128 (Govt. Orient. Mss. Library, Madras).

<sup>231.</sup> Tantrasamuccaya (Ch. II in Malayālam characters), page 12. (Published by S. T. Reddiar and Sons, Quilon, Travancore).

<sup>232.</sup> Tantrasamuccaya—Silpa Part—(Page 23) in Malayālam character. (Published by K. V. P. Press, Kunnamkulam, Cochin State).

Gurudeva,<sup>233</sup> the authors of the *Manuṣyālayacandrikā* and *Śilparatna* are of the view that Daṇḍa is the top measure of the pilaster. Thus Parāśara observes:—

कुड्यस्तम्भाप्रविपुरुं यत्तद्दण्ड इत्युच्यते । तन्मानेन विमानानां सर्वाण्यज्ञानि मेयानि ॥

The Manuṣyālayacandrikā<sup>234</sup> states:—

.... अप्रतारः ।

दण्डारूयश्चौयमेतेन च कुहचिदथो मीयते दारुक्छप्तौ
कड्यस्तम्भाप्रतारोऽप्यथ तदवयवकरूपने दण्डसंजः ॥

According to this text, the term is to be applied with reference to the nature of the pillar, wooden or otherwise.

The Silparatna<sup>235</sup> states: —

कुड्यम्तम्भायविपुरुं यत् तद्दण्डमिति स्मृतम् । तेन मेयानि सर्वाणि विमानांशानि सर्वशः॥

Here the application is restricted to the top-measure of pilaster. The Kāśyapaśilpa, Mayamata and Mañjarī, on the other hand, observe that Daṇḍa is the top-measure of the pillar and do not use the term in the restricted sense.

Thus the Kāśyapaśilpa<sup>236</sup> says:—

अप्रपादविशालं तु दण्डमित्यभिधीयते ॥

The Mayamata<sup>237</sup> observes:—

पादाप्रविपुरुं यत्तु तद् दण्डमिति कथ्यते ॥ सर्वाण्यङ्गानि हम्यीणां मानयेद् दण्डमानतः।

The Mañjarī<sup>238</sup> in similar strain employs it with reference to the top-measure of a regular pillar:—

## पादाप्रविष्कम्भमुशन्ति दण्डम् ॥

- 233. Gurudevapaddhati (T. S. S. Ed.), Uttarārdha, Ch. XXXI.
- 234. Manusyālayacandrikā, Ch. V, st. 24 (T. S. S. Ed.).
- 235. Silparatna (Part I, T. S. S. Ed.), Ch. XXI, 46.
- 236. Kāšyapašilpa (Ānandāśrama Series), Paţala VI, 15(2).
- 237. Mayamata (T. S. S. Ed.), Ch. XV; 28.
- 238. Prayogamañjari, Paṭala VI (Palm Leaf Ms., Adyar Mss. Library, Madras).

#### STANZA 11.

Upapīțha, an optional member beneath the Adhisthana.

The author now proceeds to treat of the proportions of the 'Upapīṭha'. The term 'Upapīṭha' is derived from 'Upa' (under) and 'pīṭha' (seat). It refers generally to 'pedestal' of columns, platform of thrones and seats of images. But the member is frequently constructed beneath the 'Adhiṣṭhāna' or basement of the temple. Here, in our context, the term 'Upapīṭha' refers to the structure beneath the basement. This structure is not treated by Hindu architects as an indispensable part of the temple, for, as we have noted already, the principal parts of a temple, according to all authorities on Indian architecture, are six in number beginning with the 'Adhiṣṭhāna' (the basement) and ending with the 'Stūpikā' (the finial). The following stanzas from the Gurudevapaddhati, 239 for instance, will illustrate the point:—

उच्छ्ये चाष्ट्या भक्ते स्यादिषष्ठानमंशतः ॥ स्तम्भोत्सेधस्तु भागभ्यां प्रस्तरश्चेकभागिकः । कण्ठश्चांशेन शिखरं द्वाभ्यां स्थूपिस्तथांशतः ॥ एवं धामैकतलकं .... ।

The above division does not include the Upapīṭha in the height of the temple. The height is measured from the basement to the finial exclusive of the Upapīṭha, which may be built, if desired, below the basement. Thus the basement forms the first member in the architectural division of an Indian temple, and the term 'Adyaṅga'<sup>240</sup> which is employed as a synonym of 'Adhiṣṭhāna' clearly indicates that the Upapīṭha is excluded from the list of the principal members of architecture. An Adhiṣṭhāna, it is further stated,<sup>241</sup> may be built with or without an Upapīṭha below. Gurudeva plainly speaks of the optional character of the Upapīṭha in the following lines: <sup>242</sup>—

<sup>239.</sup> Gurudevapaddhati, (Part III, T. S. S. Ed.), Uttarārdha, Paṭala XXX, Stanza's 60, 61, 62, for similar treatment, also vide the Mānasāra (P. K. Ācārya's Ed.), Chapters XIX, XX, Silparatna, Chap. XXXVII, and other places where proportions of the main parts are given in relation to the total height of the temple.

<sup>240.</sup> Gurudevapaddhati, Uttarārdha, Paṭala XXX, 66; also vide Kāmikāgama, LV, 202.

<sup>241.</sup> Mayamata, Chapter XXII, St. 33: सोपपीठमधिष्ठानं केवलं वा मसूरकम् ॥

<sup>242.</sup> Isanagurudevapaddhati, Uttarardha, Patala XXX, st. 68, 69(1).

" पूर्वमुक्तप्रकारेण स्थले हब्तरं चिते
गर्भन्यासं च कृत्वादावुपपीठं तु योजयेत् ॥
अधोऽधिष्ठानकानां स्याद्रपपीठं भवेद् यदि ॥"

The option allowed in the case of the *Upapīṭha* indicates that it is not an indispensable member like the six main constituent parts, Adhiṣṭhāna (basement), Pāda (pillar), Prastara (entablature), Gala (neck), Śikhara (head), and Stūpi (finial). But, the Upapīṭha, when employed at the bottom of the basement, serves in three distinct ways and this three-fold function is described in the *Mayamata*<sup>243</sup> in the following lines:—

अधिष्ठानस्य चाधस्तादुपपीठं प्रयोजयेत् । रक्षार्थमुन्नतार्थं च शोभार्थं तत् प्रवक्ष्यते ॥

And in the Gurudevapaddhati<sup>244</sup> in the following stanza: —

अधोऽधिष्ठानकानां स्यादुपपीठं भवेद यदि । उन्नत्यर्थे च शोमार्थे रक्षार्थं च विशेषतः ॥

Thus, it is clear from the foregoing references, that the Upapītha, according to architectural authorities, is not an indispensable member like the Adhiṣṭhāna, but a member that is left to the choice of the architect who desires to raise the height of the structure in order to give it an imposing appearance or add to its stability and repose or create situation for the exercise of his decorative skill.

Architecture, in the view of Indian builders, is not the science of building simply where principles are determined by the ends of edifice merely. It is an art which takes into account considerations of beauty and grandeur. Aesthetic qualities such as size, proportion and ornament are essential in a really fine building; for, the structure attains perfection only when these aesthetic elements are combined with the structural ones. Size excites in man the feeling of wonder, and height impresses him with a sense of majesty of human power. Proportion, which concerns with the dimensions of a building with respect to its several parts, gives the structure an appearance of stability and nice repose. Ornament is a source of pleasure to the eyes, and its absence betokens of an unpleasing poverty or baldness of human spirit. For, "ornament

<sup>243.</sup> Mayamata, Chapter XIII, 1.

<sup>244.</sup> Gurudevapaddhati, Uttarārdna, Patala XXX, Stanza 69.

is the flower-garden of human spirit, which it delights to tend." Indian architectural authorities lay emphasis on the three qualities of ' $Rak s \bar{a}$ ' (stability or security), Unnati (height) and  $S \bar{o} b h \bar{a}$  (beauty) in their theory of the art of architecture. Upapīṭha accordingly appears as an element born of certain aesthetic considerations and is consequently not a purely indispensable constructive member. Its presence or absence is regulated by requirements which are chiefly aesthetic in character.

Rām Rāz observes: "Western architects consider the base, not as a distinct member, but as a constituent part of the column; and this is not altogether at variance with the practice of Hindu architects, for they likewise include the base and capital in taking the height of the pillar, and even consider the pedestal as a necessary part of the order."245 Raz does not seem to us to convey in clear and unmistakable terms the idea he intends to convey when he says that they 'even consider the pedestal as a necessary part of the order.' If by 'necessary' he means 'indispensable', then his statement is at variance with the texts we are considering. He appears inclined to the view that Upapītha is an indispensable part of the structure when he states: "The Hindu orders may be said to consist of four principal parts, namely, the Upapitha or pedestal, the Adhisthana or base, the Stambha or pillar, and the Prastara or entablature."\* The main parts, as we have observed more than once, are six in number and Rāz does not fail to take notice of these six principal divisions. For states he: "The height of vimanas is measured from the base to the apex, exclusive of the pedestal below, and is equal to one and a half of its breadth. Let the whole height be divided into eight equal parts; give one to the adhisthana (base), two to the pada (pillar), one to the prastara (entablature), one to the grīvā (the neck of the dome), two to the śikhara (cupola), and one to the stūpi (pinnacle)."246 If the pedestal is considered indispensable in a structure, how is it that it is not included in the architectural division set forth above? Moreover, if an Upapīțha is supposed to form a principal part like the Adhisthana, how is it that the synonym 'Adyanga' is applied to the Adhisthana and not to the Upapītha, which is placed at the bottom of the Adhisthana? The Prayogamañjari. an important source of our writer, does not refer to the Upapītha, whereas it would have received proper attention if it had been considered as a principal member of the structure. When employed, it is given a position beneath the Adhisthana, the first part of a structure from its bottom. It is not considered as an essential part, as essential as the structural part Adhisthana and hence it is not seen treated as a compulsory and necessary

<sup>245.</sup> Rām Rāz, Essay on the Architecture of the Hindus, p. 22 (Italics ours).

\* Ibid.

<sup>246.</sup> Rām Rāz, Essay on the Architecture of the Hindus, p. 52.

part of the structure in the *Prayogamāñjarī*. It is not possible, therefore, to maintain that the Upapīṭha forms an indispensable part of a temple. There is no textual authority, as far as we see, which warrants such a view. The optional nature of the Upapīṭha, on the other hand, is clearly and unmistakably revealed by the phrase 'योजयेद्वा' which our author employs. The optional character of the Upapīṭha expressed by our writer's statement is in agreement with all the authorities we have consulted in this connection.

The varied proportions of height as set forth in this stanza are in close agreement with those laid down elsewhere in the Mayamata and Kāśyapaśilpa. Thus in the Mayamata<sup>247</sup> it is stated:—

समं त्रिपादमधे वा पञ्चांशद्वधंशमेव वा। सपादं वाथ साधे वा पादोनद्विगुणं तु वा॥ द्विगुणं वा प्रकर्तव्यमात्ताधिष्ठानतुङ्गतः॥ आत्ताधिष्ठानतुङ्गाद् द्विगुणमथ समं साधमधे त्रिपादम्। पञ्चांशद्वधंशकं वानलसमभिजते द्वधेकमत्रोपपोठम्॥

In the Kāśyapaśilpa<sup>248</sup> the following lines are found:—

स्वाधिष्ठानसमोचं वा त्रिपादं वार्धमेव वा । पश्चभागेऽभिभागं वा सपादं सार्धमेव वा ॥ पादोनद्विगुणं वाथ द्विगुणं वा विशेषतः । एवमष्टविधं ख्यातमुपपीठोच्छ्यं द्विज ॥

On the basis of the texts quoted above and on the strength of the authority of the commentary 'Vivaraṇa,' where पादांशनृद्ध्याः is interpreted as अर्थाशेन विषादांशन इसारम्य पादोनद्विग्रणेन नेसर्थ:, <sup>249</sup> the proportions laid down for the height of the Upapīṭha are ½, ½, ½, ¾ of or equal to or 1¼, 1½, 1¾, or 2 times the height of the basement. According to one Malayālam commentator K. Nīlakaṇṭhan Āśāri,<sup>250</sup> however, the height of the Upapīṭha is ⅓, ⅙ of or 1½ or 1¾ or 2 times the height of the

<sup>247.</sup> Mayamata (T. S. S. Ed.), Ch. XIII, 2, 3, 22.

<sup>248.</sup> Quoted from the *Vimarśinī*; compare the *Kāśyapaśilpa* (Ānandāśrama Series), Paṭala V, sts. 1, 2, 3.

<sup>249.</sup> Tantrasamuccayavivarana (Ms. Govt. Orient. Mss. Library, Madras, Ms. R. No. 1994).

<sup>250.</sup> Tantrasamuccaya with Kerala Commentary (S. T. Reddiar and Sons, Quilon), p. 12.

Adhisthāna. There is thus some difference in the interpretation of the part 'Pādāmśavṛddhyā', but the former interpretation by the disciple of the writer, which is also in consonance with the proportions clearly laid down in previous texts, seems to be the more complete and the more authoritative.

The Mānasāra prescribes the following variety of heights to the Upapītha according to the magnitude of the edifices in which they are employed. Here the Mānasāra deviates much from the general line of prescription. The rules of proportion are embodied in the lines quoted below:—

- Line 3. एते (तम्) तत्त्वमिष्ठानं तुङ्गं तच्चतुरंशकम् ।
  विभजेत्त्वादिमांशेन ए(चे)कैकांशं (श)विवर्धनात् ॥
  तदष्टांशावसानं स्याज्जन्मादिपिष्टकान्ति(न्त,कम् ।
  एवं हि चोपपीठोचं नविभर्भेदमीरितम् ॥
  अथवा द्वादशान्तं वा मध्यभूम्यन्तिकं कमात् ।
- Line 8. अथवा क्षुद्रहर्म्ये तु चतुर्भागांशमु(गसमो)न्नतम् ॥ द्विभागं वा त्रिभागं वा चतुर्भागमथापि वा । पश्चा(श्च)दशोदयं वापि रिन्ति(शान्ति)कादिशरोन्नतम् ॥
- Line 11. अथवा मध्यहर्म्ये तु द्विभागं वा त्रिभागिकम् । चतुर्भागं पञ्चभागं षड्भागावसानकम् ॥ शान्तिकं सर्वभूम्य(काम्या)न्तं पञ्चधोतुङ्गमोरितम् ।
- Line 14. अथवा मुख्यहर्म्ये तु त्रयं वा चतुरंशकम् ॥ पद्मांशं वा षडंशं वा सप्तांशं वावसानकम् ।
- Line 16. एवं पश्चविधं प्रोक्तं शान्तिकादिशरोन्नतम् ॥261

The loose and dubious manner in which Mānasāra expresses himself renders any clear understanding difficult. Dr. Acārya's attempt at translating the lines does not help us in any manner in making out any clear sense; on the other hand, it tends to convey ideas unsuited to the context. The following, probably, is the sense that can be squeezed out of the vague lines:—

Lines 3-7: The Height of the Upapītha (of exceptionally big structures) is  $\frac{1}{4}$ ,  $\frac{1}{8}$ ,  $\frac{1}{12}$ ,  $\frac{1}{16}$ ,  $\frac{1}{20}$ ,  $\frac{1}{24}$ ,  $\frac{1}{28}$ ,  $\frac{1}{32}$  of the height of the basement.

This variety of proportions prescribed for the Upapīthas must necessarily apply to pedestals of structures which are exceptionally large-sized and which do not by virtue of their already big basement require any considerable raising in respect of the height of the basement. If this prescription is intended to raise the height of the basement of the small class of structures, the proportion prescribed is so insignificant that it hardly serves any real purpose.

Lines 8-10: The Height of the Upapīṭha of the Kṣudra or small class of structures:— $\frac{1}{2}$ ,  $\frac{3}{4}$ ,  $\frac{4}{4}$  (i.e.  $\frac{1}{2}$ ,  $\frac{3}{4}$  of or equal to the height of the basement).

Lines 11-13: The Height of the Upapītha of the Madhyama or middling class of structures  $= \frac{1}{2}, \frac{1}{3}, \frac{1}{4}, \frac{1}{5}, \frac{1}{6}$ , of the height of the basement.

The prescription here given, as in lines 3-7, is regressive in order. Prof. P. K. Ācārya<sup>252</sup> interprets 'dvibhāgam' 'tribhāgikam' etc. as two parts, three parts etc. The question then naturally arises, three parts etc. out of a division into how many parts? The divisor is not stated and as such the interpretation has no textual support. In this case of the absence of any reference to the divisor, 'bhāga' can be interpreted as one part only, and 'dvibhāga' and 'tribhāgika' etc., under such circumstances will have to be understood in the sense of one part out of a division into two parts, three parts etc. That is to say, 'dvibhāga' may be interpreted as half, 'tribhagika' as one-third etc. Here, the numerals 2, 3 etc., are to be taken in the sense of ordinals on the analogy of expressions like 'tribhāga.' In expressions like 'tribhāga' which are commonly found in literature, the former numeral 'three' is understood in the ordinal sense of a 'third'. Such interpretation is not unusual in Sanskrit language, 253 and on the model of 'tribhāga' the interpretation of 'tribhāgika' as one-third, 'caturbhāga' as one-fourth, in the absence of any explicit reference to the divisor, is not improbable. Perhaps, another alternative interpretation may be suggested in the wake of the division set forth in line 8. This is by taking the largest numerals, 6 in the case of Madhyaharmya and 7 in the case of Mukhyaharmya, as the divisor that is probably implied. This implication, if granted, 'divibhāga,' 'tribhāgika' will have the ordinary sense of two parts, three parts etc. and the height of the Upapītha of

<sup>252.</sup> Mānasāra, Translation by Ācārya, vide Translation of the relevant lines. 253. Compare for instance "Cakitahariņī harinetratribhāgaḥ" in Dhvanyā-lōka—Udyōta III, Illustration 3.

the Madhyaharmya will be  $\frac{2}{3}$ ,  $\frac{2}{3}$ ,  $\frac{4}{3}$ ,  $\frac{4}{3}$ ,  $\frac{2}{3}$ ,  $\frac{2}{3}$ ,  $\frac{2}{3}$ ,  $\frac{2}{3}$ , or equal to the height of the basement, and that of the Mukhyaharmya  $\frac{3}{7}$ ,  $\frac{4}{7}$ ,  $\frac{5}{7}$ ,  $\frac{6}{7}$ , of or equal to the height of the basement. This explanation is only a conjectural one. Of the two alternative tentative interpretations that we have suggested, the former seems to be the more probable and in tune with the principle that the greater the magnitude of the edifice the lesser is its need for any addition in height, and consequently the smaller is the proportion prescribed.

Lines 14-16: The height of the pedestal of Mukhyaharmyas (probably large class of buildings) is  $\frac{1}{3}$ ,  $\frac{1}{4}$ ,  $\frac{1}{5}$ ,  $\frac{1}{6}$  or  $\frac{1}{7}$  of the height of the basement. According to this interpretation of the lines, the height of the pedestal, in any case, does not exceed the height of the basement in the view of Mānasāra. The conjectural interpretation attempted by Rām Rāz in his Essay needs to be revised. Rāz expresses at the outset the difficulty he experienced in understanding Manasara thoroughly. He remarks thus: "He (i.e. Mānasāra) divides the pedestals into three sorts, according to the magnitude of the edifices in which they are to be employed, and makes their height, if I understand him rightly, to consist of from one-quarter to six times the height of the base, and their projections as far as one-third of their own respective heights. But such a loose manner of prescribing rules for the dimensions of architectural members must be considered objectionable, and but little compatible with science and taste."254 The text of Mānasāra as we have considered and interpreted does not permit the propriety of these remarks.

In his Translation of the Mānasāra, Dr. Ācārya renders the term 'Upapīṭha' as "Pedestals of columns." Such a rendering is hardly permissible, as it restricts the application of the term Upapīṭha to pedestals of columns only and excludes from its connotation the pedestal of the structure proper. The trend of the text under observation further renders such a rendering incompatible with the context, as there is no reference at all to columns or their parts in the Chapter on the Upapīṭha. It will be to the point if we ordinarily translate the term 'upapīṭha' by the expression 'Pedestal', in which case the rendering comprehends fully all that the term widely and originally stands for. With reference to the present context, however, we might rightly render Upapīṭhavidhāna as 'chapter dealing with the subject of the Pedestal of temple or Pedestal of structure', but not as 'Pedestals of columns', as is done by Ācārya.

<sup>254.</sup> Rām Rāz, Essay on the Architecture of the Hindus, page 28.

<sup>255.</sup> Mānasāra, Vol. IV, Translation, pp. 123-130.

The projection of the Upapītha functions in enabling the structure to stand securely and stably within its confines. It can be  $\frac{1}{10}$ ,  $\frac{1}{5}$ ,  $\frac{3}{10}$ ,  $\frac{3}{5}$  or half of the height of the basement or it can be measured with reference to the Daṇḍa measure which has been described in the previous stanza as 'ব্যোম্মনান:'. Accordingly the projection will be 1,  $1\frac{1}{2}$ , 2, or 3 Daṇḍas and it extends outwards from the Pāduka of the base, or Jagatī or the outer extension of the pillar. The measure of this projection may be compared with that laid down in the Mayamata, Kāśyapaśilpa and Mānasāra.

Thus the Mayamata observes:-

उत्सेषदशभागे तु एकेनैकेन वर्धनात् ॥
पश्चांशान्तमधिष्ठानजन्माद् बाह्ये तु निर्गमम् ।
दण्डं वा सार्धदण्डं वा द्विदण्डं वा त्रिदण्डकम् ॥
अधिष्ठानजगत्या वा समं तत्पादबाह्यकम् ।
वेदिभद्रं प्रतीभद्रं सुभद्रं च त्रिधा मतम् ॥
256

The Kāśyapaśilpa states: —

दशधा भज्याधिष्ठानमेकद्वित्रिचतुष्टयम् ॥
पश्चांशं वाऽथ निष्कान्तमधिष्ठानस्य पादुकात् ।
[दण्डं वा सार्धदण्डं वा द्विगुणं वा त्रिदण्डकम् ॥
अधिष्ठानाज्जगत्या वा समन्तात् पादबाह्यतः ।]<sup>257</sup>

Mānasāra observes: —

Line 21. सप्ताष्टनवभागं वा दशमेकादशं तथा ।

द्वादशैकार्कभागं वा चतुर्दशांशकमेव वा ॥

पञ्चदशांशकं वापि विभजेतु विशेषतः ।

तत्तद्वागैकभागं वा द्विभागं वा त्रिभागकम् ॥

चतुर्भागं पञ्चभागं वा षट्सप्ताष्टकमेव च ।

Line 26. पूर्ववित्रिर्गमं श्रोक्तं यन्मानोरम्यमानतः ॥

<sup>256.</sup> Mayamata, Chapter XIII, Sts. 3-5.

<sup>257.</sup> Kāśyapa, Paṭala V, St. 3. The bracketed portion is from Śańkara's Vimarśini.

Line 39. अथवा दण्डमानेन चोपपीठस्य निर्गमम् ॥
दण्डं सार्धे द्विदण्डं वा सार्धद्विदण्डमेव च ।

Line 32. त्रिदण्डं चार्घमाधिक्यं ... ।।<sup>258</sup>

The 'aṅgas' referred to here are the mouldings which enter into the composition of the pedestal such as the Pāduka, Jagatī, Kumuda, Gala, Prati and the like. The bare surface is broken up and resting place iscreated for the eyes. The lateral projections thus serve to add beauty to the pedestal and form a source of delight to the eyes. They constitute the chief ornaments of Indian architecture. According to some, the same mouldings which are set in the composition of the basement are also used in the formation of the pedestal. Thus Rām Rāz observes: "Both (the Upapīṭha and the Adhiṣṭhāna) are for the most part composed of the same mouldings; but the most remarkable feature in which they differ is the square dye, which is peculiar to the former." The outstanding illustration of the point may be sought in the Tanjore Temple where the same mouldings are employed in the basement and the pedestal.

Three kinds of pedestals are described in detail in the Mayamata, <sup>260</sup> and Gurudevapaddhati, <sup>261</sup> they are termed there as 'Vedibhadra,' 'Pratibhadra' and 'Subhadra'. The Mānasāra also refers to three sorts called 'Vedibhadra', 'Pratibhadra' and 'Mañcabhadra' and divides each of these into four varieties, each variety differing from the other in formation and in its mouldings. A detailed enumeration of the different parts forming the different kinds of pedestals is further supplied in the Mānasāra. The treatment of this subject by the author of the Tantrasamuccaya is brief and casual compared with that contained in other texts, which devote a separate chapter to the theme of Pedestal. The Kāśyapaśilpa²6² treats of five types called 'Bhadropapīthaka,' 'Pratibhadraka' 'Pratisundara,' 'Saubhadra,' and 'Kalyāṇika.' The projection and parts of the Upapītha, it is remarked here, are like those that make the Adhiṣthāna.\*

<sup>258.</sup> Mānasāra, Chapter XIII, lines 21, 26, 30 to 32.

<sup>259.</sup> Essay on the Architecture of the Hindus, p. 23.

<sup>260.</sup> Mayamata, Chapter XIII, St. 5.

<sup>261.</sup> Isana Gurudevapaddhati, (Part III, T. S. S. Edition), Uttarārdha, Patala XXX. stanza 70.

<sup>262.</sup> Kāśyapaśilpa, Patala V, stanzas 9-27.

<sup>\*</sup> Ibid., stanza 28. अङ्गनिष्कान्तवेशं च अधिष्ठानविधानवत् ॥

#### STANZA 12.

The height of Padma, another optional member beneath the Adhisthana.

This stanza gives the dimension of Padma, which is constructed optionally beneath the Adhisthana, and which occupies the same position in the structural division as the Upapītha, described in the previous verse. It is also known as Padma-Pāduka because, it is situated, when constructed, under Pāduka, the lowest part of the basement. Upānat referred to in the text is a synonym of Pāduka. In the Trivandrum edition of the text, the reading of this term is marked with 'उपान(ड? इ)न्ते' but the editor's suggestion that it must be doubt ' उपानदन्ते ' <sup>263</sup> is acceptable. Upanat is the lowest moulding of the Adhisthana. The member Padma which forms the of treatment in the present verse is to be counted in excess of the height of the building. It is independent of the structure in the inclusion of height and is an accessory element like the Upapītha, and not an essential one. The height of the Padma according to our text is  $\frac{1}{4}$ ,  $\frac{1}{6}$ ,  $\frac{1}{6}$ ,  $\frac{1}{6}$ ,  $\frac{1}{8}$ , or  $\frac{1}{8}$  of the height of the basement. In support of this measurement the following authority is found quoted by Sankara: —

> " अधिष्ठानसमुत्सेधाद वेदांशं दर्शनाष्टकम् । नन्दपातारुभूतांशमेकांशं पद्ममायतम् ॥ पूर्वभूमिगतं पद्मं प्रासादानां प्रशस्यते ॥"

Similar treatment of Padma as an independent element, which is a substitute for the Upapītha is not to be found in the Mayamata, Gurudevapaddhati, Mānasāra etc. Padma, however, is usually seen treated as a part or moulding of the Upapītha or the Adhiṣṭhāna in several treatises. Rām Rāz, aware of its employment as a moulding, thus observes and describes it: "The moulding called Padma, literally lotus, is supposed to resemble a petal of that flower. It is a sort of compound figure, partly convex and partly concave; and its section is composed of two opposite curves, meeting at the bisecting point of a line drawn between the points of recess and projections, and very much resembling the Cima recta and reversa of the western architects. This moulding is distinguished into greater and less, and forms the principal ornament of Indian architecture. It is generally employed in detached pairs in bases and cornices, one facing the other in opposite directions, and is formed upright or the reverse according to its situation, either as a crowning

member of the former or the supporting ornament of the latter. The concave part of it, when placed with its bottom reversed, is often so designed as to project forward or rise up, after having touched, as it were, the fillet below, with a small perpendicular curvature, resembling in shape the petal of the lotus, with its pointed head somewhat inclined towards the top. In some specimens, this moulding is placed at the base of columns, and looks very much like an apophyge or ogre of the Ionic and Corinthian orders, being formed either with a curved line having more or less convexity at the top, or with an upright tangent to the concave part below. It is sometimes made exactly in the form of an ovolo of the western architects."<sup>264</sup>

In our text in the present context, Padma is described as an optional member beneath the basement like the Upapītha and not as one among the mouldings of either the Upapītha or the Adhisthāna. It is thus treated here as a distinctive element. It is called Padma, because it resembles the petal of that flower. Lotus as an ornamental motif figures as a prominent element in the heritage of the artistic glories of India. Rich in its wealth of decorative value, amazing is its symbolical significance, for it represents divine beauty, goodness and purity-As Havell observes: "The shining lotus flowers floating on the still dark surface of the lake, their manifold petals opening as the Sun's rays touched them at break of day, and closing again at sunset, the roots hidden in the mud beneath, seemed perfect symbols of creation, of divine purity and beauty, of the cosmos evolved from the dark void of chaos and sustained in equilibrium by the cosmic ether, ākāśa"265. Continuing, Mr. Havell further remarks on the symbolism of this flower: "The bell-shaped fruit was the mystic Hiranyagarbha, the womb of the Universe, holding the germ of worlds innumerable still unborn. The lotus was the seat and foot-stool of the Gods, the symbol of the material universe and of the heavenly spheres above it. It was the symbol for all Hinduism, as the mihrab was for all Islam."\*

### STANZAS 13, 14, 15.

### Adhişthāna

In these stanzas (13, 14, 15), the author treats of the parts of the Adhisthāna and lays down the rules of their proportion. The term 'Adhisthāna' is derived from the root 'Sthā' (to stand) preceded by

<sup>264.</sup> Rām Rāz, Essay on the Architecture of the Hindus, pp. 23-24.

<sup>265.</sup> Indian Architecture, page 15.

<sup>\*</sup> Ibid.

the preposition 'adhi' (upon). Its derivation as described will be अधि+ स्था + अधिकरणे ह्यूर-अधिशियतेऽत्र ॥ Gurudeva<sup>266</sup> describes the term thus:

> प्रासादस्तु निजैरङ्गैरिधतिष्ठति यं सदा । दृढं शिलादिघटितं तदिधष्ठानसंज्ञितम् ॥

It therefore denotes the object on which the edifice rests (i.e. the basement). The Adhisthana thus is the lowest member of a building, the first from bottom upwards as the synonym 'Adyanga' indicates. It is the strongest, firmest and the most solidly laid, and carries the weight of the remaining parts of the structure built above.

Māsūraka, Vāstvādhāra, Ādyaṅga, Ādhāra, Tala, and Kuṭṭima are some of the synonyms of 'Adhiṣṭhāna' stated in the Silpaśāstras. The synonyms as given<sup>267</sup> in the Gurudevapaddhati are:

मसूरकमिष्ठानं वास्त्वाधारं च कुट्टिमम् । तलं चाद्यक्रमिति च शब्दाः पर्यायवाचकाः

and as stated in the Kāśyapaśilpa<sup>268</sup> are:

धरातलमधिष्ठानमाधारं धरिणी तथा ॥ अवनं पृथिवी भूमिः पर्यायवचनादिभिः ।

Adhisthāna is classified into different types under various denominations on the basis of difference in dimensions of its mouldings or the presence or absence of one or other of its mouldings. The treatment of mouldings is a very important contribution to the elaboration and enrichment of the basement and the stability and impressiveness of the structure. The mouldings afford basis for a great variety of basement, according as they are included in or excluded from the division of the basement. By stretching the basement beyond the line of vertical structure they prevent the superstructure from looking top-heavy. By spreading the basement they provide a larger bearing surface for the distribution of the load of the super-structure and produce an effect of greater stability and strength of the edifice. The lateral projections, again, tend to accentuate the horizontal division, and keep the 'uttara' well within the limits of the basement. They break the monotony in structure, create resting places for

<sup>266.</sup> Išāna Gurudevapaddhati (T. S. S. Ed., Part III), Uttarārdha, Ch. XXX, st. 67.

<sup>267.</sup> Ibid., stanza 66.

<sup>268.</sup> Kāśyapaśilpa (Anandāśrama Series), Patala VI, 12 and 2.1

the eye and provide room for a variety of miniature adornments, and floral and other motifs which lend beauty to the structure. In certain situations as in the form of Paṭṭa or band, the moulding presents flat surface for the profuse use of carved ornament, which enriches and enhances the grace of the building. Over and above the structural function which the mouldings discharge, they are chiefly ornamental in character. They blend in them both the aspects of utility and beauty.

One cannot but marvel at the intellectual and aesthetic endowment of the ancient architects, at whose hands architecture was both a system of construction and a vision of beauty, a system in which are combined in perfect unity both the science and art of architecture. Architecture, it must be remarked, is both a science and an art, and those who think of it in terms of construction merely, give only a very narrow interpretation of the office of architecture. The Hindu builders never contemplated with satisfaction a building which is divorced from ornament. Ornament enters into the very essence of composition and nowhere is the kinship of art and science so well exemplified as in a typically Hindu structure. The intellectual side of design which they exhibited in the mouldings worked out their structural scheme fully and the aesthetic sense which they expressed in these mouldings made their work a thing which is as gracious as it is scientifically perfect. This synthetic attitude which the Hindu builders displayed in their work is the keynote of Hindu culture, for it is evidenced in all other activities of the Hindus.

The various mouldings as they are found referred to in the stanzas 13, 14, 15 and 16 are Pāduka, Jagatī, Kumuda, Gala, Antari, Kampa, Paṭṭikā or Paṭṭa, Prati and Vājana. We shall give below a description of each.

Pāduka (literally means a sandal). In architectural texts, it refers to the lowest moulding of the basement or the pedestal. It is rectangular in shape. It is also known as *Upānat*. 'Janman' is another term which refers to the plinth. It corresponds to the 'plinth', both in the import of the term and the purpose to which it is applied. It forms one of the five main mouldings which are enumerated in the following texts:

(1) Kāśyapa<sup>269</sup>:—
उपानं जगती कुम्भं खण्डं च पट्टिका तथा ।
पञ्चवर्गमिति ख्यातं ॥

<sup>269.</sup> Kāšyapašilpa, Paṭala VI, st. 22. (The Ānandāśrama text reads कुप ; the correct reading is कुम्भ and this is found to agree with the statement of the Silparatna on the subject).

(2) *Silparatna*<sup>270</sup>:—

उपानं जगतीकुम्भं कन्धरं प्रस्तरं तथा । पञ्चवर्गमिति ख्यातमाद्यङ्गानां विशेषतः ॥

(Incidentally, it may be pointed out that ' उपानह् ' is the older form; and 'उपानम् ' used in architectural literature seems to be a corruption resulting from the transfer of 'उपानह्' to the 'a'—declension).

It figures almost universally in the description of the different kinds of basement and should therefore be considered as an important moulding. But there are instances where it is subjected to option. Thus some alternative statements are found according to which 'Upānat' may be dispensed with. Kāśyapa<sup>271</sup>, for instance, observes:—

पादबन्धमिति ख्यातमुपानरहितं तथा ॥ तदेवं पक्षभागे तु उपानं परिकीर्तितम् ॥

The Silparatna<sup>272</sup> similarly states:—

पादबन्धमिदं ख्यातमुपानरहितं तु वा । उपानरहितं सर्वे यथोक्तं प्रकरोतु वा ॥

Of the four types of basement described in the *Tantrasamuccaya*, the last two begin with the moulding called 'Jagatī,' and not Upānat. Upānat differs from Jagatī in the extent of projection as well as height.<sup>273</sup>

Jagatī:—This moulding of the basement or pedestal, rectangular in form, stands out beyond the Mānasūtra as much as it is high. The Vivaraṇakāra tells us that it is a tall type of moulding which is rectangular in shape. 'जगती नामोधनत्त्रशाकारा'. It is referred to by our author in all the four varieties of basement described and hence forms one of the prominent mouldings in the view of Nārāyaṇa. It also finds frequent mention in the Kāṣyapaṣilpa, Mayamata, Mañ-

<sup>270.</sup> Silparatna, Ch. XIX, st. 3.

<sup>271.</sup> Kāšyapašilpa, Patala VI, st. 35(2), 39(2).

<sup>272.</sup> Silparatna, Ch. XIX, sts. 27(2), 38(2).

<sup>273.</sup> Tantrasamuccayavivarana (Ms. R. No. 1994, Govt. Orient. Mss. Library, Madras).

jarī, Gurudevapaddhati etc. in connection with the description of the basement. There is no reference to this moulding in the Mānasāra; and this absence of reference is all the more conspicuous in view of the fact that the list of mouldings given therein is more elaborate than that furnished in other texts.

Kumuda:—Etymologically, the term 'Kumuda' means ('exciting?) what joy!<sup>274</sup> It refers, in ordinary literature, to Nymphaea esculenta, the esculent white water-lily, 'the thing of beauty', a source of 'joy for ever'. In architectural literature, it refers to a moulding of the basement or the pedestal, and belongs to the section of circular mouldings. It is a semicircle projecting from a vertical diameter, and corresponds to the 'astragal' or 'Torus' of the Western architects.<sup>275</sup> Regarding its shape, Kāśyapa describes two forms, circular and octagonal. Adhiṣṭhāna is divided into two main classes by Kāśyapa, known as 'Pratibandha' and 'Pādabandha'. "Kumuda" of the former class is 'circular' and that of the latter class 'octagonal'. Thus it is observed in the Kāśyapa-śilpa: <sup>276</sup>

सर्विषां प्रतिबन्धानां कुमुदं वृत्तमुच्यते । पादवन्धतलानां तु वस्तश्रं कुमुदं भवेत्।।

The Silparatna<sup>277</sup> also states the same thing but further describes the two forms in the following stanzas<sup>278</sup>:

कुमुदोचे षडंशे तु पादबन्धतले पुनः ॥ अधःपष्टं तदेकांशं मध्यपष्टं त्रिभागतः । कर्ध्वपष्टं तथा द्वाभ्यामेवं वाष्टाश्रमाचरेत् ॥ यथा तुल्यत्वमश्राणां तथा वा कारयेत् पुनः । सम्पूर्णगर्भिणीकोडतुल्यं स्यात् प्रतिबन्धके ॥

Kumuda, in the Pratibandha class, is round and resembles, according to the *Silparatna*, the full-blown breasts of a woman in her full pregnancy. In the instance of Pādabandha, it is octagonal; the lower Paṭṭa is one-sixth of the height of the Kumuda, the central Paṭṭa half and the

<sup>274.</sup> Sanskrit-English Dictionary, by Monier Williams.

<sup>275.</sup> Essay on the Architecture of the Hindus, p. 23.

<sup>276.</sup> Kāśyapaśilpa, Patala VI, St. 26.

<sup>277.</sup> Silparatna, XIX, 4, 5.

<sup>278.</sup> Ibid., stanzas 98-100.

upper Patta one-third; or each side of the octagonal moulding may be equal to the other. The Kumuda as described here presents a convex appearance, and corresponds to the 'astragal,' which as defined by Stratton "is a small convex moulding, when plain more often called a bead, and often curved with bead-and-reel enrichment."<sup>279</sup>

Mānasāra,<sup>280</sup> under the class called 'Kumudabandha' refers to purely circular, triangular, hexagonal and octagonal Kumuda.

As described by the disciple of our author, Kumuda is round like a pot: 'कुनुदं कुम्बद्द्रात् '<sup>281</sup>, and this seems to be the most commonly accepted shape. Though the author has not specifically described the shape, from the commentary 'Vivaraṇa,' it appears probable that the view of the commentator is also the view of the writer.

The projection of Kumuda is as much as that of 'Jagatī.' Thus the Mayamata states:— थावज्ञगतिनिष्कानंत तावत् कुमुद्दिनर्गमम् ॥<sup>282</sup> The basement in which Kumuda is absent is called Mañcaka. Says the Silparatnu: 'कुमुदेन विना कार्ये यत् तन्मञ्जकमुच्यते'<sup>283</sup>. Its absence is more to be sought in the case of the basement of human dwellings than in that of the temple, in whose architecture ornamentation is a rule.

Among the mouldings described, Kumuda like Padma, figures prominently and is valued richly both for its form and its symbolic content. Mr. Havell thinks that in its symbolical implication, it embodies the conception of "the Jar which contained the amṛta, or elixir of immortality, the nectar of the Gods; and thus its form was adapted not only to sacrificial vessels, but to the ordinary Indian domestic water-pot, the loṭa. The shape of it was as admirably adapted for making a firm base to a pillar or column as the form of the Nelumbium fruit was suitable for the structural purpose of the capital."284 A serious student of India's art-designs should first of all know the nature of the relationship of Indian Art with Nature. Like all real artists, the Indian artist was a worshipper of Nature, the gracious giver of beauty to humanity. In communion with Nature he felt supreme satisfaction and the charm and softening influence that she exercised on his creative soul found response in his endeavour to re-create those things of beauty which constitute the wealth of

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279. Orders of Architecture by Stratton, p. 43.
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<sup>280.</sup> Mānasāra, Ch. XIV, 77-79.

<sup>281.</sup> Tantrasamuccaya Vivarana (Ms. R. No. 1994, G. O. M. L., Madras).

<sup>282.</sup> Mayamata, XIV, 41.

<sup>283.</sup> Silparatna, XIX, 4.

<sup>284.</sup> Havell's Indo-Aryan Civilisation, page 60.

Nature. Her impact on his creative mind is traceable in his decorative patterns, which he shaped mostly in Nature's mould. In flowers like the Padma and the Kumuda he saw fitting models for the creation of ornamental motifs. The white water-lily, one of the products of Nature in her lavish moods, struck his imagination and kindled in him fine sensibilities. The joy it excited was too deep for words, too profound for expression, as the etymology of the term Kumuda (exciting what joy!) suggests. This thing of beauty, the seat of the charm of the Universal life, was admirably treasured by the Indian artist in his art legacy by fashioning his moulding after the form of this flower. The etymological implication of the term 'Kumuda' testifies to the inner nature of the artist's experience. The Indian artist in his search for beauty was not content with a mere optical beauty. His vision penetrated the interesting outside and entered into the very spirit of the object loved. He felt its power and felt himself part of it. In his relationship with Nature, he rose above simple use of nature to intense love of Nature and discovered in her the charm and loveliness of the Life Universal, charm which is more felt and experienced than expressed or described. This is the meaning, the etymological implication, of the term 'Kumuda'.

Gala (also called by synonyms such as Kandharā, Grīvā and Kantha) literally means the neck. This moulding, rectangular in form, is employed between mouldings. Its chief office is to connect or to separate mouldings, by virtue of its position always between them. According to a Malayalam commentary<sup>285</sup> on the Tantrasamuccaya, Gala is conspicuous by the absence of any projection, for it is the only moulding that has no projection. This point has been stressed there and particularly stated, though there is no obvious reference to it in the text on 'Projections.' All mouldings as stated in the stanza on Projection 'यावत खायोचमानम्' etc. have their projection started from the outer limit of the Manasutra, which is in other words, the extent of the 'uttara.' Gala, which has no projection, naturally would end, corresponding to the outer limit of the 'uttara'. It might be consequently observed that the projections of the rest of the mouldings might be measured from the outer limit of this member 'Gala.' Rām Rāz agrees on this point when he remarks: "and.....it (i.e. Gala) serves as a sort of neutral member, from which the projections of the rest of the mouldings are measured."286 Two Malayalam commentators K. Nila-

<sup>285.</sup> Govt. Oriental Mss. Library, Madras, Ms. R. No. 4128.

<sup>286.</sup> Rām Rāz, Essay on the Architecture of the Hindus, page 25.

kanthan Aśāri<sup>287</sup> and K. Dāmodaran Nambūdirippād,<sup>288</sup> however, are at variance on this point; they include Gala in the list of mouldings having projection. The remarks of Rām Rāz and the first mentioned Kerala commentator (the author of the Malayālam Commentary, Ms. G.O.M.L.) appear more probable and consistent with the distinctive function that Gala discharges as a link between two mouldings.

Antarita:—, as its etymology suggests, comes between two mouldings. It is an intermediate moulding, separating other mouldings. K. Nīlakanthan Āśāri and K. Dāmodaran Nambūdirippād and others do not treat it as distinct or different from Gala, already described. They take it as identical with Gala, and call it by the other term Gala. If we identify it with Gala, then we have to take it as a neutral member which has no projection or recession. But Rām Rāz speaks of its recession when he says that it has as much recession as the Ālinga has projection.<sup>289</sup>

Khanda is also identified with Gala.

Kampa is a small moulding of rectangular section, employed in a variety of positions, chiefly connecting or separating the principal mouldings. It has the least altitude, and it distinguishes itself from Gala in that it possesses projection. Its projection is usually equal to its height, but it can vary according as grace demands. It corresponds to the fillet of the western architects.

Patta or Pattikā: — signifies the band, which is generally associated with other mouldings such as Kumuda, Gala and the like. It is a flat moulding and presents a situation for the enrichment and adornment of the basement with ornamental motifs like Makarāsya, Simha etc. When repeated, the upper band is known as "Ūrdhvapattikā" and the lower band "Adharapattikā." That which has greater height and projection is called 'Mahāpaţţīkā' and that which has smaller proportion 'Kşudrapaţţikā.' Sometimes it appears as the top-most moulding of the basement. It has projection which is generally equal to its height; but, it frequently may have projection which is three-fourth, half or even one-fourth of its altitude as taste requires. Its height and projection are greater than the height and projection of the Kampa. When employed in pedestals and basements, it is scarcely distinguished from the moulding called Vājana. Thus Rām Rāz remarks: "It is often confounded with the moulding called Vājana, especially in pedestals and bases, as it appears to be of the same form, to be used in the same situation, and to have the same height and

<sup>287.</sup> Tantrasamuccaya (Malayālam Ed. published by S. T. Reddiar and Sons, V. V. Press, Quilon).

<sup>288.</sup> Tantrasamuccaya (Malayalām Ed. published by K. V. P. Press, Kunnam-kulam).

<sup>289.</sup> Essay on the Architecture of the Hindus, page 25.

projection with the latter; but when employed in architraves and friezes, its height and projection increase considerably."<sup>290</sup>

Prati:—This moulding, rectangular in form, figures sometimes as a crowning moulding; but usually it appears in association with the crowning moulding called Vājana. Thus in almost all varieties of Pratibandha class described in the Kāśyapaśilpa it is found employed in company with the crowning moulding Vājana. In measurement it either equals or excels the Vājana. Thus it may be distinguished from the Vājana by the greater height it commands over it. Generally as evidenced from the Kāśyapaśilpa and Mañjarī and other works, it is placed next to the Vājana (i.e. just below Vājana); but our author places it above the Vājana in the type 'Pratyutpannakrama' as he prefers to call it. In the Malayālam rendering no line of distinction is drawn between Prati and Paṭṭikā; both the terms are translated by the common expression Paḍi in Malayālam. The rule of projection is as described under the note on Pattikā.

Vājana: —This moulding called Vājana is treated as the top-most or crowning moulding of pedestals and basement.<sup>291</sup> In the final variety called Pādabandha, our author also treats it as the crowning moulding. It is rectangular in form, like the Kampa, but is distinguished from the Kampa by the greater projection that is given to it. The general rule of projection is applicable to this moulding as well, but compared with the Kampa, its dimension is found increased in view of its importance as the crowning moulding of the basement.

The several mouldings, as they are referred to in the course of the description of the basement in the Kāśyapaśilpa, Mayamata, Mañjarī, Gurudevapaddhati and Mānasāra, may be compared with those found mentioned in the Tantrasamuccaya. We shall give below a list of those mouldings which we meet with in the course of our reading of each text on the basement. We have included here mouldings major as well as minor and have not drawn any line of distinction between the major class and minor class. While going through the detailed description furnished in each text, it will be remembered that the minor mouldings are generally found repeated, if repetition were found necessary.

In the Kāśyapaśilpa and other texts the following mouldings as included in the accompanying table are found referred to:—

<sup>290</sup> ibid

<sup>291.</sup> Vide the list of mouldings furnished in the Kāśyapaśilpa under Pratibandha class in the Mañjarī and Gurudevapaddhati.

I. Kāśyapa.	II. Mayamata.	III. Mañjarī.	IV. Gurudeva.	V. Mānasāra.	
Pāduka. Janman.		Pāduka.		Pāduka.	
••	Vapraka.		••	Vapraka.	
Jagatī.	Jagatī.	Jagatī.	Jagatī.	••	
Padma.		••	Padma.	Padma.	
Kumuda.	Kumuda.	Kumuda.	Kumuda.	Kumuda.	
Kumbha.	Kumbha.	• •	••	Kumbha.	
••	Kapota.	••	••	Kapota.	
Gala	Kandhara— (Synonym of Gala).	Gala	Gala	Gala	
Antarita Khanda.	Antari.	Antari. Khaṇḍa.	Antari.	Anteri.	
Kampa.	Kampa.	••	Kampa.	Kampa.	
Āliṅga.	Alinga.	Āliṅga.	Alinga.	Āliṅga.	
Paţţa or Paţţikā.	Paṭṭa or Paṭṭikā.	Paţţikā.	Paţţikā.	Paṭṭa or } Paṭṭikā. }	
Prati.	Pratimukha.	Pratimukha.	••	Prativājana.	
Vājana.	Vājana.	Vājana.	Vājana.	Vājana.	

Sometimes Pāduka is referred to by its synonym Upānat; Padma by its synonyms Ambuja, Kamala, Paṅkaja or Abja; Kumbha by its synonyms Ghaṭa and Kalaśa; Gala by its synonyms Kaṇṭha and Kandharā. Some more mouldings found mentioned in the Mānasāra and not mentioned in the Kāśyapaśilpa, Maya, Mañjarī and Gurudeva are:—Karṇa, Gopāna, Kṣepaṇa, Aṃśa, Nimna, Argala, etc.

The four varieties of Adhisthana as described in our text are as stated below:—

I. Unnamed- 24 Parts.	II. Unnamed- 21 Parts.	III. Pratyutpanna- krama. 12 Parts	IV. Pādabandha 12 Parts.
Pāduka—3	Pāduka—3.	• •	• •
Jagatī—8	Jagatī—7.	Jagatī—4.	Jagatī—4.
Kumuda—7	Kumuda—6. Kumudapaṭṭikā-~1.	Kumuda—4. Paṭṭikā—1.	Kumuda—4. Paţţikā—1.
Gala—1%	Gala and Pada—2.	Antari—1.	Kandharā—1½
Kampa—1%	Kşudrapaţţikā—⅓.	Vājana—1.	Vājana—1½.
Gala—1%	••	••	••
Paţţikā—1%	Mahāpaṭṭikā—1½.	Prati—1.	••
Total—24.	Total—21.	Total—12.	Total—12.

The parts mentioned are the result of the division of the total height of the basement, and the mouldings described are to be constructed from bottom upwards.

The types of basement dealt with in the Mayamata are fourteen in number:

# अधिष्ठानं मयः प्राह चतुर्दशविधं पृथक् ॥<sup>292</sup>

They are: 293\_\_\_

- Pādabandha.
- 2. Ugrabandha.
- 3. Pratikrama.
- 4. Padmakesara.
- 5. Puspapuskala.
- 6. Śrībandha.
- 7. Mañcabandha.

- 8. Śrikānta.
- 9. Śrēnībandha.
- 10. Padmabandha.
- 11. Vaprabandha.
- 12. Kapotabandha.
- 13. Pratibandha.
- 14. Kalasabandha.

The description of the fourteen types ends with the following stanza:—

एतानि मेदैस्तु चतुर्दशैव प्रोक्तानि तज्ज्ञैस्तु मसूरकाणि । सर्वाणि नास्यङ्घ्रियुतानि युक्तया दृढीकृताङ्गानि मयोदितानि ॥<sup>294</sup>

The Kāśyapaśilpa refers to over 22 types,<sup>295</sup> and these are broadly classified under the two classes Pratibandha and Pādabandha (or Aṅghri-bandha). Thus states the Kaśyapaśilpa:—

अधिष्ठानं द्विधा ज्ञेयं प्रतिबद्धाङ्घिबन्धनम् । प्रत्येकानां तु भेदेन पोच्यते द्विजसत्तमाः ॥ सर्वेषां प्रतिबन्धानां कुमुदं वृत्तमुच्यते । पादबन्धत्रानां तु वस्त्रश्चं कुमुदं भवेत ॥

The following are the names of the varieties as given there: —

- 1. Pratibandha.
- Pādabandha.
- 3. Prativaktra.

- 4. Pratikrama.
- 5. Ambhojakesara.
- 6. Puspapuskala.

<sup>292.</sup> Gurudevapaddhati (T. S. S. Edition), Part IV, XXXI, 1.

<sup>293.</sup> Mayamata, Chapter XIV.

<sup>294.</sup> Mayamata, XIV, 38.

<sup>295.</sup> Kāšyapašilpa, VI, stanzas 25, 26.

7.	Śrībadhānta.	15.	Karīrabandha.
8.	Mañcamantha.	16.	Kalaśabandha.
9.	Śrīkānta.	17.	Śrīkara,
10.	Śreņībandha.	18.	Sundarāmbuja.
11.	Abjabandha.	19.	Nalinakānta.
<b>12</b> .	Vaprabandha	20.	Śrīsaundarya.
<b>13</b> .	Pratisundara.	21.	Skandaskanda-
14.	Śrīkaṇṭhānta.	22.	Ambujakānta.

The description of these varieties concludes with the stanza: —

एवं त्वनेकभेदेन प्रोच्यते तु धरातलम् । तलोत्सेधमिवात्र स्याद्धीनाधिक्यं न दोषभाक् ॥

The Mañjarî treats of two kinds of Adhisthāna called Pādabandha and Pratikrama.

Gurudeva<sup>296</sup> refers to the classification given by Maya and Parāśara. He thus states:—

> अधिष्ठानं मयः प्राह चतुर्दशिवधं पृथक् । पराशरोऽपि द्विविधं त्रिविधं च परे जगुः ॥ पराशरोक्तं द्विविधं पादबन्धं प्रतिक्रमम् । एकैकं तचतुर्भेदं यतोऽष्टविधमुच्यते ॥\*

The eight types quoted there are: -

1.	Pādabandha.	5.	Pratibandha.
	Vaprabandha.	6.	Nāgabandha.
	Cārubandha.	7.	Śrībandha.
4.	Pușkala.	8.	Kapotabandha.

Mānasāra<sup>297</sup> enumerates not less than 64 different sorts under 19 technical class names:—

1.	Pādabandha.	5.	Padmakesara.
2.	Ugrabandha.	_	Puşpapuşkala.
3.	Pratikrama.		Śrībandha.
4.	Kumudabandha.	_	Mañcabandha

- 296. Gurudevapaddhati (T. S. S. Ed., Part IV), Chapter XXXI;\* Ibid., stanzas 1 and 2.
- 297. Mānasāra, Chapter XIV, lines 10-372.

9. Śrēņībandha.

10. Padmabandha.

11. Kumbhabandha.

12. Vaprabandha.

13. Vajrabandha

14. Śrībhoga.

15. Ratnabandha.

16. Pattabandha.

17. Kaşkabandha.

18. Kampabandha.

and 19. Śrīkānta.

A comparison of these several texts shows that these treatises more or less agree in respect of nomenclature, though they differ in the matter of details connected with the measures of the different basements. Each text adopts its own line of measurement, but in the midst of this variation of details, there is manifested uniformity in respect of terminology. The author of the Tantrasamuccaya follows mainly the Mañjari and Kāśyapaśilpa in the matter of details connected with the proportions of the parts of the mouldings, but he is mostly silent on the side of the terminology relating to the types of basement. With regard to the treatment of mouldings, it might be observed that the mouldings as described in the Tantrasamuccaya are among the major and most commonly accepted ones. In the Tantrasamuccaya, the first two types of basement have no names associated with them. As regards the third type, the author prefers to give his own nomenclature. 'Pratyutpannakrama' is an elaboration or modification of the term 'Pratikrama,' for his statement here is based on the authority of the Manjari which calls the type by the name 'Pratikrama'. In respect of both the proportions of the mouldings of the fourth variety of basement and the denomination thereof, the author is in agreement with the treatment found in the Mañjarī. The second type is also described in the wake of the statement of the Manjari. This type is unnamed in both the works, Tantrasamuccaya and Mañjari. Concerning the treatment of the first variety, it is said in the 'Vimarśinī' that the author has followed Kāśyapa. In the edition of the Kāśyapaśilpa of the Anandaśrama series, however, the stanzas found quoted in the commentary are missing. The description of the Pratikrama type furnished in the Anandasrama edition differs from the description of the same set forth in the text quoted in the commentary. A Malayālam commentary in Manuscript<sup>298</sup> form calls the first two types by the names 'Prakrtikrama' and 'Pādakrama'. This terminology, though fanciful at sight, is yet convenient. It is needles to seek for a fixed nomenclature in this connection, for any difference in denomination or even an omission of it scarcely affects the understanding of the structural aspect of the basement. Any deviation in respect of terminology pertaining to the types on the basis of difference in the details of treatment,

may be passed over without any prejudice to the scientific side of the treatment, in view of the latitude enjoyed by different authorities in the matter of certain details. Authors are at variance in respect of elaborations and modifications, but in the fundamentals of the subject they are found in agreement.

We shall compare the author's treatment of the four types with similar treatment found elsewhere. The following text of the  $K\bar{a}\acute{s}yapa$  quoted in the  $Vimar\acute{s}in\tilde{\iota}^{299}$  may be compared with the description of the first type:—

" अधिष्ठानोत्सेघमत्र चतुर्विंशतिभागतः । त्रियंशं पादुकं विद्यादष्टांशं जगती भवेत् ॥ कुमुदं सप्तभिः कुर्यात् षड्भागं प्रति चोच्छ्यम् । प्रतेरुच्छ्यमेवं तु दशभागे कृते पुनः ॥ त्रिभागं कुमुदं पष्टं स्याद् द्वधंशे कण्ठपष्टिका । त्रियंशेऽन्तरितं तस्या वाजनं च द्वियंशकम् ॥ सिंह्व्यालगजेन्द्रैः स्यात् प्रतिभूषणसंयुतम् । प्रतिक्रममिदं चैव अधिष्ठानोत्तमं विदुः॥"

Compare the stanza - वास्त्वाधार etc. laying down the rules of the second variety with the stanzas of the Mañjarī, quoted below:—

" कुर्यादिधिष्ठानमथैकविंशै(रंशै)विंभक्तं तिथिहस्तगेहे । अंशित्रकैः कल्पितपादुकं च सप्तांशक्छप्तां जगतीं विदध्यात् ॥ षड्भिर्विदध्यात् कुमुदं तथैकभागेन कुर्यादथ पष्टिकां च । आलिङ्गरूपां गलपादमंशद्वयेन सम्यग् विदधीत भूयः ॥ सार्घोशक्छप्तामथ पष्टिकां च क्षुद्राभिधानां च महाख्यपट्टीम् । अध्यर्धक्छप्तां विदधीत सम्यक् कर्तव्यमेवं विधिवत् क्रमेण ॥"

Compare the stanza मास्रे etc., which prescribes the last two types, with the stanzas of the Mañjarī quoted below:—

" उत्सेघं विभजेत् त्रिधान्तिममथो भङ्क्तवा चतुर्घा क्रमा-देकांशे जगतीं परे कुमुदकं भागे विदध्यात् ततः ।

<sup>299.</sup> See the Tantrasamuccaya with Vimarśini, Part I, p. 54 (T. S. S. Ed.).

भागौ द्वावथ पहिकान्तरिगतावन्त्यौ प्रतेः स्यान्मुखं कर्तेव्यं विधिवत्प्रतिक्रमिदं वृद्धिप्रदं वेश्मनः ॥ एकेन कुर्यादथ पहिकां च सार्धेन खण्डान् विदधीत सम्यक्। शिष्टेन कुर्यादथ वाजनं च कर्तव्यमेवं खल्ल पादबन्धे॥"

The treatment of this subject of basement by Indian authorities, when compared with the treatment of the same by Western writers on the subject, it will found that the Indian method of approach furnishes greater room for variations. The following remarks of Rām Rāz are worthy of mention in this connection. He observes: "The Indian pedestals and bases are made more systematically, and afford by far a greater variety of proportions and ornaments, than the Grecian and Roman. In the European architecture, the forms and dimensions of the pedestals and bases are fixed by invariable rules, with respect to the orders in which they are employed; but in the Indian, the choice is left to the option of the artists." 300

#### STANZA 16.

The Projection of Mouldings:—In this verse the author lays down the rules relating to the projection of various mouldings. The projection of mouldings other than the Pāduka proceeds from the outer extremity of what is known as the 'Mānasūtra'. The expression 'Mānasūtra' is composed of two terms 'Māna' and 'Sūtra', the former meaning 'measure' and the latter 'thread'. It refers to the three-fold thread employed to mark the fundamental area of the structure. The process of marking the area is described in the stanza: <sup>301</sup>—

पुत्रामैकतरूद्भवान् करिमतांस्तत्पादनाहान् हढाञ् शङ्कन् प्राग्वदनोऽस्त्रमन्त्रमहितान् मध्यादिशर्वान्तिमम् । दृत्वा कल्पितसालसीम्नि परितः शङ्कद्विसंवेष्टितं स्वास्त्रेण प्रविसार्थ सूत्रमपि गृह्णातु क्षितिं सर्वतः ॥

The Vivaraṇakāra describes the process in the following words:—
परिधिमानजनितायामविस्तारप्रमाणस्थैर्याय दिकाणेषु शङ्कन् नीत्वा चतुर्दिशं सूत्राणि
प्रसारणीयानि स्यः। तदिह मानसूत्रं गृह्मते ॥

<sup>300.</sup> Essay on the Architecture of the Hindus, page 39-40.

<sup>301.</sup> Tantrasamuccaya (T. S. S. Edition), Part I, Patala I, Stanza 54.

<sup>302.</sup> Tantrasamuccayavivarana, Ms. No. 1994, G.O.M.L., Madras.

According to this interpretation pegs are to be driven into the earth at the corners of the four quarters with a view to the marking of the boundary consisting of the length and breadth laid down with reference to the perimeter. These pegs are all strung together on all the four sides by means of the cord strewn out of three silken threads. This string which is employed to mark the area and which runs round the boundary is what is known as the Mānasūtra. The area peg-marked here corresponds to the extent of the Uttara length-wise and breadth-wise. The identity of the extent of both the peg-marked area of the ground-floor and the extent of the Uttara is clearly indicated by the commentator Sankara when he remarks:

#### मानसूत्रात् प्रमाणसूत्रादुत्तरबाह्यादिति यावत् ॥ <sup>308</sup>

The subject of the Mānasūtra is elaborately treated by Kāśyapa.

All mouldings except the Pāduka project from the Mānasūtra. Pāduka is distinct from the rest of the mouldings in that it has the greatest projection, and its projection is measured not from the Manasutra, but from the Jagatīsūtra. The general proportion of projection is that it is as much as the height of the moulding. The expression 'खायोचमान' vields two alternative measurements for the projection of Jagati, one with reference to the Ava formula and the other with reference to the height of the moulding. The term Aya here stands for the Yoni of the Uttara. In the case of a square structure, the same Yoni can be secured for the projection by making the projection eight angulas in extent, or sixteen angulas, or twenty-four angulas and so on, the addition being given by eight angulas. The projection of the Kumuda is equal in extent to the projection of the Jagatī. With regard to the remaining mouldings such as Kumudapattikā, Padma, Pattikā and others, the projection may be given to the extent of its height, or three-fourth or half or one-fourth of its height, according as beauty demands. The expression 'gamayet' is interpreted by the Vivaranakāra in the sense of both projection outwards and recession inwards. According to a Kerala commentary on the Tantrasamuccaya, 304 the moulding Gala is conspicuous by the absence of any projection. The general principle is that the projection given to the various mouldings should be such as would contribute to the beauty of the structure.

<sup>303.</sup> Tantrasamuccaya with Vimarśini (T. S. S. Ed.), Part I, page 56.

<sup>304.</sup> Ms. R. No. 4. 128, Govt. Orient. Mss. Library, Madras.

The following stanzas are found quoted in the Vimarśinī in support of the author's statement:—

" यावत्स्वयोनिरूर्घ्वस्था भवेत् तावद्धि निष्कमः । तत्समं निष्कमं चैव अर्धे पादोनमेव च ॥ यावज्जगतिसूत्रान्तस्तावत् कुमुदर्निर्गमः । अम्बुजानां तु सर्वेषामुत्सेधसमनिर्गमः ॥ वेत्राणां चैव सर्वेषां चतुर्भागैकनिर्गमः । एवं नीत्रकमं शोभोवशात् प्रोक्तं स्वयंभुवा ॥ प्रवेशं निर्गमं कुर्यात् सर्वाङ्गानां मसूरके ॥ "305

With slight modifications in readings, these lines compare with the following lines found stated in the Mayamata:—

" यावज्जगतिनिष्कान्तं तावत् कुमुद्दिन्गमम् । अम्बुजानां तु सर्वेषामुत्सेधसमनिगमम् ॥ दलामतीत्रमुत्सेधात् पादं पादार्धमेव वा । वेत्राणामपि सर्वेषां चतुर्भागैकनिगमम् ॥ तत्समं वा त्रिपादं वा महावाजनिर्गमम् । एवं तीत्रक्रमं प्रोक्तं शोभाबलवशात् तु वा ॥ प्रवेशनिर्गमं कुर्यात् सर्वाङ्गानां मसूरके ॥ " 1806

Compare also the following lines from the Kāśyapa: 307—

" सर्वेषामम्बुजानां तु तीव्रं तुङ्गसमं भवेत् । कम्पानामपि वा शेषं चतुर्भागैकनिर्गमम् ॥ महावाजननिष्कान्तं तुङ्गं तुल्याक्षि एव वा ॥ त्रिपादं वाथ निष्कान्तं यथाबरुवशान्न्यसेत् ॥ "<sup>808</sup>

Functions of Projections:—The treatment of projections and recesses is a matter of absorbing interest to one who views a building as a composition in lights and shadows. The design of mouldings and

<sup>305.</sup> Vimarśini in the Tantrasamuccaya (T. S. S. Edition), Part I, pages 56-67.

<sup>306.</sup> Mayamata (T. S. S. Edition), Ch. XIV, 41-44.

<sup>307.</sup> Kāśyapaśilpa (Anandaśrama), Paṭala VI, 19-20.

<sup>308.</sup> Also compare the Manasara XIV, lines 376, 377, 384.

the relative proportions of their projections are considered so as to fit in with the elaborate play of light and shadows. The intricacy and depth of mouldings, the sharpness and softness of their edges are qualities which lend nicety to structure. The projections and recessions, in other words, are designed as light-catching and shadow-throwing devices. They invite the eye to revel in the beauty of mouldings, and regulate and lead its path. They are not useless ornaments which can be banished from a building totally; their annihilation is sure to leave the structure blank. The element of mouldings combined with the constructive needs of the building obviates unpleasant appearance in structure. In their constructive capacity, the projections impart a feeling of vitality to architecture and lend it an appearance of strength that pleases the eyes. There is no pleasure in seeing a structure in its skeleton look, in which the division beneath bears the load of the portions above. The projections in their functioning the repose of the horizontal lines of the basement the the superstructure stand within the limits of basement. prevent the effect of excessive solidity of the upper construction. They emphasise those parts of the structure which are horizontal in punctuation. In architectural forms, two elements are generally recognised, the horizontal and the vertical. The one is represented by parts such as the columns and the walls and the other by members such as the basement and the entablature. Over-emphasis on the one to the consequent depreciation of the other leads to exaggeration and distortion of architectural forms. The grace of structure is got when both the elements are well balanced as in the case of an Indian temple. It is the distinctive merit of our architecture that it possesses the architectural attribute of immobility; for an Indian temple in which is kept proportion by the balancing of the horizontal and vertical elements is neither soaring to dizzy heights, nor incontinently sliding sideways.309 The horizontal effect requisite in the composition of the basement is produced successfully by the device of the projections of the mouldings of the basements.

<sup>309.</sup> These remarks bear reference to the Sanctum Sanctorum, the main shrine in which is installed the image of worship.

## " **நக்**கீரர் சொல் ''\*

திரு. அ. சிதம்பரநாதச் செட்டியார் அவர்கள், M.A., தமிழ் விரிவுரையாளர், அண்ணும**ுக**கர்.

கக்கீரரால் இயற்றப்பட்டவை என்று சொல்லப்படும் பாச்செய்யுட்க ளாக நாம் அறிபவை புறநானூற, அகநானூற, நற்றிணே, குறந்தொகை ஆகிய தொகைநூல்களில் ஆங்காங்குக் காணப்படும் பாக்களும், திருமுரு காற்றுப்படை, கெடுநல்வாடை என்னும் பெயரொடு பத்துப்பாட்டுத் தொகுதி யிற் காணப்படுபவும், திருவெமுகூற்றிருக்கை, பெருந்தேவபாணி, கோபப் பிரசாதம், கண்ணப்பதேவர் திருமறம், கைலேபாதி காளத்திபாதியந்தாதி, சுங்கோய்மலே யெழுபது, காரெட்டு, போற்றித் திருக்கலிவெண்பா, திருவலஞ் சுழி மும்மணிக்கோவை எனப் பதினேரார் திருமுறையிற் காணப்படுபவும் ஆம். இவற்றிற் காணப்படும் கில சொற்கள் பற்றிய ஆராய்ச்சியே இப் பொழுது கருதப்படுவது. திருவள்ளுவமாலேச் செய்யுளொன்றும், நக்கீரரால் இயற்றப்பட்டன எனச் சொல்லப்படும் கில தனிப்பாடல்களும் சுண்டு ஆராய்ச்சிக்கு எடுத்துக்கொள்ளப்பட்டில.

மேலே மொழியிய எடுத்துக்கொண்டவற்றுள், புறகானூறு, அககானூறு, கற்றிணே, குறுக்கொகை, கிருமுருகாற்றப்படை, கெடுகல்வாடை ஆகியவை ஒருவகை யிலக்கணப்போக்கும் மற்றவற்றுட் பெரும்பான்மைய வேறுகித இலக்கணப்போக்கும் உடையன எனத் தோற்றுகின்றது. பதினோர் கிரு முறையில் அடங்கியிருப்பினுக் திருமுருகாற்றுப்படை, அத்திருமுறையிலுள்ள கக்கீசருடைய பிற செய்யுட்களினின்றும் வேறுபடுகின்றது; திரு வெழுகூற்றிருக்கை, கோபப்பிசசாதம், காசெட்டு என்பனவும் வேறுபடுகின்றபடுகின்றன.

புறாரனு னு முதலாய பனுவல்களினிடையே காணப்படுஞ் கில பொது வழக்குக்களேக் காண்போம். நீ என்னும் முன்னிலே யொருமைப் பெயர் வேற்றுமை யேற்புழி 'நின்' என இவற்றுள் நிற்பதைக் காண்கின்றேம்.

#### உதாரணம்:---

(1) "அரியவும் உளவோ நினக்கே"	(பு <i>ற</i> ம். 56, வரி 16)
(2) " நின்வாய்"	(அகம். 126, வரி 1)

(3) " நின்வயிற்பிரியலம்" (டை 205, வரி 3)

(4) " நின்மாட்டு......பேது ற்றனள்" (டை 310, வரி 5)

<sup>\*</sup> திருப்பதியில் எடைபெற்ற (இந்தியா தேசத்தி) பத்தாவது கீழைக்கமே மாளட்டின் கண் 22-3-40-இல் கிகழ்த்திய ஆராய்ச்சியுரை.

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(5) "கின்னிழல் கழிப்பி"......
                                              (ഐ. 340, ഖரி 2)
                                              (64 340, aif 18)
 (6) " நினக்கே.....சாந்து...அணிகுவம்"...
 (7) " சீஙின் .....பாணனேடு "
                                              (ஷை 346, வரி 12)
                                              (ஷ 369, வரி 11)
 (8) "கின்.....மண்ணல்"
                                               (694 389, and 8)
 (9) "கிற்பாராட்டி"
(10) " நின்.....கதுப்பின் "
                                           (நற்றிணே 197, வரி 5)
(11) " மெல்லிய லரிவை......நின் "
                                               (M4 367, aufl 7)
(12) " நின் .....பசப்பே"
                                       (கு.அக்தொகை 143, வரி 6)
(13) " நின்னளந்தறிதல்"
                                        🕽 (திருமுருகாற்அப்படை
                                            வரி 278, 279)
(14) "கின்னடி உள்ளி வந்தனன்"
                                                 (தெ. வரி 285)
(15) "கின்வண்புகழ்"
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இங்ஙனம் " நின்" என்று வழங்கியதே பழமை என்க. அது பிற்கால்த், தில் " உன்" என்று வழங்கலாயிற்று. தொல்காப்பியர் காலத்தே " நாம்" என்பதே வழங்கிற்று என்பது,

" நம்மின் திரி பெயர் விளைவின் பெயரென்று அம்முறை யிரண்டும் அவற்றியல் பியலும்" (சொல். 143)

என்னுஞ் சூத்திரங்களால் அறியப்படுவது. '' நும்'' என்பது வருமொழியின் முதற்கண்வர நிஃமொழியீற்றில் ஒரு னகரம் இருப்பின், அது " னும்" என மாறுதல் கண்கூடு. "னும்" என்பதை "ன்+உம்" எனப் பிரித்தலுங் கூடுமன்*ளே* ? அங்ஙனமே பிற்காலத்தார் மயங்கிப் பிரித்தார்போலும்! பு நான னூற 58-ஆஞ் செய்யுளில் " இன் னுங் கேண்மினும் மிசை வாழியவே" என ஓரடி வர்துளது. அதனே "கேண்மின் நம் இசை" எனவும், "கேண் மின் உம் இசை" எனவும் பிரித்தல் கூடுமன்றே? தும் இசை யெனப் பிரிக்க வேண்டியவாறு பிரிக்காத், உம் இசை பென்றுற்போலப் பிழைபடப் பிற் காலத்தார் செலர் பிரித்து ஓதிஞராக, "உம்" என்பதே தக்க சொல் என நாளடைவில் மயங்கி, அதண்யே பலர் ஆளத்தொடங்கியிருத்தல் வேண்டும். ஆகலின் பழஞ் செய்புட்களிற் காணப்படாத "உம்" என்ற இவ்வழக்கு புறான ஹாறு முதலான தொகை நூல்களில் உள்ள நக்கீரர் பாடல்களிற் காணப் "எம்" என்ற பன்மைத் திரிபெயர்க்கேற்ப "என்" என்ற ஒருமைத் திரிபெயர் உளதாதல் போலவும், " தம் " என்ற திரிபெயர்க்கேற்ப " " தன் '' என்பது உளதாகல் போலவும், " உம் '' என்ற பன்மைத் திரிபெயர்க் கேற்ப " உன் " என்ற ஒருமைத் திரிபெயரும் உளதாதல் வேண்டும் என்னும் பிறழ்ச்சி யுணர்வாற் பிற்காலத்தே " உன் " என்பது பயிலத்தொடங்கி யிருத் தல் வேண்டும். ஆகனின், புறகானூற முதலிய பாடற்றெகைகளிற் காணப் . படாத " உன் " பிற்காலப் பாடல்களிற் காணப்படுவதாயிற்*று.* 

**" கீயென் ஒருபெயர் கெடுமு**தல் கு*று*கும்

*ஆ*வயின்னகாம் ஒ*ற்று*கும்மே ''

(எழுத்து. 179)

என்னுர் தொல்காப்பியச் சூத்திரத்தான், நின் என்பதே பண்டை வழக்கு என்பது தேறப்படும்.

திருக்கண்ணப்பதேவர் திருமறத்தில் " உன் " என்பது ஆளப்பட்டுளது என்று பின் வருபவற்றுல் அறியலாம்:—

(1) உற்றது கேட்டருள் உன்றனக்கு அழகா (வரி 79)

(2) என்றும் உன்றனக்கினிதே (வரி 87)

(3) அவியே இது வெனக்கு; உனக்கு.....காட்டுவன் (வரி 113)

" உம் " என்பது கைஃபோதிகாளத்திபாதியர்தாதியில் ஆளப் பட்டுளது :—

" உம் ஆவிதன்ணேக் குடைந்துண்ண எண்ணிய வெங்கூற்றம் " (3-ஆம் செய்யுள்)

இப்பனுவல்களில் வரும் இவ்வழக்கு ஈக்கீரர் இயற்றிய புறநானூற்றுப் பாடல் கள் முதலானவற்றுட் காணப்படுவதொன்றன்று.

இனி, று என்னும் விகு கிமுன் அன்சாரியை வந்து விணமுற்றுக்கள் முடிவுபெறுவது அகநானூற முதலாய பழைய கொகைநூல்களில் வரும் நக்கீரர் பாடல்களில் மிக்குக் காணப்படுகிறது. கிருமுருகாற்றுப்படை யொழிந்த பிற பதினோர் கிருமுறைச் செய்யுட்களில் இவ்வழக்கு நக்கீரரால் ஆளப்பட்டிலது.

#### உதாரணம்:---

- (1) வண்ணங்கொண்டன்று கொல்லோ (அகம். 57, வரி 13)
- (2) கல்சேர்க்தன்றே பல்கதிர் ஞாயிற (டை 120, வரி 5) (3) துதல் பசக்தன்றே (டை 227, வரி 1)
- (3) நுதல் பசர்தன்றே (டை 227, வரி 1) (4) நேதக்கன்றே (குறர்தொகை 78, வரி 4)
- (5) விரிந்தன்று (திருமுருகாற்றப்படை, வரி 92)
- (6) கொடுத்தன்று ( தை. வரி 94)
- (7) வேட்டன்று ( டை வரி 100)
- (8) கூதிர்கின்றன்று (கெடுகல்வாடை, வரி 72)

"அர், ஆர், ப எனவருஉ மூன்றம், பல்லோர் மருங்கிற் படர்க்கைச் சொல்லே" (சொல். 206) என்னுர் தொல்காப்பிய விதியால், அர்கள் ஆர்கள் என்ற வாய்பாட்டிற் பிற்காலத்தில் முடிந்ததுபோல் தொல்காப்பியர் காலத்து முடிந்ததில்லே என்பது புலனுகும். பழைய இலக்கியங்களில் உயர்திணேப் பல்லோர் படர்க்கைச் சொற்கள் "அர்" ஈறபெற்று நின்றனவேயன்றி, "அர்கள்" என இற்று நின்றில. "அர்"மேல் "கள்" அடுக்கிறின்ற சொற் கள் நக்கீரர் பாடிய அகளனூற்றுச் செய்யுள் முதலானவற்றுள் இல்லே

#### உதாரணம் :---

(1) வளங்கெழு கோசர்	(அகம். 205, வரி 9)			
(2) களங்கொள் மன்ளர்	( ,, 227, ,, 11)			
(3) <i>தொடைத்தார்</i> ம <i>ழ</i> வர்	( ,, 249, ,, 12)			
(4) வாடாப்பூவிற் கொங்கர்	( ,, 253 ,, 4)			
(5) கைவண்சோழர்	( ,, 369 ,, 13)			
(6) இ <b>ீன</b> யருஞ்சூடி வர்தனர்	(ந <i>ற்றிணே</i> 367, வரி 10)			
(7) கோயின் றியன் ற யாக்கையர் மாவின்				
<b>் அவிர்,களிர் புரையுமேனியர் அவிர்தெர</b> ு	றும்			
போன் னூரை கடுக்குர் திதஃயர் (திருபு	ந்தாற்றுப்படை 143-145)			
<b>(</b> 8) <i>இருகோட்ட ற</i> வையர்	(கெடுகல்வாடை, வரி 35)			
(9) கூக்தல் மகளிர் கோதை புணயார்	( ஷெ வரி 53)			
(10) யவனர் இயற்றியபாவை	( " "101)			
(11) ஆடவர் குறுகா அருங்கடி வரைப்பு	( ", "107)			
இவற்றின் மா <i>ருக " அ</i> மரர்கள் தலேவணே" என்	அ பெருந்தேவ பாணியிற்			
காணப்படுகின்றது. பதினேராக் திருமுறையிற் கோக்கப்பட்டுள்ள கக்கீரர்				
பாடல்கள் வேறு சிலவற்றுள்ளும் இம்மாறுபட்ட வழக்குக் காணப்படுகின்றது.				
உதாரணம்:				
· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	ாதி காளத்திபாதி. செய். 2)			
(2) கொன்றை சூட்டுமின்கள் ( ,,	,, ,, 36)			
(3) பத்தர்களேக் கண்டால் பணிந்தகலப் பே	ாமின்கள்			
(கைஃபா,	தி காளத்திபாதி. செய். 86)			

- (4) தேவாசுநாகள் (போற்றித் திருக்கலிவெண்பா, வரி 12)
- (5) போருகந்த வானவர்கள் ( ,, ,, ,, 14)
- (6) வானவர்கள் தாம் கூடி ( ,, ,, 18)
- (7) தானவர்கட் காற்ருது தன்னடைந்த **நன்மை வி**றல் வானவர்கள் வேண்ட மயிலூருங்கோனவன் (போற்றித்திருக்கலி வெண்பா, வரி 31)
- (8) கிணக்து கிற்பார்கள்.....அத்தனடி சேர்வார்கள் (போற்றித்திருக்கலி வெண்பா, வரி 44-45)
- (9) நாறுதண் கொம்பரன்னீர்கள் (திருவலஞ்சுழி மும்மணிச்கோவை, செய். 12)

மேலும், நக்கோர் பாடிய செய்யுட்களாகப் புறநானூற, நற்றிணே முத லானவற்றுட் காணப்படுகின்றவற்றில் கின்று, கிறு ஆகிய நிகழ்கால இடை நிக்கள் காணப்பட்டிலவாக, பதிஞோர் கிருமுறையில் அடங்கிய கைஃபாதி காளத்திபாதி யந்தாதியிலும், சங்கோய் மஃயெழுபதிலும், திருவலஞ்சுழி மும்மணிக்கோவையிலும் "கின்று" நிகழ்காலம் உணர்த்த ஆளப்பட்டுள்ளமை காண்கின்றேம்.

#### உதாரணம்:-

(1)	பொழுது கழிக்கின்றுர்	(கை	ஃபா <i>தி</i> . செ	<b>ப். 12</b> )
(2)	த <b>ஃவ் த</b> டு <i>மா அ</i> கின்றேன்	(	"	16)
(3)	<i>காணுது அ</i> லக்கின்றுர்	(	,,	18)
(4)	வெள்ளெ அம்பு பூண்கின்றது	(	,,	51)
(5)	ஒன் <i>ருகி மீண்டு பலவாகி</i> நிற்கின்ருன்	(	,,	67)
(6)	செறிகின்ற தீவிணகள் எல்லாம்போப்	· (	,,	74)
(7)	போகின்ற மாமுகிலே	(	,,	75)
(8)	அடியேற்கு அருளாது			
	ஒழிகின்றது என்பாவமேயன்மே	(	99	76)
(9)	தீ <b>ங்கை</b> யடுகின்ற காளத்தி			
	யாள்வாய் நான் நல்ல	,		
	பணிகின்ற வண்ணம்பணி	(	,,	96)
	பையப்போ என்கின்ற			
(10)	பாவணசெய் ஈங்கோயே	( <i>ஈங்</i> ே	காய்ம <b>‰:</b> செ	ய். 12)
(11)	ஆள்கின்ற <i>அண்</i> ணல்	(திருவ	வலஞ்சுழி. 6	செய். 3)
(12)	கானவர் வாழ்கின்ற சேணெறி	(	,,	12)

திருவெழுகூற்றிருக்கையில் வாசகம், கீதம், பாதம், பாமேட்டி, வேதியன் என்ற வடமொழிச்சொற்கள் வக்துள்ளமையாலும், கோபப் பிரசாதத்தில் கிதி, குபேரன், ஈசன், கோபப்பிரசாதம், பரமன், மூர்த்தி, கரதலம், சிவலோகன், தேவதேவன், பாவராசன், சோதி, சித்திரம், ஞானம், மூர்க்கம், ஆகியவை வர்துள்ளமையாலும், அவ் விரு பிரபர்தங்களும் பிற்காலத் தவையென்று வாதிக்கக் கூடுமாயினும், மேலே கண்ட நால்வகையானும் அவை பிற்காலத் தவையென்று நிறுவ இடமில்லே. கண்ணப்பதேவர் திருமறத்தில் தவம், , தீவகம், புண்ணியபாதம், அர்ச்சண, முத்திரை, மக்திரம், பிரான், குணம், மா*த*வ**ன், லி**ங்கம், கதி என்*ற சொற்க*ளும், பெரு**ர்**தேவபாணியிற் சூலபாணி, நீலகண்டன், பரமயோகி, தேவதேவன், வே<sub>.</sub>தகிதன், பாவநாசன், ப**ர**மேச்சு வான், ஆதிமூர்த்தி, சாதி, சோதி, வேதவிச்சை, புண்ணியமூர்த்தி, பிராணி, கிமலன், ஈசன், தருமன், பிரமன், சுந்தரவிடங்கன், நீதி, வரதன், தீர்த்தம், பத்தி, முத்தி, தேவாதிதேவன், திக்கு என்ற சொற்களும் வடமொழியினின் றி வர்து வழங்கியுள. போற்றித்திருக் கலிவெண்பாவிலும் புண்டரீகம், பாதம், அண்டாண்டம், பூசித்த, வரம், கோபம், மந்திரித்த மந்திரம், தேவாசுரர்கள், சொம், இலிங்கம், சக்காம், வேதம், சேபைதி, அர்தகன், பவம், பாவணே தக்கிணம், மகுடம், போனகம் ஆகிய வடமொழிச் சொற்கள் வக்துள: மூன் ற பொபர் தங்களேயும் மேலே கண்ட நால்வகையான் கோக்குழி, இவை பிற்காலத்தவை என்ற தோற்றுதலால், வடமொழிச் சொற்களே நிரம்பப் பெற்றுள்ளமை அக்கருத்தை வலியுறுத்தும் என்க. ஆணுல், நக்கீரர் பாடிய புறகானூற்றுப் பாடல் ஒன்றில் (189) யாமம் என்பதும், மற்றுென்றில் (56) சடைபென்பதும், திருமுருகாற்றப்படையில் தெய்வம், திலகம், ஙியமம், மக்திரவிதி, கலிங்கம், அங்குசம், வதுவை, மதம், பலி, நகர், யூகம் என்பனவும், கெடுகல்வாடையில் அமயம் (75) தெய்வம் (77) நகர் (90) தசநான்கு (115) கலிங்கம் (134) உரோகிணி (163) யாமம் (186) என்பனவும் வக்துள்ளமை யால், வடமொழிச்சொல் வழக்குண்மை ஒன்றுகொண்டே ஒரு நூலின் காலத்தைத் துணிதல் தக்கதன்றெனத் தோற்றுகின்றது.

எனவே, வடமொழிச் சொற்களேப் பெற்றுள்ளமையால் திருமுரு காற்றப்படை யொழிக்க பதிஞோர் திருமுறைச் செய்யுட்கள் நக்கீரர் பாடியன பிற்காலத்தன என மொழிகின்றுமில்லே. அவை தம்முள், "காரெட்டு" என்ற தஃப்பின்கீழ்க் காணப்படும் வெண்பா எட்டனுள் பாசுப**தன், அரவி**ந்தம், கண்டம், அண்டம், ஆதி என்ற வடமொழிச் சொற்கள் காணப்படுகின்றதொன்று நோக்கியே அது பிற்காலத்ததென்றல் ஆகாது. காரெட்டு, திருவெழுகூற்றிருக்கை, கோபப்பிரசா தம், என்றவற்றுள் "உன்" "அர்கள்" "கின்று" ஆகியவற்றாள் ஒன்றதானும் ஒரிடத்தும் ஆளப்படாமையால் அவற்றை எழுதிய கக்கீரர் இன்னர் எனக் துணிக்து கூற அம் மூன்ற பாச் செய்யுட்களும் திருமுருகாற்றப்படையும் ஓழிக்த எணேய பெருக்கேவபாணி, தெருக்கண்ணப்பதேவர் திருமறம், கைலே பாதி காளத்திபாதி யர்தாதி, திருசுங்கோய்ம‰ யெழுபது, போற்றித் தெருக்கலிவெண்பா, திருவலஞ்சுழி மும்மணிக்கோவை என்னும் ஆறம் என்னுர் தொகைகளிற் காணப்படுஞ் சில பாக்கீளயும், திருமுருகாற்றுப்படை, ெடுகல்வாடை என்னும் இவ்விரண்டையும் இயற்றிய கக்கீரரினும் வேறு பட்டவர் என அறியப்படும். திருவினேயாடற்புராணம் முதலாய புராணங்களிற் காணப்படுங் கதைகள் பொருத்தமற்றப்போகும் என்ற ஒரு செய்தியே கருதிச் சங்கப்புலவராய நக்கிரணுரே பதினோர் திருமுறையி அள்ள ஐயமுறத்தக்க இப்பாக்களேயும் இயற்றி**னர் என**க் கோடல் எத்*துணே*ப் பொருத்த முடைத்து என இனிச் சிந்திக்கவேண்டும்.

நக்கீரர் ஒருவரேயாக, இருவரேயாக; அச்செய்தி ஐயமற இன்னும் கிறுவப்பெறவில்லே யெனினும், மேலே காட்டப்பட்டவாற்றுல் இருவகை நக்கீரர் சொன்னடை பாச்செய்யுட்கண் உள்ளது என்பது மறுக்க ஒண்ண உண்மை என்று அறியப்படும்.

### **BHĀVANĀVIVEKA**

BY

MANDANAMIŚRA

WITH

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### १अन्रोच्यते--

## अनेकार्थत्वमन्याय्यं तेनैकाधिकरण्यतः । करोतिना तिङन्तेषु भावभेदोऽनुमीयते ॥ २७ ॥

३इदानीं सिद्धान्तवादी घात्वर्थातिरिक्तां भावनां सत्तया शब्दार्थतया च समर्थयितु-मुपक्रमते । अत्रोच्यते---

> अनेकार्थत्वमन्याय्यं तेनैकाधिकरण्यतः । करोतिना तिङन्तेयु भावभेदोऽनुमीयते ॥ (इति)॥

अयमर्थः —पचत्यादिपदेषु भावनाभेदोऽभिषेयोऽनुमीयते। कृतो हेतोः १ ऐकाधिकरण्यतः —करोतिना तिङन्तानां पचत्यादीनां 'किं करोति —पचित ' इत्येवं रूपात्।
ननु धात्वर्थसामान्यवचनत्वात्करोतेः तत्सामानाधिकरण्यात्पचत्यादीनां न भावनाविशेषार्थत्वमनुमातुं शक्यते इत्याशङ्कानिराकरण।योक्तं — अनेकार्थत्वमन्याय्यम् — इति।
एकस्य शव्दस्यानेकार्थत्वं न न्याय्यम्। अस्य च करोतेः किचिच प्रयोगे ४भावनार्थत्वं
निश्चितम्। अतः सामानाधिकरण्येऽपि प्रयोगे तादर्थ्यमेव प्राह्मस्, अन्यथा अनेकार्थत्वस्यान्याय्यस्य प्रसङ्गादिति श्लोकस्यार्थः।

ननु अनिश्चितस्वरूपाया भावनायाः कथं शब्दार्थत्वं साध्यते ? नद्मप्रसिद्धे धर्मिणि धर्मिश्चिन्तामहिति । अथोच्येत स्वरूपसद्भाव एवेह साध्यत इति, तदसत्; स्वरूपसद्भाव-हेतोरिहानुपन्यासात्, उपन्यस्तस्य चाहेतुत्वात् । निह करोतिसामानाधिकरण्यं भावनास्व-रूपेण व्याप्तं दष्टम्, येन तत्साधकं स्यात् । अथ मतं ५घटं करोतीत्येवमादौ प्रयोगे धात्वर्ध-

१. 'अत्र' नास्ति—कः

४. भावनारवं—ख.

२. मावामेदो - ग. घ.

९. घटः—च

र<sup>ं</sup> 'सिद्धान्त आरम्यते ' इत्रिषकं वर्वते—खः

सामान्यव्यतिरिक्तेन केनचिदर्शेन भवितव्यम् , स भावनेत्यनेन प्रकारेण भावनाखरूपमि प्रसाध्य ततः करोतिसामानाधिकरण्यात् तिङन्तानामि भावनार्थत्वं साध्यत इति । एतदप्य-सारम् , यतः प्रमाणान्तरेणावगतेऽर्थे शब्दः प्रयुज्यते, न शब्दप्रयोगादेव तत्स्वरूपसिद्धः । अतः प्रमाणान्तरमन्तरेण करोतिशब्दव्यवहारमात्रेण तदर्थतया भावना न १सिध्यति । व्यव-हारमूळत्वेन तद्गोचरे प्रमाणान्तरं १कल्प्यते इति चेत्—मैवम् । तत्प्रमाणान्तरं कल्प्यमानं विशेषतो निरूप्यते वा ? न वा ? न चेत् , असदेव स्थात् । निरूप्यते चेत् , तदेव वाच्यम् । न चोच्यते । तस्मात् किमत्र क्रियते इति न ज्ञायते । अत्रोच्यते । भावनास्वरूपसद्भावं वक्ष्य-माणेन न्यायेनाङ्गीकृत्य करोतेर्धात्वर्थसामान्यार्थतानिरासेन भावनार्थत्वमुपपाद्य पुनस्तत्सा-मानाधिकरण्यात्पचत्यादीनामि भावनाविशेषवचनत्वं साध्यत इति ।

नन्त्रेवन्तर्हि खरूपसद्भावप्रतिपादनमेव प्रथममस्तु, पश्चाच्छब्दार्थताप्रतिपादनम् । न । प्राधान्यात् । आख्यातप्रत्ययाभिषेयता हि भावनायाः प्राधान्येनास्मिन्प्रकरणे विवक्षिता, तच्छेषतया तु खरूपसद्भावः । नहि सा सत्तामात्रेण फलवती, किन्त्वाख्यातप्रत्ययेनाभिहिता खर्गादिसाध्यत्वसिद्धिहेतुत्या । स चायमभिप्रायः खयमेवाचार्येण विवरिष्यते—' तदेवं भावनार्थत्वादाख्यातप्रत्ययस्य ' इत्यादौ । तस्माद्भावनायाः शब्दार्थ(त्वमस्मिन् ) प्रकरणे प्रतिपाद्यते, पश्चात्स्वरूपसद्भाव इति सर्वमुपपन्नम् ॥

नन्परिष्टादिष भावनायाः मत्ययार्थत्वेऽिष हेतुर्वक्ष्यते न केवले सद्भावे । सत्यम् , उभयोरिष सद्भावशब्दार्थत्वयोर्वक्तव्ययोः प्रथमं शब्दार्थतानिरूपणेन सिद्धान्तोपक्रमस्याय-मिप्रायो वर्णित इत्यदोषः ।

इदानीं स्रोकस्पार्थमाविष्कर्तुकाम आह--- श्घटं करोतीत्यत्र तावज्ज ननोत्पादनादि-

१. सिद्धवतीति—स

३. 'किं' अधिकं वर्तते— ख मातृकायाम्.

 <sup>&#</sup>x27;कल्प्यते ' इलारम्य 'तत्त्रमाणान्तरम् ' इलान्तो गन्यो नारित 'च 'मातृकायाम् ।

४. नीत्पादश्रुति—ख.

घटं करोतीत्यत्र 'ताबज्जननोत्पादनादिश्रुतिविषयां भावनां करोतिराचष्टे। स च पचत्यादिसमानाधिकरणोऽपि नान्यत्र वर्ति-तुमईति। अनेकार्थत्वे रऽप्यनैकान्तिकत्वात् ततोऽभिषेय रिस्थ्या-

श्रुतिविषयां भावनां करोतिराचष्टे इति । अयमर्थः — घटं करोतीत्येवंजातीयके प्रयोगे तावत्करोतेर्मावनार्थ४त्वमवश्याभ्युपगन्तव्यम् । आस्तामन्यत्र । तत्र हेत्वपेक्षायामुक्तम् —जन-नोत्पादनादिश्रुतिविषयामिति । हेतुगर्भे विशेषणम् । जननोत्पादनादयः शब्दाः भवितुः प्रयोजकव्यापारवचनतया भावनावचनाः समधिगताः भावनाशब्दवत् । तैश्च समानार्थः करोतिः प्रयुज्यमानो दृश्यते, घटं करोति घटमुत्पाद्यतीत्येक।र्थताप्रतीतेः। यदि पुनः घटं करोतीत्यत्रापि करोतिर्मावनां विहाय धात्वर्थमा(त्रमा)चक्षीत तदा तदर्थस्य घटेन साध्य-तयोपात्तेनान्वयो न घटेत, घात्वर्थसामान्यस्य साध्यानपेक्षत्वात् , विशेषापेक्षत्वात् , घटस्य च तद्विशेषत्वाभावात् साध्यतया भेदनिर्देशाच तर्द्विषय(शेष)तयाप्यन्वयायोगात् । पुनर्भावना तत्र करोतेरर्थः स्यात् तदा तस्या भाव्यापेक्षणीत्वस्वाभाव्येन घटेन सम्बन्धो घटना-मुपैति 'घटं करोति ' इति । अतो यद्यपि पचत्यादिसमानाधिकरणप्रयोगे करोतेर्घात्वर्ध-सामान्यार्थत्वेऽपि न कश्चिद्विरोघः, 'घटं करोति' इत्यादौ त्ववश्यं भावनार्थत्वमभ्युपगन्तव्य-मिति । अस्तु तर्हि तत्र करोतिर्भावनावचनः, पचत्यादिसमानाधिकरणस्तु धात्वर्थसामान्य-वचनः स्यात् इत्याशङ्क्याह--स च पचत्यादिसमानाधिकरणोऽपि नान्यत्र वर्तितमर्हतीति । स च करोतिर्भावनायां दृष्टप्रयोगः पचत्यादिसमानाधिकरणतया प्रयुज्यमानोऽपि नान्यत्र भावनाया वर्तितुमहिति किन्तु भावनायामेवेति । तत्र हेतुमाह-अनेकार्थत्वे ५ ऽप्यनेका-न्तिकत्वात्ततोऽभिधेयनिश्चयायोगादप्यव्यवहारापत्तेरिति । यदि च पचत्यादिसमानाधिकरणः

१. ताबद्धटोत्पादनादि-क, स्त्र-

२. त्वेऽनेका—कः; त्वे त्वनेका—गः; त्वे धनेका—कः.

निश्चयायोगादन्यव—क, स्त्र, ग; निश्चया-योगांतदन्यव—घ.

४. त्वमश्यमवश्या—च.

५. 'त्वेञ्गीति।' अनैकान्तिकत्वाचतो—स.

# योगादप्यब्यवहारापत्तेः। 'परिगतसामर्थ्यानुसारेण च प्रयोगोप-पत्ती सामर्थ्यान्तरपरिकल्पनायोगात्, प्रतीतबाधादप्रतीतकल्प-

करोतिर्न मावनायाम् , अनेकार्थत्वं हि तदा अस्य स्यात्। एकार्थे प्रति नियमाभावात् २ततः शब्दात् २अर्थविशेषनिश्चयानुपपत्तेः शब्दनियन्धनो व्यवहारो न स्यात्।

नन्वक्षादिशब्दानामनेकार्थानामि सतां प्रकरणादिवशादर्थविशेषनिश्चयहेतुत्वेन व्यव-हाराङ्गलं दृश्यते। तत्र किमिदमुच्यते अनेकार्थत्वमन्याय्यमि(ति इ)त्याशङ्क्याह— परिगतसामर्थ्यानुसारेण च प्रयोगोपपत्तौ सामर्थ्यान्तरपरिकल्पनायोगादिति। यस्याक्षादेः शब्दस्यैकयैव शत्त्या प्रयोगोपपत्तिनीस्ति तस्य शक्तिभेदकल्पनया अनेकार्थत्वमपीष्यत एव। यस्य पुनश्शब्दस्य किन्तरिरगतेनैव सामर्थ्येनान्यत्रापि प्रयोगोपपत्तिः तस्य न सामर्थ्यान्तरं कल्पयितुं शक्यते, प्रमाणाभावात्। कार्यानुपपत्तिः सामर्थ्यकल्पनाया बीजम्। सा चान्यथा-प्युपपत्ती सत्यां नास्तीति। न केवलं प्रमाणाभावादेव सामर्थ्यान्तरपरिकल्पनायोगः, किन्तु प्रमाणविरोधादपीत्याह—प्रतीतबाधादप्रतीतकल्पनाचिति। सामर्थ्यान्तरपरिकल्पने हि पूर्व-प्रतीतं सामर्थ्यं बाध्येत, अप्रतीतं चान्यत्कल्प्येत। अर्थविशेषनियतं सामर्थ्यं शब्दस्य पूर्वं प्रतीतं अस्य शब्दस्यायमेवार्थ इति। तस्य चैवं सति बाधः ६कियानपि भवेदेव।

ननु कथं प्रतोतवाधः ? यावता प्रयोगान्तरे प्रतीतमेकं सामर्थ्यं (अपरित्यज्येव) प्रयोगान्तरे चार्थान्तरे सामर्थ्यान्तरं कल्प्यते । अतो यत्र सामर्थ्यान्तरं कल्प्यते न तत्र प्राचीन-

अवगतसामर्था—ग, घ; परिगृहीत-सामर्था—डः.

१ किचिद्धावनार्थत्वं किचिद्यार्थत्विमलनेकार्थत्वे च सति अनैकान्तिकत्वात् एकार्थं प्रति नियमामावात्' इति अधिकं वर्तते—छः. मातृकार्थात्।

३. अर्थविशेषातुपपत्तेः — छ.

५. अन्यथानुपपत्ती--च.

६. किया न विमवेदेव--च.

नाच<sup>2</sup>, प्रयोगान्तरेऽपि प्रयोगान्तरनिर्ज्ञातस्यैव प्रत्ययात् । किं करो-तीति <sup>२</sup>चोत्पादनाया एवाधिगमात् । एवं भावनाभिधानेन करोतिना समानाधिकरणतया आख्यातपदानां तद्विशेषाभिधायित्वमनु-मीयते ।

प्रयोगावगतसामध्येप्रतीतिरिति न प्रतीति(त)बाध इत्याशङ्क्याह — प्रयोगान्तरेऽपि प्रयोगान्तरनिर्ज्ञांतस्यैव प्रत्ययादिति । कचित्प्रयोगे योऽथों निर्ज्ञांतो यस्य गवादेश्शब्दस्य, तस्य स
एव प्रयोगान्तरेऽपि सास्नादिमदादिरूपः प्रतीयते । अतः प्रयोगमेदेऽपि प्रयुज्यमानस्य शब्दस्यार्थप्रत्यभिज्ञानात् सामध्यन्तरपरिकल्पने प्रतीति(त)बाधः स्यादेव । अतः यत्रैकेन
सामध्येनोपपत्तिनांस्त्यक्षादिशब्दे तत्र गत्यन्तराभावात् सामध्यभेदेनानेकार्थत्वमपि गृह्यताम् ।
यत्र त्वनुपपत्तिनांस्ति, प्रत्यभिज्ञायते च प्रयोगान्तरे प्रयोगान्तरावगतोऽथों गवादिशब्दे
सास्नादिमदाक्वतिमत्स्वनेकेषु विशेषेषु बहुशः प्रयुज्यमानेऽपि, न तत्र सामध्यन्तरपरिकल्पनावकाश इति ।

अस्तु तर्हि प्रयोगमेदेऽपि प्रत्यभिज्ञायमानार्थानामेकार्थत्वम् , करोतिस्तु न तथेत्या-शक्क्याह—कि वकरोतीति चोत्पादनाया एवाधिगमादिति । घटं करोतीत्यत्र करोतेयोंऽथों-ऽधिगतः उत्पादनालक्षणः स एव 'किं करोति—पचित' इति पचत्यादिसमानाधिकरणस्यापि प्रतीयते, नान्य इति भावनार्थ एव करोतिः । ततश्च तत्सामानाधिकरण्यात्पचत्यादीनामपि भावनाविशेषार्थत्वमनुमीयत इति ।

यदुक्तं पूर्वपक्षे प्रत्ययस्य भावनाविशेषाभिधायित्वानुमानपक्षे दृषणम् 'एकत्वाछकारात्मनः प्रत्ययस्यानेकेषु विशेषेषु वृत्तिनीपपद्यते' इति, तदनूद्य परिहरति — यद्यपि प्रत्ययोऽमेदान्न४

१. 'च' नास्ति—हा.

र. करोति च--- ख

२. 'इति ' नास्ति—स्त्र.

४. नापि<del>--व</del>्

यद्यपि प्रत्ययोऽभेदान्न 'विशेषावगमायालम्, पदन्तु 'प्रकृति-मेदिमन्नं प्रकृत्यर्थानुरक्तप्रत्ययार्थप्रधानम्। प्रत्ययोऽपि पौर्वापर्य-नियमात्र पदवन्न स्वतन्त्रः सामान्यमान्ने 'धियमादधाति, अपि तु

विशेषावगमायालम् , पदन्तु प्रकृतिभेद्रभिन्नं प्रकृत्यर्थानुरक्त प्रत्ययार्थप्रधानमिति । यद्यपि प्रत्यय एकत्वान्न भावनाविशेषावगमाय समर्थः, पदन्तु प्रकृतिप्रत्ययात्मकं समर्थम् , यतस्त- त्रकृतिभेदािक्नम् । भिद्यन्ते हि प्रकृत्यंशाः पचत्यादौ प्रत्ययाभेदेऽपि । अतः प्रकृत्यंश- भेदात्मकृतिप्रत्ययसमुदायरूपं पदं भिद्यते । ततश्च वाचकनानात्वाद्वाच्यनानात्वमविरुद्धम् ।

ननु प्रकृतिप्रत्ययव्यितरेकेण किमन्यत्पदं नाम ? यस्य प्रकृत्यंशमेदाद्भेदोवि(ऽभि) धीयते । तत्समुदाय इति चेत्—न ; <sup>६</sup>तस्यावाचकत्वात् , प्रकृतिप्रत्ययांशयोः पृथगेव पद्मर्थवत्ता सत्यिप सहप्रयोगनियमे । किञ्च केवरुस्य प्रत्ययस्यार्थो भावनेति भावनावादिनोऽभ्युपगमः । तेन चेदं विरुध्यते प्रकृतिप्रत्ययसमुदायरूपस्य पदस्य भावनाविशेषार्थत्वाभिधानम् । अत्रोच्यते—वैयाकरणोऽत्र पूर्वपक्षवादी । तस्य मतमङ्गीकृत्येदमुच्यते । तस्य मतं हीदम्—न प्रकृतिप्रत्यययोः पदार्थभेदः परमार्थतोऽस्ति, अपोद्धारकिष्पतेन मेदेनांय भेद्व्यवहारः—अयं प्रकृत्यर्थः, अयं प्रत्ययार्थ इति । अतः प्रकृतिभेदाद्भिद्यमानं पदं प्रकृत्यर्थ-विशेषितप्रत्ययार्थप्रधानत्वद्भावनाविशेषे वर्तत इति ।

एवं वैयाकरणमतानुसारेण परिहारमुक्तवा इदानीं खमतानुसारेण परिहारमाह—प्रत्ययो-ऽपि पौर्वापर्यनियमात्पदवन्न खतन्त्रः सामान्यमात्रे धियमादधाति, (अपि तु) प्रकृत्यपेक्षया

१. विशेषायाळं —क. स्न, स्न.

२. प्रकृतिमेदाद्भिषप्रकृत्यर्था—गं, घ, ङ.

६. नियमाभ-क, स्त्र, ग, घ, छ.

४. धियमाविर्मावयति—क, खः

५. प्रलयार्थः—ह्य.

६. तस वाच-च.

७. ग्रर्थवार्ता-च.

८. प्रकलर्थमेदः अयं—सः

## <sup>१</sup>प्रकृत्यपेक्षया आचक्षाणः खार्थमेव समर्पयति । सर्वथा <sup>२</sup>तावत्पदं

आचक्षाणः स्वार्थमेव समर्पयतीति । यद्यपि प्रत्यस्यैकत्वादेकसिन्नेव भावनासामान्ये शक्तिर्गृद्धते, न तद्विशेषेषु अनेकेषु, तथापि नासौ सामान्यमात्रे बुद्धिमुत्पादयति, किन्तु प्रकृत्यर्थानुरागरूक्वे विशेषे । कुतः ? पौर्वापर्यनियमात् । नियतं हि पौर्वापर्य प्रकृति-प्रत्यययोः, पूर्वेव प्रकृतिः प्रयुज्यते, पर एव प्रत्यय इति । स चायं पौर्वापर्यनियमः अन्यथा नोपप्रते, यदि प्रत्ययः स्वतन्त्रः सामान्यमात्रे धियमादधीत पदवत् ; यथाहि पदं श्वावादिकं 'गामानय ' 'आनय गाम् ' इत्येवं अनियतपौर्वापर्यं प्रयुज्यमानं गोत्वादिसामान्यमात्रे बुद्धिमुत्पादयति, पश्चाच्चाकांक्षासिन्निधियोग्यतानुगृहीतपदार्थद्वारकवाक्यार्थावगतिपर्यन्ततां प्रतिपद्यते, न तथा प्रत्ययस्सामान्यमात्रे धियं जनयति ; पौर्वापर्यनियमात् ; अपि तु नियमेन प्रकृतिं पूर्वोच्चरितामपेक्ष्य स्वार्थं भावनासामान्यमाचक्षाणः प्रकृत्यर्थोपरागरूक्थ-विशेषनिष्ठतया बुद्धौ निवेशयति ॥

निन्वदं विरुद्धिमव प्रतीयते, प्रत्ययस्य भावनासामान्ये शक्तिर्गृद्धते, बुद्धगुत्पादक-त्वन्तु विशेषे (इति)। यत्र हि शक्तिर्गृद्धते तत्रैव बुद्धिजनकत्वमिति। अत्रोच्यते—न तावद्विशेषेषु शक्तिर्प्रहोतुं शक्यते, तेषामानन्त्यात् व्यभिचाराच्च। अन्वयव्यतिरेकाभ्यां तुर् सामान्यमात्राभिघानसामर्थ्येष निष्कृष्यावगन्तुं शक्यते। तस्मात्सामान्यमेवाभिष्यम्। कथं तिर्हि नियमेन विशेषे बुद्धगुत्पत्तिः । पौर्वापर्यनियमादित्युक्तम् —शक्तिप्रतियोगिकेवल-सामान्यप्रतिपत्तिहेतुषु गवादिपदेष्वपरिदृश्यमाना(त्) प्रकृतिप्रत्यययोः । हृश्यमानात् पौर्वा-पर्यनियमात् प्रत्यर्थास्य प्रकृत्यर्थान्वयमन्तरेण प्रतिपादनायोग्यता गम्यत इति। तस्मादविरोधः।

प्रकृत्ययंपिक्षमाचक्षाणः लार्थविकेष्यमेव प्रत्याययति—क, स्त्रः प्रकृत्ययंपिक्षया विलक्षणः लार्थविकेषमेव समर्पयति—ग, इ. प्रकृत्ययंपिक्षयाचक्षाणः लार्थविकेष-मेव समर्पयति—घ.

रं. पदं ताबत्—क, ग.

३. गवयादिकं — च.

४. व्यतिरेकात्तु—छ.

५. अमिषानमात्रं—स्ट्र,

६. गवादिषु—छ.

७. दश्यमानत्वात्— च

## विशेषे वर्तते । 'तेन तावत्खतो भेदवत्या 'अपि 'धात्वर्थोपधान-व्यज्यमानस्फुटविशेषायास्तत्र 'विशेषाभिधानमविरुद्धम् ।

सर्वथा तावत्पदं विशेषे वर्तते इति । असायमर्थः —यदि वैयाकरणप्रिकया, यदि वा मीमां । सक्प्रक्रिया, सर्वथा तावरादं भावनाया विशेषे वर्तत इति । खतो भेदवत्या अपि, धात्वर्थोप-धानव्यज्यमानस्फुटविशेषाया इति द्वे विशेषणे भावनायाः। स्वतो भेदवत्या अपीत्यनेनेय-माशक्का ५व्यावर्त्यते—यदि खतो भेदो भावनायाः स्यात् , घात्वर्थोपधानानपेक्षया सा खत एव व्यावृत्ताकारा शब्देन प्रतिपाद्यते (द्येत) । अथ धात्वर्शोपधानोपरागमन्तरेण न प्रतिपाद(नार्हा) विशेषतः, तर्हि न खतो भेदवतीति। एषा शङ्का अपनीयते-स्वतो भेदवत्येव भावना, न पुनराकाशवत्स्वत एकरूपा सती परोपाधिकृतभेदाद्भेदेन विभाज्यत इति, तथात्वे प्रमाणाभावा-किया(त्व)न्याघातप्रसङ्गाच । सा खु भावना किया। किया च कारकसाध्यस्वभावा। सा च सर्वेत्रैकरूपा अभ्युपगम्यमाना नित्या अभ्युपगता स्यात् । ततश्च क्रियारूपतां जह्यात्। अथ मतं खतो नित्याया अपि भावनाया उपधानोपरागनिबन्धनं साध्यत्वम् , यथा आकाशस्य घटाद्यपाधिनिबन्धनं जन्मनाशादि, तद्वदिति । एवन्तर्हि स्वतः साध्य-स्त्रभावेनोपाधिना अन्येन भवितव्यम् , यदुपरागाद्भावना साध्या अवगम्येत। सोऽस्ति । अस्ति चेत्तस्यैव क्रियात्वं भावनात्वं च स्यात् । तस्मात्स्वत एव भेदवती भावनेति । एवन्तर्हि<sup>६</sup> विशेषाकारेणोपाध्यनपेक्षया शब्दैः प्रतिपाधेतेत्याशङ्कापाकरणार्थे धात्वर्थोप-धानव्यज्यमानस्फुटविशेषाया इति विशेषणम्। धात्वर्थे एवोपधानं धात्वर्थोपधानम् , उपधानमुपाधिः, तेन धात्वर्थोपधानेन व्यज्यमानः स्फुटो भवति ८यस्या विशेषः—सेयं धात्वर्थोप-धानव्यज्यमानस्फुटविशेषा भावना, तस्या विशेषे पदं वर्तते इति सम्बन्धः। कथन्तर्हि स्रतो

१. 'तेन तावत् '---नास्ति-क, ख;

२. 'अपि' नास्ति—ग, घ∙ तेन त्वतो-ऽमेदनत्या अपि—इ.

३. धात्वर्थोप्मान<del>्स</del>ा.

४. विशेषाभिधानानुमान-ना, घ. 🖝

५. व्यावर्तते — छ.

६. 'तिहं ' इलतः परं 'लत एव ' अधिकं वर्तते—छ.

७. वारणार्थ---छ.

८. यस-च.

# ननु प्रत्ययस्य सामान्यमिभधेयमिष्टम्, 'तत्कथमुभयोस्सा-मान्याभिधायिनोरैकाधिकरण्यम्' ?

विद्यमानो भेदोऽभिन्यक्तावुपधानमपेक्षते १ का अत्रानुपपत्तिः। दृश्यन्ते हि स्वतो भिन्ना अपि क्षीरादिरसाः क्षीरादिभिराश्रयविशेषैभेदिन न्यपदिश्यमानाः, क्षीररसो गुडरस इत्यादि ।

ननु तत्र यद्यपि मेदव्यपदेश उपाधिपरामर्शिपक्षः, तथापि स्तत एव मेदोऽवगम्यते प्रत्यक्षेण क्षीरादिरसानाम् । सत्यम् ; तत्तु भावनायामपि समानम् । कथम् ! सापि हि भावना प्रत्यक्षेणावगम्यत इति वक्ष्यते । <sup>३</sup>तथा च परिस्पन्दादिरुक्षणायां भावनायां प्रवर्तमानं प्रत्यक्षं तत्साच्यानागतसंयोगविमागादिधात्वर्थोपाधिपरामर्शविकरुमेव भावनाविशेषा-कारमाहीति प्राह्मम् , अवर्तमानस्य प्रत्यक्षविषयानुप्रवेशानुपपत्तेः । तस्मात्स्वत एव मेदवती भावना धात्वर्थोपाधिव्यज्यमानविशेषाकारा शब्देन प्रतिपाद्यत इत्यरुमतिप्रपञ्चेन ॥

तत्र विशेषाभिधानमविरुद्धमित्यस्यायमधः—यस्मात्यदं विशेषे वर्तते ततः किं करोतीति प्रश्नप्रतिवचने पचतीत्यत्र भावनाविशेषाभिधानं न विरुध्यत इति । तत्र चोदयति—ननु प्रत्ययस्य सामान्यमभिधेयमिष्टम् , तत्कथमुभयोः सामान्याभिधायिनोरैकाधिकरण्यमिति । अयमर्थः—आख्यातप्रत्ययस्य सामान्यमभिधेयमिष्टं करोतेरिव, तत्र कथमुभयोः करोतिप्रत्यय-योस्सामान्यवाचिनोस्सामानाधिकरण्यमिति । ननु पूर्वप्रन्थे सामान्यवाचिनोऽपि प्रत्ययस्य प्रकृत्यपेक्षया विशेषवृत्तिः निरूपिता । तत्र कथमस्य चोद्यस्यावकाशः श उच्यते—यद्यपि प्रकृतिसमभिव्याहारात्प्रत्ययस्य प्विशेषे वृत्तिनिरूपिता, तथापि सामान्यमेवाभिधेयमिष्टम् , न विशेषः । अभिधेयद्वारकञ्च सामानाधिकरण्यं सति सम्भवे प्रहोतुं युक्तम् । तच न सम्भविशेषः । करोतेराख्यातप्रत्ययस्य च भावनासामान्यमोत्राभिधायित्वाभ्युपगमात् । अन्यूनानित-

१. 'तत्' नास्ति—स्त्र-

४ गृहीतिप्राश्यम्—च.

२. 'सामानाधिकरण्यम् '---खा.

५. विशेषवृत्तिः--- च.

३. ततम<del>- इ</del>ड.

### उच्यते-

# भेदोपहितसामान्यवचनेऽप्यप्टथक्श्रुतिः । को राजा याति ? पात्रालराज इत्यभिवीक्ष्यते ॥ २८ ॥

रिक्तार्थयोश्च सामानाधिकरण्यायोगात् , करहस्तादिशब्दवत् । यदा तु पचतीत्यत्र पृकृत्यंशे-नोत्तरमुच्यते, करोतिश्च धात्वर्थसामान्यवचन इति पक्षः, तदोमयोः सामान्यविशेषाभिधायिनोः करोतिपचत्योरिभधेयद्वारकं सामानाधिकरण्यमविरुद्धम् । तसादेष एव पक्षो प्राह्म इत्यभि-प्रायः । तत्र परिहारमाह—

### उच्यते---

मेदोपहितसामान्यवचनेऽप्यपृथक्श्रुति(:)। को राजा याति १ पाश्चालराज इत्यभिवीक्ष्यते॥ इति॥

अयर्भशः—सामान्याभिधायिनोश्शब्दयोः सामानाधिकरण्यं नोपपद्यत इति यदुक्तम् , तन्न सर्वत्र । यत्र द्वाविप शब्दौ केवलसामान्यवचनौ तरुवृक्षादिशब्दवत् , तत्र सामानाधिकरण्यानुपपितः। यत्र द्वयोस्सामान्यवाचित्वाविशेषेऽप्येकं शुद्धं सामान्यसरूपमाचष्टे, अन्यस्तु केनचित् उपाधिना विशिष्टं प्रतिपादयित, तत्र सामानाधिकरण्यमुपपद्यते । दृश्यते हि 'को राजा याति ' इति प्रश्नवाक्यवृत्तिना केवलराजसामान्यवाचिना राजशब्देन 'पाद्यालराजः ' इति प्रतिवचनगतस्य राजशब्दस्य पाद्यालाख्यजनपदविशिष्टराजसामान्यवचनस्य सामानाधिकरण्यम् । एवमत्रापि करोतिना शुद्धसामान्यवाचिना धात्वर्थोपाध्यवच्छिन्नभावना-सामान्यवाचिनः प्रत्ययस्य सामानाधिकरण्यमविरुद्धमिति । अत्रैषा अक्षरयोजना । श्मेदोप

१. प्रतिवचनं न तस्य राज—च.

मेदोपहितं यत्सामान्यं तद्वचनेति वचनगते शब्दे अपृथक्षत्ति—चाः

प्रश्नवर्तिना हि सामान्यश्च व्यविष्ण्ञसामान्यविषयाः श्रुतयः परिदृष्टसमानाधिकरणप्रयोगाः ; को राजा याति ? पाञ्चाल-राज इति यथा।

युक्त एवोत्तरे सामान्यनिर्देशः; अन्यथा प्रश्नगतं तदपेक्षणीयं

हितं केनचिदुपाधिभेदेनोपहितं यत्सामान्यं तद्वचने प्रतिवचनगते शब्दे अपृथक्श्रुतिः सामानाधिकरण्यमित्यपेक्षायां प्रश्नवाक्यगतेन केवल-सामान्यवचनेन शब्देनेति द्रष्टव्यम् । अथवा भेदोपहितसामान्यशब्दाभ्यां वचनशब्दः प्रत्येकमिसम्बध्यते—भेदोपहितवचने सामान्यवचने चेति । भेदोपहितं किमित्यपेक्षायां सामान्यमेव सिन्नधानादवगम्यते । प्रश्नवचने सामान्यमात्राभिधाने प्रतिवचने चोपहित-सामान्यभिधाने सित सामानाधिकरण्यमुपपद्यत इति । शेषं सुगमम् । एतद्विवृणोति—प्रश्नवर्तिना हि सामान्यशब्देन व्यवच्छिन्नसामान्यविषयाः श्रुतयः परिदृष्टसमानाधिकरण-प्रयोगाः ; 'को राजा याति ? पाञ्चालराजः' इति यथा इति । नात्र तिरोहितं किञ्चिदिपिरा

ननु तत्राप्युत्तरे विशेषनिर्देश एव श्युक्तः, न सामान्यनिर्देशः, सामान्यस्यासिद्धत्वात् विशेषस्यैव पृष्टत्वात् कथभसिद्धमसिद्धेन साध्यत इत्याशङ्कश्याह—युक्त एवोत्तरे सामान्य-निर्देशः, अन्यथा प्रश्नगतं तदपेक्षणीयं स्यादिति । यद्युत्तरे सामान्यनिर्देशो न कियते पाञ्चाल इत्येतावदेवोच्येत५, तदा प्रश्नवाक्यगतं तत्सामान्यमपेक्षणीयं स्यात् । अन्यथा प्रश्नविषयराजसामान्यविशेषत्वं पाञ्चालजनपदसंबन्धिनो न सिद्धयति, तस्य राजव्यतिरिक्त-स्यापि भावात् । प्रश्नगतसामान्यापेक्षायान्तु प्रष्टुः सुखप्रतिपत्तिने स्यात् इति । मा मृत्सुख-प्रतिपत्तिः, प्रतिपत्तिस्तु कथिद्धद्भवत्येव । दृश्यते चोत्तरे विशेषमात्रस्थैव निर्देशः 'को वृक्षः ?

४. 'असिद्धं' नाहित-इंड.

२. किचिदस्ति— छ.

५. उच्यते — **च**.

३. युक्तं—खः

स्यात्<sup>र</sup>, विशेषतस्तु भावनाया <sup>२</sup>असंविज्ञानपदभेदत्वात्परोपधान-व्यज्यमान<sup>३</sup>स्फुटविशेषायाः। तस्मान्न सिद्धसाधनम्, न <sup>४</sup>विपर्यय-साधनम्, <sup>५</sup>नं दृष्टान्ताभावः।

शिशपा १ इत्यादौ । तत्रोत्तरे सामान्यनिर्देशो नियमेन ६न कर्तन्य इत्याशङ्कघाह—विशेष(त)-स्तु मावनाया असंविज्ञानपदमेदत्वात्परोपधानन्यज्यमानस्फुटविशेषाया इति । अस्तु वा अन्यत्रोत्तरे विशेषमात्रस्यैव कदाचिन्निर्देशः, विशेषवाचिनश्शन्दस्य भावात्, भावनायास्त्व-संविज्ञानपदमेदत्वादुत्तरे विशेषनिर्देशः कदाचिदपि नोपपद्यते ।

ननु किमिदमसंविज्ञानपदमेदत्वं नाम ? उच्यते —सम्यक् विशेषाकारेण ज्ञायतेऽश्रों येन पदेन तत्संविज्ञानपदम्, तस्य भेदो विशेषः संविज्ञानपदमेदः, न स विद्यते यस्या भावनाया-स्सेयमसंविज्ञानपदमेदा॰, तद्भावोऽसंविज्ञानपदमेदत्वम् । न कश्चिदपि शब्दो भावनाविशे-षेण गृहीतसम्बन्धोऽस्तीत्यर्थः । तस्मादुत्तरे नियमेन सामान्यनिर्देशो युक्तः । ९असंविज्ञान-पदमेदाया भावनायाः कथं विशेषसिद्धिरित्याकाङ्क्षायामुक्तम् —परोपधानव्यज्यमानस्फुट-विशेषाया इति । परेण धात्वर्थेनोपधानेन व्यज्यमानः [स न] स्फुटो भवति यस्या विशेषः, सेयं परोपधानव्यज्यमानस्फुटविशेषा भावना, तस्याः सामान्यनिर्देश एवोत्तरे युक्त इत्यर्थः । एवं च सित सामानाधिकरण्य।दित्यादिना पूर्वपक्षे ये दोषा उक्ताः ते परिहृता भवन्तीत्याहः — तस्मान्न सिद्धसाधनम्, न विपर्ययसाधनम्, न दृष्टान्ताभाव इति ॥ करोतिसामानाधिकरण्येन पचत्यादीनां करोत्यर्थविशेषाभिधानानुमानपक्षे धातूनामेव विशेषाभिधानसम्भवप्रतिपादनमुखेन

१. गतस्तदपेक्षणीयः स्यात्—क, स्त्रः

२. असंविद्यात-ग, घ, ङ.

३. 'स्फ्रट' नास्ति—ग, घ, ङ.

४. विपर्ययासाधनं—घः

५. नादष्टान्तता—क, ख; नाप्यदष्टान्तता— ग, घ, क.

६. 'न' नास्ति—छ.

७. पदमेदानुवदमेदा तद्भावः—चः पदमेदः तद्भावः संविज्ञानपदमेदत्वं—छः

८. विशेषण—च

९. असंमेदाया मावनायाः—च.

# भावाभावे प्रयोगस्तु द्विघापि न <sup>१</sup>निरीक्ष्यते । अन्ततस्सोऽस्ति<sup>२</sup>घात्वर्थगोचरो लक्ष्यते तथा॥ २९ ॥

सिद्धसाधनमुक्तं न प्राप्तोति, प्रत्ययस्यैवैकस्याप्यनेकेषु विशेषेषु प्रकृत्यर्थान्वयाधीनाविर्मावेषु तदपेक्षया वृत्तिसम्भवस्योक्तत्वात् । विपर्ययसाधनदृष्टान्ताभावौ तु करोत्यर्थमात्राभिधानानुमान-पक्षानाश्रयणादेव परिहृतौ, तयोखत्सक्षाश्रयत्वात् ॥

यत्पुनरुक्तं करोतेरिप तावद्भाववचनत्वमनुपपन्नम् , तदभावेऽपि प्रयोगदर्शनात् , कुतस्तत्सामानाधिकरण्यात्पचत्यादीनां तादथ्यीनुमानमिति ।

तस्योत्तरमाह---

भावाम।वे प्रयोगस्तु द्विधापि न निरीक्ष्यते । अन्ततस्सोऽस्ति धात्वर्थगोचरो रूक्ष्यते तथा ॥ इति ॥

अयमर्थः — योऽयं भाव्याभावेन भावनावाचिशब्दाभावेन च द्विविधो भावनाया अभावः, तत्र करोतेः प्रयोगो निरीक्ष्यत इति यदुक्तम् , तन्नास्ति ; तत्रापि भावनाया भावात् । कथम् १ घण्टा ध्वनतीत्यत्र तावद्भावना भवत्येव, भाव्यस्य भावात् । भाव्याभावेन हि तत्र भावनाया अभाव उच्यते । भाव्यस्य चाभावोऽसिद्धः । कस्तिहं तत्र भाव्यः १ धार्त्वर्थ एवान्ततो भाव्यः, सुखादीनां सतामप्यविविधतत्वात् । नच का क्रिया १ पाकः १ इत्यत्रापि भावना नास्ति । भावनाया वाचकत्वाभिमताख्यातप्रत्ययाभावेन हि तत्राभाव उच्यते, स्वरूपेण विद्यमानाया अपि शब्दार्थरूपेणाभावात् । तत्र यद्यपि आख्यातप्रत्ययो नास्ति, तथापि भावना शब्दार्थत्वं न जहाति, यतोऽत्र पाक इत्यस्यैव शब्दस्यासावर्थः। यद्यपि पाक इति घञन्तेन धात्वर्थवचनेन४ नाभिधीयते भावना, तथापि रुक्षणया प्रतिपाद्यते, अभिवेयस्य

र. निरीक्षितः—स्व, ग, घ, ङ.

र. अभावात्<del>य</del>ः

२. सोऽपि—ग, घ, इ.

४. 'न'नास्ति—छ.

घण्टा ध्वनतीति<sup>र</sup> भाव्याभावेन भावनाया अभाव उच्यते।, <sup>२</sup>सर्वश्च घात्वर्थः किश्चिदसदुत्पादयति। ध्वननमपि सुखं <sup>३</sup>दुःखं ज्ञानं वा। अन्ततो<sup>४</sup> घात्वर्थ एव भाव्यः। नहि सर्वत्र घात्वर्थस्य करणतेव, कर्मतापि तु <sup>६</sup>कचित्तनमात्रनिष्टेत्तिविवक्षायाम्। का

पाकस्य भावनाया विना अभावात् । तदेतदुक्तम् — रूक्ष्यते तथेति । एतत्प्रपञ्चयित — घण्टा ध्वनतीति भाव्याभावेन भावनाया अभाव उच्यते । सर्वश्च धात्वर्थः किश्चिदसदुत्पाद-यित । ध्वननमि सुलं दुःखं इतां वा । अन्ततो धात्वर्थ एव भाव्य इति ॥ अयमर्थः — ध्वनतीत्यत्र धात्वर्थ एव भाव्यः परिशिष्यते । सुखदुः खज्ञानानामिसन्प्रयोगेऽविवक्षितत्वात्तद्भाव्या भावना विद्यमानापीह न शब्दार्थीभवितुमहेतीति धात्वर्थभाव्येव भावना ध्वनतीत्यत्र प्रत्ययेनाभिधीयते । ततश्च तत्सामानाधिकरण्यस्य १० ' कि करोति घण्टा ' इति प्रश्नवाक्य-वर्तिनः करोतेर्न भावनाया अभावे प्रयोग इति ॥

ननु धात्वर्थस्य भावनायां करणत्वमभ्युपगम्यते ; तत्र कथं कर्मत्विमत्याशङ्कधाह—
निह सर्वत्र धात्वर्थस्य करणतैव, कर्मतापि (तु) कचित्तन्मात्रनिर्वृत्तिविवक्षायामिति ।
अयमर्थः — न सर्वत्र धात्वर्थस्य करणतैव शब्देनाभिधीयते, किन्तु कर्मतापि कचित् , यत्र
धात्वर्थनिर्वृत्तिमात्रं विवक्ष्यते — यथा 'अभिहोत्रं जुहोति ' इत्यादौ । तत्र कर्मतैव
धात्वर्थस्य शब्देनाभिधीयते, न करणता । एतदुक्तं भवति — धात्वर्थस्य १९भावनया निर्वर्त्त्य-

ध्वनतीति हि माध्या—ग, घ; माव्या-मावेन हि—ङ.

२. सर्वत्र— **क**, ख; सर्वस्तु — ङ.

दु:खज्ञानं वा—ग, घ, ङ.

४. अन्तरो-क, ख.

५. साधनतेव-क, ख.

६. कचित्रांबन्मात्र--क, स्त्रः

७. 'वा' अधिकं वर्तते—हुड.

८. तद्भाव्यभावना — च.

मानापि न शब्दार्थी—च ; मानापीह शब्दार्थी—छ.

१०. किं करोति प्रश्नवाक्य-इंड.

११. भावनाया-च.

क्रिया ? पाकः इति १च, द्विविघत्वाच्छन्दार्थस्य श्रौतलक्ष्य भाण-भेदेन । ३अतो नाभावो भावनायाः शन्दतः, तद्विशेष लक्षणार्थ-त्वात्पाकशन्दस्य ।

मानत्वात्कर्मत्वं विद्यते फलापेक्षया करणत्वञ्च । तत्र तस्य अनयोः कर्मकरणत्वयोः यद्यदा विवक्ष्यते तत्तदा अभिधायते । ध्वनतीत्यत्र तु धात्वर्थनिर्वृत्तिमात्रं विवक्षितम् , न तत्करणस्य फलान्तरस्य निर्वृत्तिर्विवक्षिता । अतो युक्तं धात्वर्थकर्मिकाया भावनाया अभिधानमिति ॥ नच सर्वा पुरुषार्थकर्मिकेव भावनेति नियमोऽस्ति, अचेतनकर्तृकायास्तस्याः स्वरूपापेक्षित-भाव्यमात्रपर्यवसानात् । चेतनकर्तृकापि न सर्वा पुरुषार्थकर्मिका, प्रमादक्रतायां व्यभिचारत्त् । या तु चेतनस्य बुद्धिपूर्विका भावना [सा] नियमेन समुद्दिष्टपुरुषार्थभाव्यविशेषकर्मिका, सापि कदाचित्समुद्दिष्टमपि पुरुषार्थं भाव्यं भव्यभिचरति यथा—मिध्याज्ञानपूर्विका प्रतिषद्धिहंसादिविषया भावना । अतः सम्यक्ज्ञानपूर्विका पुरुषस्य प्रवृत्तिर्भावना नियमेन पुरुषार्थभाव्या, नान्येत्यरुमतिप्रपञ्चेन ॥

इदानीं ' रुक्ष्यते तथा ' इति श्लोकैकदेशार्थाविष्करणायाह —का क्रियां शाक इति च द्विविधत्वाच्छब्दार्थस्य श्लौतरुक्ष्यमाणमेदेन । अतो नामावो भावनायादशब्दतः, तद्विशेष-रुक्षणार्थत्वात् पाकशब्दस्येति ॥ का क्रिया पाक इत्यत्रापि नामावो भावनायादशब्दतः इति व्यवहितेन सम्बन्धः । कथं शब्दतो नामावो भावनायाः, यस्माद्भवता ६तद्वाचकत्वाभिमतः शब्द आख्यातप्रत्यय इह नोपरुभ्यते । पाकशब्द इह प्रयुज्यते । तस्य च भावना अर्थो न भवतीत्या श्राह्मपाकरणायोक्तम्—द्विविधत्वाच्छब्दार्थस्य श्लौतरुक्ष्यमाणभेदेनेति । द्विविधो हि

१. चेहापि द्विविध-ग, ध.

२. लक्ष्यमेदेन-ख, ग, घ; श्रीतमेदेन-ङ.

व. 'अतो ' नास्ति—क, स्त्र, ग, घ, ङ.

४. लक्षणोप्रधानत्वात्—क, खः लक्षणा-प्रवणत्वात्—ग, घ, छः

५. व्यपदिशति—च.

६. तद्वाचकामिमतः-झ.

७. आशङ्कावारणायोक्तम् - छ.

### तिङन्तेऽपि तर्हि 'लक्ष्यमाण एव भावोऽस्तु । नैतत्सारम् । यतः ---

# कः पाकः १पचतीत्यत्र बुद्धिभेदमपह्नुते । न भावनापरामर्शमन्तरेण च<sup>४</sup> भाव्यता ॥ ३०॥

शब्दस्यार्थः श्रोतो रुक्ष्यमाणश्च । यत्र वृद्धव्यवहारेणाभिधानसामर्थ्यं गृह्यते, स श्रोतो नामार्थः । यत्र त्वभिधेयस्यार्थस्यासम्भवे सति तदिवनाभावादन्यसिन्नर्थे शब्दात्प्रतिपत्ति-भविते, स रुक्ष्यमाणोऽर्थः। यद्यपि पाकशब्दस्य श्रोतोऽर्थो न भवित भावना, तथाऽपि रुक्ष्यमाणोऽर्थो भवत्येव । तत्कथित्यस्यामाकाङ्क्षायामुक्तम् —पाकशब्दस्य तिद्वशेषरुक्षणा-प्रधानत्वादिति ॥ तिद्वशेषो भावनाविशेषः तस्य रुक्षणया प्रतिपादनपरत्वात् । पाकशब्दः स्वार्थाभिधानद्वारेण तदिवनाभाविनं भावनाविशेषं रुक्षयित । पाकशब्दस्यैव रुक्षणया भावनाशब्दः सव्याभिधानद्वारेण तदिवनाभाविनं भावनाविशेषं रुक्षयित । पाकशब्दस्यैव रुक्षणया भावनाश्चरत्वात्र शब्दत्वोऽभावो भावनायोः । ततश्च का कियेति प्रभवाक्ये करोतेः प्रयोगो न भावनाया अभावे, किन्तु भाव एवेति सिद्धम् ॥

एवं पाकशब्दस्य ६ करोतिना रुक्षितार्थद्वारके सामानाधिकरण्येऽभ्युपगम्यमाने तिङन्ते-ऽपि करोतिसामानाधिकरण्येनाभिषेया भावना न सिद्ध्यति । अपि तु रूक्ष्यमाणैव, घञन्त-वदिति यदनिष्टापादनं कृतं पूर्वपक्षे, तदुद्धारणायोत्थापयति—तिङन्तेऽपि तर्हि रूक्ष्यमाण एव भावोऽस्त्विति ॥ तस्य परिहारमाह—

१. लक्ष्य एव—क, ख, ग, घ, कु.

२. 'यतः' नास्ति—क, ख्वः; 'यतः सर्वत्र कः पाको बुद्धिमेदमपहुते न मावनापरामर्श-मन्तरेण च मात्तमेतत्—ना, घः कः.

३. पार्क-क, ख.

४. 'च' नास्ति—क.

५. माणार्थी—च.

६. करोतिना पाकशब्दस्य-ख.

इदं भवान् पृष्टो व्याचष्टाम्—पाकः पचती श्वनयोधीत्वर्थी भिचते, न श्वा भिचते, इति । को हि स्फुटं प्रत्ययभेदमवजानीते । तथाहि—तिङन्ते भाव्यः स गम्यते न तथाभूतो(रूपो) घञन्ते,

### नैतत्सारम् , यतः---

कः ४पाकः पचतीत्यत्र बुद्धिभेदमपहुते । न भावनापरमर्शमन्तरेण च भाव्यता ॥ (इति)॥

अयमर्थः — घञन्ते रुक्ष्यते भावना, नाभिधीयते, तिङन्ते त्वभिधीयते इत्यत्र ५विशेष-हेतुरत्रोच्यते । कोऽसौ हेतुः १ घात्वर्थविषयो बुद्धिभेदः सिद्धसाध्यत्वरूपः । स नायं बुद्धिभेदः न शक्यते नास्तीति विदितुम्, अतिस्फुटत्वात् । या च तिङन्ते प्रतीयमाना धात्वर्थस्य भाव्यता सा अभिधेयभावनासंस्पर्शमन्तरेण न सम्भवति । रुक्ष्यमाणभावनासंस्पर्शस्य घञन्तेऽपि भावात् इत्यभिप्रायः ॥

इदानीं पक्षविभागेन श्लोकोक्तमर्थं व्याख्यातुकामः विकल्पयति—इदं भवान्पृष्टो व्याचष्टाम्—पाकः पचतीत्यनयोर्घात्वथों भिद्यते, न वा भिद्यत इति (इति)॥ न भिद्यत इत्येष तावत्यक्षोऽनुपपन्न इत्याह—को हि स्फुटं प्रत्ययभेदमवजानीते इति ॥ योऽपि तिङन्तेष्विभिध्यां भावनामवजानीते पूर्वपक्षवादी, सोऽपि घञन्ते तिङन्ते च धात्वर्थविषयं बुद्धिभेदं नाव-जानीते इत्यर्थः॥ बुद्धिभेदं दर्शयति—तथा हि—तिङन्ते भाव्यः स गम्यते न तथामृतो (क्रपो) घञन्त इति ॥ स धात्वर्थः तिङन्ते पदे भाव्यो गम्यते साध्यक्रपेण प्रतीयते, घञन्ते

पचतीलनयोर्भियते धात्वयों नवा—क, खः
पधतीलत्र धात्वयों भियते नवेति—गः,
घ, कः

२ः अवजानीते । अङ्गीकुर्मः प्रस्रयमेदम्, पच-

तीति भाष्यः स गम्यते न तथा घनन्ते— क, खः

३. 'घञः' नास्ति—चै.

४. पाकं--- च-

५. 'विशेष '-नास्ति-च.

# भावे तद्विधानात्, शुद्धस्य च धात्वर्थस्य तत्त्वव्याख्यानात्— 'धात्वर्थः केवलः शुद्धो भाव इत्यभिधीयते' इति ॥

## तत्त्वहिं भाव्यत्वं १भावनासंस्पर्शकृतमिति तिङन्तानां १सा

तु पदे न तथारूपो भाव्यरूपो गम्यते, किन्तु सिद्धरूप एवेति । तत्र हेतुमाह्—भावे तिद्वधानादिति । तस्य घञो भावे विधानादित्यर्थः। भवतु भावे विधानं घञः, कथमेतावता घञन्ते साध्यताप्रतीतिर्घात्वर्थस्य निवार्थत इत्याशङ्क्याह—गुद्धस्य च धात्वर्थस्य तत्त्वव्या-स्यानादिति ॥ गुद्धस्य साध्यतारूपरहितस्य धात्वर्थस्य तत्त्वेन ३भाव्यत्वेन व्याख्यानादिति । एतदेव दर्शयति—धात्वर्थः केवलः गुद्धो भाव इत्यभिधीयते इति (इति) ॥ अत्र केवल-शब्देन कारकसंसर्गरहितत्वं विवक्ष्यते । गुद्धशब्देन साध्यतारहितत्विमिति । अतो घञन्ते सिद्धरूपो धात्वर्थो गम्यते । तिङन्ते तु साध्यरूप इत्यभ्युपेयम् ।

भवतु तर्हि तिङन्ते भाव्यत्वं धात्वर्थस्य । कथमेतावता भावनाया अभिधेयत्विनश्चय इत्याशङ्कश्चाह—तत्तर्हि भाव्यत्वं भावनासंस्पर्शकृतिमिति ॥ यद्भाव्यत्वं धात्वर्थस्य तिङन्ते प्रतीयते, ४तद्भावनासंस्पर्शात् , न स्वतः। स्वतस्तु सिद्धस्वभावत्वम् । अतो धात्वर्थस्यावगम्यभानं साध्यत्वमन्यथानुपपत्त्या शब्दाभिहितसाध्यस्वभावभावनासंस्पर्शे गमयति । अतिस्विङन्तानां भावना अर्थे इति निश्चीयते । ननु गम्यमानभावनाभसंस्पर्शेदप्युपपद्यमानत्वाद्धान्तर्थसाध्यता नाभिधीयमानभावनासंस्पर्शेद् गमयतीत्याशङ्कश्चाह—गम्यमानत्वे हि तिङन्त-धन्नन्तयोनैव धीर्भिद्येत, अविशेषादिति । यदि तिङन्तेऽपि गम्यमानत्वमेव भावनायाः, नाभिन

१. भावनासंसर्गः--खः

२. सोर्ज्यः—स्त्र, ग, घ, स्र

३. भावत्वेन<del>-- ह</del>ु.

४. तद्रानासंस्पर्शत्—च.

५. संस्पर्शत्वाद—चा.

६. संसर्ग—ह्य.

अर्थः । गम्यमानत्वे हि तिङन्तघञन्तयोः <sup>१</sup>नैव धीर्भिचेत, अवि-चोषात् ।

नच<sup>े २</sup>साधनसम्बन्धाद्भेदः<sup>३</sup>, ४९ गम्यते १ ५ स्थीयते १ ५ इति प्रसङ्गात् ।

धेयत्वम् , तदा गम्यमानत्वस्य घञन्तेऽप्यविशिष्टत्वात् अभिघेयत्वस्योभयत्राप्यभावात् घञन्ते तिङन्ते च न बुद्धिर्भिद्येत । भिद्यते च सिद्धसाध्यरूपभेदेन । अतस्तिङन्ते भावना अभि-धेयेति निश्चीयते ॥

ननु तिङन्ते घात्वर्थस्य साध्यताप्रतीतिः साधनसम्बन्धादप्युपपद्यते अन्तरेण भावना-संस्पर्शम् । तत्र हि धार्त्वथस्य कर्तृसाधनेन सम्बन्धोऽवगम्यते, तिङः कर्तरि सरणात् । अतः साधनसम्बन्धात्तिङन्ते ६साध्यत्वप्रतीतिः, न भावनासम्बन्धात् । तथा घञन्तेऽपि साधन-सम्बन्धाभावादेव सिद्धरूपप्रतीतिर्धार्त्वथस्य, न भावनासंस्पर्शाभावात् । नहि तत्र भावना-(साधन)सम्बन्धो गम्यते, तस्य भावे विधानात् । 'धार्त्वर्थः केवरुः ' इति च कारक-सम्बन्धरहितस्य धार्त्वर्थस्य भावत्वव्याख्यानात् । अतः साधनसम्बन्धासम्बन्धनिबन्धनः तिङन्तघञन्तयोः धार्त्वर्थे बुद्धिभेदः, न भावनासम्बन्धासम्बन्धनिबन्धन इत्याशक्षयाह— नच साधनसम्बन्धद्वदः, 'गम्यते ' 'स्थीयते ' इति प्रसङ्गादिति ॥ योऽयं तिङन्त-घञन्तयोर्धात्वर्थे बुद्धिभेदः, न ०स साधनसम्बन्धनिबन्धन इति शक्यते वक्तुम् , गम्यते

नैव धीर्मिंचताम्, अविशेषात्—कः, नैव-मिंचतां विशेषः—खः, धीर्निमिंचेत, अवि शेषात्—गः, घः; विभियेत, अविशे-पात्—कः.

२. साधनसाध्यसंबन्धात् -क, बा, क्र-

इ. ं मेदाबगमः-क, ग, घ, इ.

४. 'गम्यते ' नास्ति—क, ग, घ, छ.

५. इलत्रापि प्रसङ्गात्—क, खः; इलत्रा-प्रसङ्गात्—गः, घः; इलप्रसङ्गात्—कः

६. साध्यप्रतीतिः—च. •

७. 'स' नास्त<del>ि ख</del>ा.

#### किश्र—

## पाकं करोति पचतीत्याख्यातार्थो 'निदर्श्यते। भेदेन शब्दवृत्तिज्ञैः' पाकादौ नत्वयं क्रमः॥ ३१॥

इति स्थीयते इति चोभयत्र बुद्धिभेदपसङ्गात् । तथाहि —गम्यत इत्यत्र कर्मणि रुकारः, गमेस्सकर्मकत्वात् । अतस्तत्र कर्मणा साधनेन सम्बन्धो धात्वर्थस्य गम्यते । स्थीयते इत्यत्र तु भावे रुकारः, तिष्ठतेरकर्मकत्वात् 'भावे चाकर्मकेभ्यः' इति च सरणात् । अतस्तत्र साधनसम्बन्धो न प्रतीयते । अतश्चोभयत्र प्रतीतिर्भिद्येत, गम्यत इत्यत्र साध्यरूपेण धात्वर्थे प्रतीतिरस्यात् साधनसम्बन्धावगमात् , स्थीयते इत्यत्र तु सिद्धरूपेण, साधनसम्बन्धानवगमात् । नचैवमस्ति, उभयत्रापि साध्यताप्रतीतेरिविशिष्टत्वात् । तस्मान्न साधनसम्बन्धाद्भेदः, किन्तु भावनासंबन्धादेवेति निश्चीयत इति ॥

इतश्च तिङन्ते घात्वर्थातिरेकेण भावना अभिधीयते, न घञन्त इव धात्वर्थमात्रमित्याह—

### **किञ्च**—

पांकं करोति पचतीत्याख्यातार्थों निदर्श्यते । मेदेन शब्दवृत्तिज्ञैः पाकादौ न त्वयं क्रमः॥ (इति)॥

अयमर्थः — पचतीत्यस्य शब्दस्य कोऽर्थः इति केनचिजिज्ञासुना पृष्टः अन्यः शब्द-वृत्तिवित् तस्यार्थं मेदेन निदर्शयन् दृश्यते — पाकं करोतीत्यर्थं इति । अतो गम्यतेऽस्य शब्दस्य द्वावर्थावनेन प्रतिपन्नो — पाकः करोत्यर्थश्चेति । यस्तु घञाद्यन्तः पाकादिशब्दः, तत्र नायं क्रमः, क्रमेण द्वावर्थों नश् निदर्श्येते, किन्तु एक एव, पाक इति विक्कित्तिरित्यर्थः इति ।

१. हि दरयते - स्न ; न दरयते - ग, घ, क. ३. न हि दरयते - छ.

२. वृत्तिं:-सा.

पचित, पाकं करोतीति तिङन्तपदार्थं भेदेन १निदर्शयति १नाप्रतिपद्य भेदम्, पाकादिषु तु न तथा, भेदप्रतिपत्तेरभावादिति गम्यते।

<sup>३</sup>परिकल्प्य भेदं तथोपदर्शनम्, ४पाकस्याभिनिर्वर्तनं ५करो-

अतो गम्यते नास्त्यर्थमेद इति । एतद्विष्टणोति—प्वति पाकं करोतीति तिङ्क्तपदार्थं मेदेन (नि)दर्शयित नाप्रतिपद्य मेदम् , पाकादिषु न तथा, मेदप्रतिपत्तेरभावादिति गम्यत इति ॥ अयमर्थः—पवतीत्यस्य तिङ्क्तस्य ६पदस्यार्थं मेदेन दर्शयित—पाकं करोतीति ॥ नन्वने-कार्थमेदनिदर्शनेन कथमर्थमेदनिश्चयः यावता मेदप्रतिपत्तिभेदे प्रमाणम् , न मेदेनार्थप्रदर्शनं नाम प्रमाणमस्तीत्याशङ्कयोक्तम्—नाप्रतिपद्य मेदिमिति ॥ मेदमप्रतिपद्य नार्थं भेदेन दर्शयित, किन्तु प्रतिपद्येव । प्रतिपन्नं हार्थं परस्मै प्रतिपादयित, नाप्रतिपन्न । तस्मादर्थ-मेदिनदर्शनादवगम्यते पचतीत्यस्य शब्दस्य द्वावर्थों प्रकृतिप्रत्ययविभागेन प्रतिपन्नो, प्रकृत्यर्थः पाकः, प्रत्ययार्थः करोत्यर्थ इति (इति) गम्यते । पाकादिषु घञाद्यन्तेषु पदेषु न तथा मेदेनार्थं निदर्शयित, किन्त्वेक एव, पाक इति कोऽर्थः विक्वितिरिति । तस्मादवगम्यते आख्याते द्वावर्थों प्रतिपद्यन्ते प्रतिपत्तारः पाकं घात्वर्थं प्रत्ययार्थं च करोत्यर्थम् । घञाद्यन्ते तु ९नार्थमेदं प्रतिपद्यन्ते, मेदेन निदर्शनाभावादिति । तस्मादाख्यातप्रत्यये सित करोत्यर्थ-प्रतीतिदर्शनात् १०तदभावे चादर्शनातिङ्मिषेया भावना, नतु तछक्ष्येति सिद्धम् ॥

तत्र शक्कते--परिकल्प्य मेदं तथोपदर्शनम् , पाकस्याभिनिर्वर्तनं करोतीति यथेति

१. दर्शयति-स्व

नचाप्रतिपद्य मेदं पाकादिषु न तथा—क;
 न प्रतिपद्य मेदं पाकादिषु न तथा—खः

३. पत्त्यमावा—क, ख, ग, घ, ङ.

४. पाकस्यामिनिवर्तनं — क, स्त्र. पाकस्या' मिनिवर्तनं — ग, घ, क.

५. करोति यथेति-- ग. घ. इ.

६. पदस्यार्थमेदेन--- च.

७. पद्यमानार्थ--- छु.

८. अर्थ दर्शयति किन्तवेकमेव-हु

९. नार्थमेदः प्रतिप्यते — च.

१०. तदमावेऽदर्शनात्—च.

तीति यथेति चेत्—न, 'पाकादावनिदर्शनात्। शब्दोपकल्पित-स्तिङन्तेष्वपि भेद इति चेत्—अस्तु तावच्छब्दार्थभेदः, 'वस्तुन्युप पादिषण्यते।

चेत् इति ॥ अयमर्थः — नैव पचती व्यर्थमेदोऽस्ति, अपि तु एक एव धात्वर्थः, तस्यैव तु बुद्ध्या भेदं परिकल्प्य तथोपदर्शनं — भेदेनोपदर्शनम् , अभिनिर्वर्तनम् करोतीति यथा । निह तत्र करोत्यर्थादन्या काचिदभिनिर्वर्तना । तत्र बुद्ध्या भेदं परिकल्प्य भेदेन निदर्शनिमिति अवश्यं भावनावादिनाप्यभ्युपगन्तन्यम् , तदभाववादिना धात्वर्थे तदाश्रीयते इति चेदिति ॥ अत्रोत्तरमाह — न पाकादावनिदर्शनादिति ॥ पाकादाव(दौ भेदेना)निदर्शनात् , इत्तरथा पाकादाविप परिकल्पनापूर्वकस्य भेदिनदर्शनस्य प्रसङ्गात् । अतो न कल्पितभेदापेक्षया भेदिनदर्शनम् , अपि तु शब्दार्थभेदप्रतिपत्तिनिबन्धनम् , भेदकल्पनाया ज्ञानरूपत्वात्रिरा-लम्बनत्वानुपपत्तेरित्यभिप्रायः ॥

पुनश्शक्कते—शब्दोपकिल्पतिस्तिङन्तेष्विष भेद इति चेदिति ॥ भवतु भेदिनदर्शनातिङन्तेष्वर्थभेदः, स, तु न वास्तवः,४ अपि तु शब्दोपकिल्पतः५। स एव भेदज्ञानस्थारूम्बनम् । तिङन्तेष्वपीत्यिपशब्दस्यायमर्थः—न कचिदर्थभेदोऽस्ति तिङन्तेषु घञन्तेषु च;
यस्तु तिङन्तेषु प्रतीयते सोऽपि न वास्तव इति ॥ अत्रोत्तरमाहः——अस्तु तावच्छब्द(ब्दार्थ)भेदः, वस्तुन्युपपादियिष्यत इति ॥ अस्तु तावच्छब्दार्थभेदिस्तिङ्नते, वास्तवत्वन्तु तस्य अस्तु
वा, मा वा । घञन्ते त्वेक एवार्थः। वस्तुन्युपपादियिष्यते भेदः ज्ञानवच्छब्दानामिष स्वव्यतिरिक्तवस्त्वारुम्बनत्वात् । अत्र तावच्छब्दः क्रमार्थः प्रयुक्तः। शब्दार्थभेदस्तावदादौ

१. पाकादाविप तथा प्रसङ्गात्—क, स्व ; ३. 'इति ' नास्ति—चः पाकादाविप मेदप्रतिपादनप्रसङ्गात्—गः, ४. मेदः न स तु स न वास्तवः—चः

**इ.** पाकादादिप भेदप्रतिपाददिप--- घ. ५. कल्पितम्--- च.

२. बस्तुन्युपपादयिष्यायः--- । घ, इ.

## Reviews

Śārīrakanyāyasaṅgraha by Prakāśātmayati edited by Dr. T. R. Chintamani, M.A., Ph.D., Senior Lecturer in Sanskrit, University of Madras; a Reprint from the Annals of Oriental Research, University of Madras, with a foreword by Mahāmahopādhyāya Vidyāvācaspati Prof. S. Kuppuswami Sastriar, M.A., I.E.S., (Retd.), 1939.

Prakāśātmayati, the author of the Śārīrakanyāyasangraha, is popularly known as the Vivaranakāra, the author of the Vivarana, the great commentary on the Pañcapādikā of Padmapādācārya, one of the direct disciples of Śrī Śankara and one of the earliest commentators on Śrī Śańkara's Bhāṣya on the Vedānta sūtras. He is an epochmaker in the history of Advaita Vedanta. His views on Advaita as embodied in his work were closely followed by a host of subsequent original writers and commentators in the Advaita system and his school is known to posterity as the Vivarana-prasthana, in contrast with the Bhāmatī-prasthāna, known after the great work Bhāmatī of Sarvatantrasvatantra Vācaspatimiśra. The main reason for the development of these two independent schools among the commentators of Śrī Śankara has been sufficiently and satisfactorily explained in his foreword by M. M. Prof. S. Kuppuswami Sastriar and in his preface by the editor.

This work under review is one of the minor works of Prakāśātmayati. It is a gloss on the Brahmasūtras divided into various adhikaranas. In many instances it attempts no explanation of the sūtras. It follows the practice of enunciating the Nyāyaśarīra and interpreting the Upaniṣadic passage in question by the application of the nyāya or rule of interpretation. Since the text is very brief, it does not even present the pūrvapakṣa in many instances, though the siddhānta, or final conclusion is to be arrived at by the refutation of the pūrvapakṣa. This book shows clearly the limitations within which the rules of interpretation of the Karmakāṇḍa explained in the Pūrvamīmāmsā Sāśtra have to be applied to the Jñānakāṇḍa portion of the Vedas.

Though the Vivarana is said to be a complete commentary on the Pañcapādikā to the extent of the first five pādas, both the text and the commentary are available in print and in manuscript to the extent of the end of samanvayādhikarana (I.1.4) only. So the only work of Prakāśātmayati which conveniently summarises his views on the

entire Vedānta is the Śārīrakanyāyasangraha and in this respect the importance of this work cannot be be over-estimated.

The present edition of the Śārīrakanyāyasaṅgraha is quite welcome especially because the 'Pandit' edition is not easily accessible to scholars. It has been competently edited with the help of three manuscripts. The value of this edition is very much enhanced by the foot-notes giving variations in readings from the three Mss., by Appendix I, which gives the readings of the 'Pandit' edition, by the alphabetical indices of the sūtras and citations and above all, by the valuable foreword of MM. Prof. S. Kuppuswami Sastriar, the great inspirer and guide of Sanskritic studies and research in South India. Dr. T. R. Chintamani deserves to be congratulated on having brought out this excellent edition of this important work in the field of Advaita Vedānta.

V. A. R.

Descriptive Catalogue of the Government Collections of Manuscripts
 —deposited at the Deccan College, Poona, Compiled by the
 Assistant to the Professor of Sanskrit, Deccan College, Poona.

Vol. I. Vedic Literature.

Part I. Samhitās and Brāhmanas, 1916.

Descriptive Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Government Manuscripts
 Library, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, 1935.
 Compiled by Hiralal Rasikdas Kapadia, M.A.

Vol. XVII. Jaina Literature and Philosophy.

Part I. Agamika Literature.

3. Descriptive Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Government Manuscripts Library, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, 1936. Compiled by Hiralal Rasikdas Kapadia, M.A.

Vol. XVII. Jaina Literature and Philosophy.

Part II. Agamika Literature.

4. Descriptive Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Government Manuscripts Library, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona. Compiled by P. K. Gode, M.A., 1936.

Vol. XII. Alamkāra, Samgīta and Nātya.

5. Descriptive Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Government Manuscripts Library, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona. Compiled by P. K. Gode, M.A., 1937.

Vol. XIV Nataka.

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Indologists all over the world, particularly, those interested in Sanskrit Manuscripts, would welcome with joy these five volumes of the descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts, belonging formerly to the Deccan College, Poona, and at present in the custody of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona. The work of preparing a descriptive catalogue for the collection of Sanskrit Manuscripts in Poona was begun under the auspices of the Bombay Government in 1916 and was kept in abeyance for some time. Now that this work has been entrusted to the scholars of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, it may be reasonably hoped that this work will be completed soon. These volumes are prepared in accordance with approved methods of descriptive cataloguing and contain useful information.

S. K.

## **University Notes**

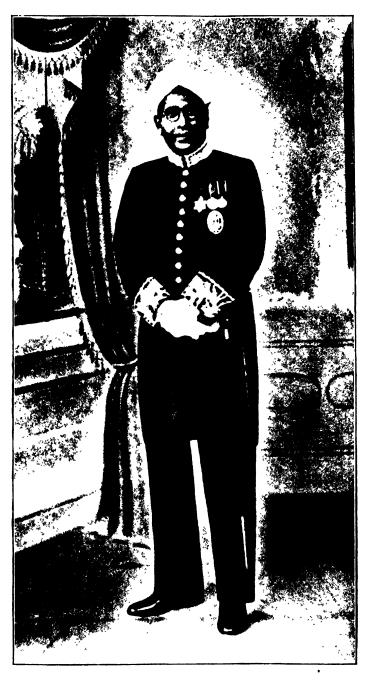
## OUR VICE-CHANCELLOR.

On the 1st of June 1940 Dr. Sir Kurma Venkata Reddy Naidu Garu, K.C.I.E., D.Litt., M.L.C. took charge of the high office of Vice-chancellor of this University. It is a rare piece of good fortune that a gentleman of his eminence has consented to preside over the studies and direct the administration of this great seat of learning.

Founded on the unexampled munificence of that great patron of learning, the Rajah Sahib of Chettinad, this institution has been nurtured on the devoted and selfless services of a distinguished succession of Vice-Chancellors. It is a matter of no little pride and satisfaction to us that Diwan Bahadur S. E. Runganathan, our first Vice-chancellor, not only became the Vice-chancellor of a sister University but is now occupying the exalted position of Adviser to the Secretary of State for India. His successor, the Rt. Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastriar, is a member of His Majesty's Privy Council and a Companion of Honour. Now we have in our midst as Vice-chancellor Sir K. Venkata Reddy who has occupied the highest position under the Crown in this Presidency, namely, the Governorship of Madras.

To the onerous and responsible duties of Vice-chancellor of this young University, Sir K. V. Reddy Naidu brings not merely a disinterested love of higher learning but also a wide and varied experience of many years spent in the service of our mother-land. Both as an official and as a non-official he-has won for himself a unique position in the public life of our country. His great abilities and high character came to public notice when the late Rajah of Panagal formed his first popular Ministry in Madras, and chose Sir K. V. Reddy as the Minister of Agriculture and Industries. He had also the rare honour of representing India in the League of Nations at Geneva in 1928. From Geneva the scene of Sir Venkata Reddy's labours shifted to South Africa where he represented the Government of India as its Agent-General. On his return from South Africa he became a member of the Council of State at Delhi; and in 1934 the Governor of Madras appointed him to his Executive Council as Member in charge of Law. His conspicuous success as a Member of the Executive Council was crowned by his appointment as Governor of Madras.

As leader of public opinion, as legislator, as Minister, as Executive Councillor, as Governor his life has been rich and full. And the treasures



Dr. Sir Kurma Venkata Reddy Naidu Garu, K.C.I.E., D.Litt., M.L.C. Our Vice-Chancellor

of wisdom and experience that Sir Kurma has garnered during decades of unremitting labour he proposes to dedicate to the service of this University. In the new sphere of work that he has chosen for himself we assure him of the hearty and unstinted co-operation of one and all of the staff and of every scholar and researcher. May this University grow from strength to strength under his wise and distinguished direction!

#### SIR NORMAN MURRAY GOLD MEDAL.

Mr. V. Sivaraman, M.A., M.Litt., former Research Scholar of Economics Department, won the Sir Norman Murray Gold Medal for scoring the highest number of marks in the recent examination of the Indian Institute of Bankers. We congratulate him most heartily.

## M. LITT DEGREE.

On the recommendation of the Board of Examiners appointed to adjudicate on his thesis on "Road-Rail Transport in India" the Syndicate has declared Mr. S. R. N. Badri Rao, M.A., to be qualified for the award of the degree of M.Litt. of this University.

# The Madras General Sales Tax Act — A Study

By

Dr. B. V. Narayanaswamy Naidu, M.A., B.Com. Ph.D.

AND

S. THIRUVENGADATHAN, B.A. (Hons.)

## Section 1

## Introduction

I

The Madras General Sales Tax Act was passed after a good deal of controversy in May 1939. It was considered at the time of passing the Act, by a certain section of legislators, that it had greater potentiali-The chief characteristic of the Sales ties for doing evil than good. Tax viz., its productivity, went without much challenge; but it was contended, on a simple theory of incidence, that as the tax led to the consumers being indirectly taxed, it merely tended to aggravate the differences of the tax burden of the various sections of society. The statement of the sponsors of the measure that it was intended to correct the tax burden of the various sections of society failed to convince the opponents. It was thought that the higher prices charged to commodities would lead to a higher cost of living, followed by a clamour for wage rise, which if not granted, would perpetuate a very undesirable state of affairs especially as regards labourers. It was argued that integration, and disintegration of businesses to a greater extent, would be brought about and that middlemen would be ousted out of existence. A strong reaction to the stipulations enforcing the keeping of detailed accounts was also expected.

However in the face of all these criticisms, the measure was passed and more than 10 months have elapsed since it came into force. It was considered by the writers of this volume that a study of the working of the Act was an important field of useful investigation. Greater was the desire felt towards such an enquiry in the absence of any comprehensive Government report; it was thought that a study of the various allied problems related to Sales Tax with due attention to the criticisms advanced at the time of passing the Act, would greatly help a proper understanding of the position of the tax as a source of provincial revenue in Madras. A keen desire to know how far the criticisms were correct and to what extent they have been merely imaginary has impelled the writers to undertake this work.

This brochure cannot claim to be an exhaustive study. Further the scope of the enquiry has been restricted to only one district—South Arcot—and does not embrace the whole Presidency. Besides these limitations, it has to be pointed out that cer-

tain fields of enquiry could not be undertaken with the hope of getting positive results. The assessment of the influence of the tax on prices, cost of living and wage level could not be touched upon for fear that in the disturbed state of the present world, any conclusions reached at may not represent the whole truth. The outbreak of the war in September just a month prior to the coming into force of the Act has brought about such changes, mostly due to psychological factors, in the field of prices etc. that it has been found to be almost an impossible task to discount its effect. But all the same the tendencies in these spheres have been studied and noted down; efforts have been made to show whether the tax is being uniformly shifted on all commodities to all consumers and at all times. The limitations set forth in the section dealing with this question must leave the impression that increase in prices because of this very small tax has been almost negligible, and felt only in a few cases. The other problems over which decisive conclusions could not be reached are the effects of the tax on business turnover and cost of administration of the tax. The difficulties theoretical and practical, experienced in these fields of enquiry, have been set forth in the sections dealing with them.

Other aspects of the tax have been examined in the pages of the book. After a preliminary history of the tax and a short description of its form in other countries, the Madras Act, in all its stages is considered. A few of the more important criticisms have been answered. A special section is devoted to study, whether any difficulty is experienced by merchants in account keeping, how far their accounts are intelligible and whether there are unsatisfactory reactions to the authorities prying into their accounts. The difficulties felt in the administration of the Act have also been considered.

The question of evasion of the tax has been studied in some detail. These sections are followed by one dealing with the incidence of the tax. When the work was undertaken the aim was merely to study the working of it in the South Arcot district. But what is said in these sections is to a great extent true for the whole Presidency.

The rest of the work is devoted, to a study of the effect of the tax on middlemen and business turnover of dealers including co-operative consumers' societies. It has also been examined whether any tendencies for disintegration of businesses have been noticeable. As far as South Arcot is concerned, the question of integration has not arisen.

Wherever possible, conclusions have been strengthened with figures; but the nature of the enquiry is such as not to present many occasions for resort to figures. In many cases where nothing more than some general tendencies have been noticeable, they have been stated as such.

We present this brochure to the public with the hope that it would succeed in giving some idea of the working of the Act, of the difficulties experienced, of the solutions that must be arrived at, and of the reaction of the merchants and the public to the measure during the short period of the working of the Act which we have studied.

The authors wish to acknowledge with great pleasure the munificence of the University which has enabled the publication of this volume. They also take this opportunity to thank everyone who has helped them in their work.

#### Section 2

#### SHORT HISTORY OF THE TAX

The Great War has brought about manifold changes in the world in all fields of activity. Politically, economically and socially also the post-war days have been far different from the pre-war days. Rapid changes have passed over the whole world within a short period of four years of rivalry and have left lasting impressions of their effect. The political changes have been so striking that they have attracted the attention of the public in various countries. Numerous books have been written on that subject. But the economic aspects of the changes, it must be admitted, have not been dealt with in great detail. The field of Public Finance is the least touched of all branches of Economics. If the War had affected anything very much it is finance; but it is somewhat strange that this question should be so meagrely studied.

Of the many changes that have come about in the field of Public Finance the greatest have occurred in the field of taxation. Besides the new attitude borne towards direct and indirect taxation, a change is noticeable in the types of taxes and principles employed in taxation. It need not be pointed out that a new importance has been given to the system of progressive taxation. The second outstanding change is to be seen in the introduction of a few thoroughly new taxes; certain old taxes, that have gone into disuse during the previous years have also been revived. The Sales tax of the post-war days is an important tax that comes under the latter category.

The Sales Tax is a very old tax but is certainly not the best tax. It is said to have been prevalent in Ancient Athens; in Egypt, under the Ptolemies and in Rome, under Augustus and other emperors. The rate of the tax in such times was ordinarily 10% ad valorem but even double the rate was common in exceptional circumstances.

In our own country, we find references to the use of the tax as early as the age of Mauryas. Kautilya, in his *Arthasastra*, refers to the trade tax in the following way:

"The amount of Vyaji or trade tax due on commodities sold by cubical measures is 1/16 of the quantity; that on commodities sold by weighing balance is 1/20 of the quantity and that on commodities sold in numbers is 1/11 of the whole." Apart form this tax, a sales tax was col-

## 1. Arthasastra, Book II, Chapter 16.

lected from the highest bidder, whenever immovable property was sold in public auction. References to the sales tax are also found in the *Sukranitisara* and other works, but the rate of the tax seems to have been much less than that adopted by the Mauryas.

Taxes on the sale of commodities were very common and numerous in Europe during the Medieval times and the Spanish Alcavala2 is the most noted of them all. It was reintroduced in Spain in 1342 and existed till the middle of the 19th century; it received the severest condemnation at the hands of many writers of the 18th century who even went to the length of saying that the "alcavala was one of the principal engines that contributed to the ruin of most of Spanish manufactures and trade." Adam Smith who endorses this view adds that the declension of Spanish agriculture also must be attributed to it.3 Though at the time of its introduction, it took the form of a 5% tax on all business turnover, it had a very chequered career, being subject to constant But for the greater part of its existence it was alterations in rate. collected at a 10% rate. The method of collection, the high rate of the tax and the nature of the exemptions, led to severe conflicts and opposition in the country and numerous attempts to modify the tax Finally in 1785, radical changes were introduced were often made. which reduced the alcavala to a "production tax." It did not flourish long in this new form as its fate was once and for all sealed by the decree of June 1843. A more moderate tax is said to have been prevalent from about the 15th century in Naples.

Though a few States of the American Union adopted the tax during the 19th century, it is only during the War and Post-War periods that the tax has been introduced by many important countries. Adopted by Germany in 1916, it has been copied soon by other needy countries. France followed Germany close on its heels and introduced it in the year 1920. It has however to be noted here that most of the countries that adopted it were not attracted by any special virtue that it possessed but were driven to it by their pressing needs. The huge expenditure caused by the war, the work of reconstruction and the payment of war pensions and allowances put such a heavy strain upon their financial resources that they were forced to fall back upon this mode of indirect taxation. The absence of any other equally productive tax is perhaps the chief cause for its wide prevalence to-day. To say that the rapid spread of the sales tax in the post-war days has often been due to the direct and indirect losses of the war

<sup>2.</sup> Refer Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences.

<sup>3.</sup> Adam Smith: Wealth of Nations, Book 5, Ch. II, Part II, Article IV.

ignores a more important factor which should not be lost sight of. If one studies the history of the Sales Tax it is easy to find out that the depression has made this tax widely popular with financiers. It was during the period of the depression that it spread widely. Many States of the United States of America passed some form of a sales tax between the years 1929-33. During these years when all other sources of revenue were falling off in yield and when the expenditure had to be maintained at the pre-depression level or even increased, the sales tax found an easy entry as a source of revenue in many countries. And by the end of 1937, "it was levied in 29 states of the United States, 3 Dominions of the British Commonwealth, 12 Countries of Europe and 6 Republics of South America."

If its productivity, as it seems to be, had induced practically-minded financiers to introduce the tax in their countries, the sales tax must be said to have fulfilled their expectations to the full. For it occupies a very considerable portion of the tax receipts in many countries and is found to be quite as good as income tax and customs revenue and a serious rival of the latter. The truth of this statement will be well illustrated by the following table.<sup>5</sup>

Income, Cust	oms and Sales	Tax Revenue	expressed as	percentages.
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Country.	Year.	Income- tax.	Customs Revenue.	Sales tax.	Total.
France	 1934	19.5	15.1	17.5	52·1
Germany	 1932-33	9.4	22.3	19·1	50.8
Italy	 1933-34	22.3	11.7	6.6	40.6
Hungary	 1932-33	10.6	4.8	12.9	28.3
Czechoslovakia	 1933	14.6	6.5	23.0	44.1
Austria	 1934	19.4	16.0	21.2	56.6

The only important country that has not yet introduced the sales tax is Great Britain. Suggestions have been made even there to introduce it as a national tax "as a substitute for part of or as an addition to the existing taxation of income." The Colwyn Committee<sup>6</sup> considered the question of the introduction of sales taxation in England but dismissed it "in somewhat cavalier terms and in a single paragraph in its report." "In Great Britain the tax has never been popular mainly because it is thought to be a burden on business, that it leads to a rise

<sup>4.</sup> Madras Legislative Assembly Debates, Official Report, Volume XII, No. 7, pp. 469.

<sup>5.</sup> G. F. Shirras: The Science of Public Finance, Vol. II, p. 607.

<sup>6.</sup> Report of the Committee on National Debt and Taxation, p. 1031.

in prices and consequently to wage disturbances and that it is passed on to consumer, points which have not always been capable of proof." Further the sales tax has no attraction for the Englishmen because the psychology of the English taxpayers is averse to indirect taxation. The success of the sales tax in France is attributed partly to the French dislike for direct taxation and liking for indirect taxation. This is an instance of how the psychology of the taxpayers plays a great part in the scheme of taxation of a country and is responsible for the success or failure of the tax. The tax has not been introduced in America as a federal source of revenue till now, but is prevalent in nearly 22 states and 2 cities.

Thus the sales tax has become a very popular measure with needy financiers and the history of the tax and its adoption in India very recently only illustrate the statement of Adam Smith, that, "there is no art, which one Government learns sooner of another, than that of drawing money from the pockets of the people."

## Section 3

## SALES TAX IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES

An idea of the tax as prevalent in foreign countries may help a proper understanding of the Madras Act and this section is hence devoted to a description of the tax—its form, yield and difficulties in administration—in foreign countries. A reading of these pages will convince the reader of how with low start in the beginning it has now become an important and indispensible source of revenue. The other, perhaps unique, quality of the tax, that of its undiminishing yield, even in the face of trade fluctuations, might be inferred.

The origin of the German turnover tax has to be found rather curiously in the low stamp tax adopted at the beginning of the War. The difficulties in the administration of this tax led to the search for a more easy source of revenue and in July 1918 it was superseded by the turnover tax of ½ of one per cent. This ½% tax was collected on the gross receipts from sales of goods and from services. Exemptions were granted in the case of exports from January 1, 1925; certain foodstuffs and raw materials were also excluded from taxation. Necessaries imported into the country were free from taxation. When the tax was introduced in Germany, it was feared that it would encourage integration of industries and thus place the small manufacturers at a disadvantage in comparison with giant concerns organised in vertical combination. To guard against such a tendency and to protect the small manufacturers the German Law of 1918, provided that transfers from one branch of a business to another should be taxed as if they occurred in separate businesses. But owing to difficulties in the way of fixing of prices of articles that were passed on from one stage of production to the other, this provision had to be dropped in the course of a year. Still, no tendency towards combination is noticeable in such a form that it can be said to be the result of the turnover tax. Middlemen were protected in Germany in much the same way as agents are under the Madras Act. Though difficulties were encountered in the first few months of the administration of this Act, they were soon got over and the tax won a very high place in the fiscal system of the country.

In Germany the rate of the tax varied from time to time. Pressed as the country was with a huge expenditure at that period, which did not shrink in volume even after the war, because of the work of reconstruction and the burden of reparations, frequent efforts to increase the rate of this productive tax were made. From  $\frac{1}{2}\%$  in 1918 it reached 2.5% within 6 years. The Dawes Committee condemned the high rate of the turnover tax which was then 2.5%. The feeling amongst the working class population that they were paying the greater part of the tax also grew in volume and strength. The result was that from October 1, 1924 there has been regular and successive reductions in the rate of the tax. The necessity to give some relief to the industries during a period of depression brought the question of the tax burden of the industries to the forefront and a reduction in the rate of the turnover tax was conceived as one of the steps leading to it. Accordingly in 1926 the tax was reduced from the low rate of 1% to 3% of it. This reduction in the rate, it is remarked by some, has only tended to strengthen the hold of the tax in the German fiscal system. The following table shows the quick rise and fall in the rate of the tax.

Date.	Rate %	of the Tax.
July 16, 1918		·5
December 24, 1919	• •	1.5
April 8, 1922	••	2.0
January 1, 1924	• •	2.5
October 1, 1924	••	2.0
January 1, 1925	• •	1.5
October 1, 1925	• •	1.0
April 1, 1926	••	· <b>7</b> 5

The yield of the tax increased with every increase in the rate of the tax and before 1923-24 it occupied a very important place in the annual budget. Nearly ¼ of the total tax revenue of the Reich was secured from this source in 1923-24 and the following few years. The yield has fallen in later years, which may be attributed to a great extent to the reductions in the rate.

Taken from A. Comstock: Taxation in Modern State, Ch. 9, p. 124.
 S.T.—2.

Statement showing yield of turnover tax in Germany.2

Year	Yield of turnover tax.		***	Yield of turnover tax	
	Millions of Marks.		Year.	Millions of Marks.	
1920-21	5,049		1928-29	1,000	
1921-22	11,474		1929-30	1,013	
1922-23	228,537		1930-31	996	
1923-24	-		1931-32	994	
1924-25	1,799	•	1932-33	1,354	
1925-26	1,338	•	1933-34	1,516	
1926-27	974		1934-35	1,872	
1927-28	900		1935-36	2,020	

"The reductions in turnover in 1930-31 and 1931-32 were almost compensated by increases in rates from 0.75% to 0.85% as from April 1930, (1.35% for retailers with a turnover exceeding RM 1 million) and 2% as from January 1932. The yield exceeded the level of former years considerably as from 1932-33." The yield of the turnover tax in various years as percentages of 1928-29 were as follows.

The statement besides showing the remarkable increase in the yield of the tax with increases in rate, brings out the more important truth that the sales tax is not seriously affected by the depression.

"Like the other true turnover taxes as, e.g. those of France and Czechoslovakia, the law is-founded upon the self-notification of liability and upon the statutory duty of keeping detailed records showing the transactions liable to the tax." With a view to checking evasion and raising the yield to budget expectations, strict regulations have been formulated in Germany for the proper maintenance of accounts of daily sales subject to taxation at different rates; "a stock book" and "a

<sup>2. (</sup>a) Taken from A. Comstock: Taxation in Modern State, Chapter IX, page 126.

<sup>(</sup>b) League of Nations: Memorandum on Public Finance, 1922-26, 1926-28 and 1928-35.

<sup>3.</sup> League of Nations: Memorandum on Public Finance: Economic Intelligence Service XII, Germany, p. 7.

<sup>4.</sup> A. Comstock: Taxation in Modern State.

tax book" with details as regards the sale of articles, the prices and date of sale are also to be maintained by the merchants. Returns are filed quarterly by the taxpayers along with advance payments on the basis of the returns. Final adjustments are done only at the end of each year.

In Germany, except for grumblings on the part of the manufacturers and merchants about the trouble of account-keeping, no serious difficulty arose from that quarter in the administration of the Act. There was no cause for dissatisfaction during a period of depreciating currency when they were able to pass on to the consumers not only the whole tax but even more. Much evasion existed in the earlier period, owing to the instability of the currency and lack of information regarding prices. This led the smaller merchants to escape the losses caused by sudden fluctuations in prices by omitting to note down sales and thus save a few thousand or hundred marks.

The turnover tax is not wholly absorbed by the Reich Government. When the Reich acquired financial hegemony by the 1919 constitution, it adopted the practice of sharing with the Lander and municipalities the yield from certain taxes. About 30% of the yield of the turnover tax with guaranteed minimum of 450 million marks, is set apart for the states and Communes by the Reich.

The Law of June 25, 1920 which came into force in July of that year introduced the turnover tax in France. The rate at first was 1.1% of which 1% was taken over to the National Treasury while the remaining one tenth was passed on to the local governments. As in Germany, the turnover tax was accompanied by a luxury tax of 10%. Exemptions were granted in the case of certain commodities; sales of bread were not taxed: agriculturists, members of liberal professions and employees were free from the operation of the Act. Barring these, the law was applicable to all other industrial and commercial transactions carried on within the country and the tax is levied on all gross sales and gross amounts of commission. The tax became very unpopular in 1921 chiefly owing to the proposal to double the turnover tax by the Financial Committee of the Chamber of Deputies; "The pent up irritation against the tax burst forth" and the tax was much condemned as differentiating unjustly between merchants and agriculturists. However, in March 1924, the rate of the tax was raised from 1.1% to 1.3% which was further increased subsequently "and adjusted to various types of business, so that 4 different rates of turnover tax, apart from taxes at the production stage for certain industries were in force until August 1926."5 The reforms suggested by the Committee of Experts were carried out in that month.

Multiplicity was avoided and the tax was unified and maintained at a rate of 2%. At this time the tax on exports also was abolished. In 1926, when the beginnings of another business depression were experienced, the French merchants feeling the pinch of the tax tried to condemn it, but this wave of opposition too did not last long, for with the return of prosperity the opposition slowly vanished.

Difficulties were experienced in the first few months of the working of the tax. Failures to submit returns at proper times were very common and the reason for this was said to be the complicated nature of the tax which was not easy for merchants to understand. Difficulties in the matter of verification of accounts were also serious, as the accounts maintained by the merchants under the code of commerce of Napoleon were often scanty. The dislike of the French merchants in showing the accounts for verification to the tax authorities impeded to a great extent the regular collection of taxes. Deficits in collection occupied a large percentage of the total demand.

It is generally said that much evasion was practised under this head; "The *Temps* claimed that 2/3 of the merchants evaded the turnover tax and that it was actually a tax on the remaining 1/3; that it was a tax only upon those who wished to pay."<sup>6</sup>

These difficulties were to an extent solved in 1922 by the introduction of the "forfait system" which only means a "lump sum payment." In the beginning the system was extended only to those taxpayers with a turnover of less than 48,000 Francs a year, who were allowed to make payments quarterly on the basis of turnover of the preceding year. The advantages of the system were so much appreciated by the merchants that they made numerous representations within a few months to extend the scheme further, to be applicable to bigger merchants. This demand of the bigger merchants was granted and the budget law of 1922 contained a provision to that effect.

In the beginning the difficulty of defining the commodities that should be classed as luxuries was prominent but with the passage of time and the gaining of experience the difficulty was got over. "The later history of the French turnover tax seems to bear out the old saying that any old tax is a good tax." Such other difficulties as were experienced in the course of the practical administration of the tax have been solved in the course of years and it may be said that in later years the tax had a smooth run.

However, the tax remained unpopular with the public and with the French merchants. Their dislike to disclose their account books to a third party, the distinction between the merchants and agriculturists and the inability of traders to shift the tax on to the consumers during periods of business depression, all combined to make the tax unwelcome to them. Many of these factors were merely transitory and it would not be far from the truth to say that the tax was received with a certain amount of indifference both by the merchants and traders in periods of prosperity and non-depression times.

The importance of the tax could be well appreciated when it is said that the tax came as a saviour while France was undergoing very serious fiscal difficulties. A look at the yield of the tax further illustrates an important characteristic of the sales tax, that it is possible of a steady yield even in the face of minor cyclical fluctuations. The following table would show that even when allowance has been made for the depreciation of the currency in post-war days, there has been a steady increase in yield. While in the year 1925 the tax was 15.8% of the tax revenue, it increased to 19.4% in the next year and in 1927 it was 20.8%.

Statement showing yield of turnover tax in France.7

Year.	Millions of Francs.	Year.	Millions of Francs.
1920	942	1928	9,295
1921	1,897	1929	9,865
1922	2,280	1930-31	9,226
1923	3,016	1931-32	8,873
1924	4,090	1932	6,478
1925	4,439	1933	6,897
1926	6,445	1934	6,386
1927	7,582	1935	7,247

The Belgium sales tax is a manufacturers' or wholesalers' tax and is known as a Transfer tax (tax de transmission). It was introduced by the law of August 28 of 1921 and became operative from roughly the middle of November of that year. The rate of the tax was 1% which was levied on all transaction "in merchandise and other movable property with the exception of retail sales" and was calculated on the total purchase price paid. The tax was levied only when an actual transfer of goods movable by their nature took place between living persons for a consideration within Belgium. These limitations at once exempt gifts and inheritances from the operation of the Act.

League of Nations: Memorandum on Public Finance 1922-26, 1926-28 and 1928-35.

The burden imposed on the chain stores have necessitated the exemption of the transfer of goods to a branch from the head office, though originally such transfers were treated as separate sales. The transactions of buying and selling conducted by a commission agent on behalf of a recognised principal are taxed only once, that is, at the time of the transfer from the vendor to the definitive purchaser.

The nature of exemptions granted under the Belgium law may be stated at some length as it reveals the essential principles to be followed when the tax is levied, and represents also the general tendency prevalent in the leading countries. The following transfers are exempted<sup>8</sup>:—

- The sale of bread and flour for baking bread, potatoes, lard, margarine, frozen meat, eggs and other foodstuffs as specified by royal decree.
- 2. Public and auction sales of food in exchanges and markets.
- 3. Sales to the Government, the provinces, the departments and to public establishments.
- 4. Sales of water, gas and electricity.
- 5. Sales of not more than 30 Francs.
- 6. Sales of farm products and coal, directly from the producer to the consumer of not more than 150 Francs.
- 7. Sales by retailers direct to individuals for their personal use without regard to the amount of the sale.
- 8. Goods returned by a branch to a head office.
- 9. Transfer in execution of a contract of sale which was required to be publicly registered in Belgium.
- 10. Exportations, either direct or through brokers.
- 11. Importations (a) by the chief diplomatic representatives (b) personal baggage etc. (c) for reexportation (d) of metals from the colonies.

The Belgium Government in their endeavour to minimise the cost of administration of the tax have made the taxpayer himself the real tax collector. All computations of the tax and other incidental and necessary work have to be performed by the merchant himself. The tax is paid "by affixing double stamps (printed in two parts, detachable on a horizontal line) on the seller's invoice and on the purchaser's invoice half on each and by cancelling them. It is the duty of the seller to provide the stamps and to attend to the details of affixing and cancelling

them." This system possesses the advantage of not injuring the susceptibilities of the merchants by forcing them to submit their accounts which are regarded as sacred secrets; the examination of the purchase and sales invoice books is not disliked by the merchants. However, it must be pointed out, that the onerous duties that it imposed on them were much resented and severe criticism and condemnation of the Act on this point were advanced in the earlier stages.

The consumer in Belgium was rather indifferent to the payment of the tax even when he knew that it was shifted to him. The reason is to be found perhaps in the fact that the burden of general taxation was not crushing. Comstock observes, "The ultimate consumer was not pressed down to his centime in the matter of taxes, either direct or indirect, and in so far as he was conscious of the incidence of the transfer tax, he seemed to think that it was as good as any other tax".

The importance of the transfer tax of Belgium as a revenue producer is sometimes exaggerated. As regards yield the tax occupies only a place next to income tax. Unlike the Latin countries, Belgium does not rely upon indirect taxation to a great extent. While the receipts from income tax had consistently remained at about 25% of her revenue, the yield from transfer tax was only a fifth of her tax revenue.

% of tax revenue.

The Czechoslovakian turnover tax leaves a lesson for India as it demonstrates how useful it is in a country with no sound financial practices and with depleted or almost exhausted resources and where the land tax and the income tax are undependable and objection-The new state of Czechoslovakia in the post-war days, unwilling to answer the needs of its Government by a resort to monetary tactics, found in the sales tax, a good source of revenue. The heavy almost crushing burden of taxation during the previous regimes had already prepared the people to bear ungrudgingly any tax imposed on them, if it was not inconvenient, and this attitude of the people helped the Government in successfully introducing the measure, which everywhere else was received with the greatest opposition. A law providing for the levy of the sales tax passed in December 1919 came into operation in the beginning of the next year. According to it a tax of 1% was imposed on the selling price of all transactions in commodities. Services also came within the field of taxation. Along with this tax, a luxury tax of 12% at the place of production and 10% at retail establishments came into force. In the beginning however, the tax was not popular with the public; the erratic price fluctuations due to sudden changes in the supply of commodities was wrongly ascribed to the turnover tax. But with the passage of time, as in other countries, the opposition subsided. Criticisms of other types either about the rate of levy or mode of collection were not prominent though some ill-feeling existed as to the differentiation shown between the agriculturists and the merchants. Some of the objectionable features which came to notice were removed in 1921 when the tax was doubled.

It would not be wrong to say that the potentialities of the tax were fully revealed in this country. Even within the first two years of its existence the tax occupied a very high rank amongst the various sources of the tax revenue, yielding nearly from 20 to 25% of it. In the second year it stood second among the taxes with only the coal tax above it. In 1922 the turnover tax beat the coal tax in yield and about 1929 there was none so highly productive as that in the state. Even the income tax yields only half as much.

The Polish turnover tax on gross sales was introduced in 1924. All businesses, operations and liberal professions with only certain exceptions came within the field of taxation. The general rate of the tax was 2% in 1926, but was only 1% on raw materials. Different rates were levied for transactions carried on by different classes of merchants in respect of certain goods; thus a 5% tax on wholesale transactions in materials for home agriculture and industry, 1% on retail trade in food and 5% on commissions were imposed. The difficulties caused by this variety of taxes and in obtaining accurate returns from those liable to pay the tax, made its administration pretty difficult in the beginning. The absence of trained and capable hands to deal with the situation intensified the trouble. The American Financial Committee which came to Poland in 1926 to help the Polish Government in carrying out financial reforms found in the tax "rather serious difficulties of administration." It did not favour the existence of the tax as it imposed unequal burden among the different branches of industry and among different businesses in the same industry and even recommended the final replacement of the turnover tax by other equally productive business taxes. In the meanwhile, it recommended some changes in the practices prevalent under the existing law. It advocated the cause of the very small concerns and suggested their exemption from taxation; it considered the licence tax to be a better mode of taxing the smaller business men than the tax on sales; such a tax it claimed would cause only a meagre sacrifice to the Government but go a great deal in diminishing the cost of collection. The Commission also pointed out the advantages of uniformity in rate and the difficulties and defects of a multiplicity of rates. It fixed only ½% as the maximum for a general uniform rate. The yield of the tax cannot be said to have been very high in Poland. But this can be accounted for in part by the bad times which Poland experienced when the tax was introduced.

Statement showing yield of Turnover Tax in Poland.\*

		Year.	Millions of Zloties
		1928-29	350
		1929-30	346
Closed Accounts	• •	1930-31	300
		1931-32	239
		1932-33	195
Provisional Results		1933-34	178
2 TO VISIOII A TOCHUS	••	1934-35	184
Estimates	••	1935-36	189

The turnover tax in Austria was levied at a 1% rate on deliveries of goods and services by industrial establishments from April 1923. A luxury tax of 12% also existed along with it. It was considered to be a good source of steady revenue and its utility was well recognised during a time when the receipts from other sources were falling or changing with times. The importance attached to it and the extra-ordinary yield of the tax will be inferred from the following observations of the Commissioner General for Austria.<sup>9</sup>

"The tax on commercial transactions is the most important of all sources of Federal revenue. Its yield was estimated at 450 milliards in the 1923 budget and has been raised to 1400 milliards for 1924. It should not be forgotten that the tax on commercial transactions was only actually put into force on April 1st (1923) and that until recently it has not been possible to collect it in full, the difficulty of collection being particularly marked during the first few months."

The rate of the tax in 1924 was double the original rate and produced more than a fifth of the total revenue in the following years. Experts are

<sup>\*</sup>League of Nations: Memorandum on Public Finance 1928-35: Economic Intelligence Service XXII, Poland.

<sup>9.</sup> Eleventh Report of the Commissioner-General of the League of Nations for Austria (Geneva 1924, pp. 40). Quoted by Comstock: Taxation in Modern State, 147-148.

S.T.-3.

of the opinion that it is not oppressive and that the cost of administration also is very low. The emergency tax on commodities turnover introduced as from August 1932 practically doubled the rates of the old tax.<sup>10</sup>

Another important European country that adopted the sales tax is Hungary. The tax was introduced in September 1921, much earlier than it was in the sister state of Austria. The original rate of the tax was only 1.5% imposed on all sales of goods and services with the usual exemptions. In 1924 the rate was 3% and the Financial Committee of the League of Nations which sat over the question of Financial Reconstruction of Hungary criticised the high rate of the existing tax and recommended its gradual reduction as times permitted. The rate was however reduced by 1% shortly after the recommendation which was soon reflected in its yield as is shown by its fall from 27% in 1924-25 to about 18% in the next two years.

Canada.—Of the important Dominions of the British Empire, Canada is one that has adopted the sales tax and its experience is considered to furnish a "valuable example of the sales tax in a different type of industrial society." The passing of the sales tax law in 1920 in Canada must be attributed only to the financial stringency caused by the War. All sales by manufacturers to wholesalers or jobbers, which had not been exempted, came within the scope of the law, on which a tax of 1\% was imposed. But as it was the intention of the Government that the "tax should rest with a weight of at least 2% on goods sold for consumption," an additional tax of 1\% was levied on sales by wholesalers or jobbers to retailers or consumers. It must be noted here that though provisions were made only for a 2% burden on commodities, the actual burden was much higher, perhaps as high as 8%. In the matter of exemptions Canada has strictly followed the principle of exempting of normal food consumption. Newspapers and a variety of such other commodities also have been excluded from taxation. It is sometimes said that it is this farsighted policy of granting liberal exemptions that has made the tax permanent in the country. The only articles coming within the group of necessaries that felt the force of the tax were the clothing items, but it cannot be said that the burden imposed this way was very heavy.

The original rates of 1% and 2% were raised by May of next year to 1.5% and 3% with an additional tax of 1% for importations by retailers and consumers. In May of 1922 the 1.5% tax was raised to 2.25% while direct sales by producers to consumers were taxed at 4.5%. Imports were taxed at 6%.

The experience of the tax for four years had brought out in 1924 many of the defects and efforts were made in that year to reform the tax. was found out that the cumulative tax in the case of certain commodities was not so harmless as it was thought to be, and hence according to the law which came into operation in January 1924 it was converted into a purely manufacturer's tax at 6%. Under this law, raw materials and goods to be manufactured were exempted and the principle that the sales tax should be levied on an article only once, which should be paid by the final producer was given effect to. With the financial recovery of the country a movement set in for the gradual reduction in the rate of the tax and for its final extinction. In some quarters there was a vigorous plea for the abolition of the high rated wholesaler's tax and its substitution by a low general turnover tax, at 1%. The recovery of the country made it possible to give effect to some of these suggestions. Cuts in the sales and income taxes were effected. It was reduced to 4% in 1927 and 3% in 1928. It was generally believed in 1928 that this policy of gradual reduction was only paying the way for the final elimination of the tax altogether.

It can be remarked, without any reservations, that in Canada the tax has revealed its power as a source of revenue. It has surpassed the income tax in yield and has contributed nearly 25% of the total governmental receipts. Though it thus became popular with the finance ministers and the Government, the merchants and manufacturers complained that it operated unequally on them and that it affected the exportations of certain manufacturers to the United States of America. Hence a well-known writer on modern taxation remarks "that in spite of the large yield, the Canadian tax had not yet fitted into the fiscal system with the case which had characterised some of the European Countries."

If any major country has refrained from resorting to the sales tax as a source of National revenue, it can be said that Great Britain is followed by the equally mighty *United States of America*. In America the question of levying the sales tax was a subject of much controversy shortly after the War and again about 1930-31. Strangely enough, the business interests of America, as represented by the National Association of Manufacturers, the National Association of Real Estate Boards and other organisations favoured the adoption of the sales tax, of course not without a motive; for they wished to be benefited by reductions in the special luxury taxes, in individual income taxes and corporation taxes. But opposition from the farm and the labour and other groups was sufficient enough to defeat attempts to introduce the tax both in 1921 and 1922. The sharp drop in the yield of the income tax due to business depression, brought the question again to the forefront in 1932, when the

Treasury recommended a series of taxes on selected articles, with a view to making up the deficit from income tax and balancing the budget. Protests from those businesses that were picked up for taxation were so formidable that the Ways and Means Committee turned its attention hopefully to the introduction of a sales tax of the Canadian type. They contemplated the levy of the tax on the sale of finished goods by manufacturers. But once again the opposition of the farm and labour interests, with their new allies the merchants, was so great that the attempt was as quickly abandoned as it was contemplated. "The House descrted its own committee and decisively rejected the tax. Since then, to the end of 1933, the sales tax has not been in the foreground as a possible source of Federal revenue."

States:—It cannot be said that there had been any widespread movement for sales tax till the beginning of the depression and its effects became visible upon the revenue receipts and expenditure policies of the State Governments; for though the first sales tax act was passed in 1921 by West Virginia it was not followed up by any state till 1929, when Georgia introduced the tax. "Between the end of 1929 and the end of 1933, the introduction of the sales tax wrought a fundamental change in the revenue systems of several Five states-Georgia, Kentucky, Missisipi, Pennsylvania and West Virginia—had passed sales tax laws before 1933, while in 1933 alone cleven states adopted such measures for the first time. Two other states which tried to pass similar measures had them defeated at referenda, before collections started. This tremendous expansion of the tax can be ascribed with great truth, as being not so much due to the motive of tax reform as to the severe strain upon the fiscal machinery caused by the depression and the resulting collapse of state revenues with a simultaneously increasing expenditure, partly due to a more liberal policy of unemployment relief and partly due to the starting of more schools. The great fall in local revenues which reduced their capacities to carry out some of the duties assigned to them as that relating to education etc., put a further burden on the states to meet which they could not but resort to new tax resources. Nearly half the number of states and the cities of New York and New Orleans have adopted the sales tax at more or less uniform rates on sales of most articles and ser-On January 1, 1937, it was prevalent in 22 states and the two cities mentioned above. Most of these states gave exemptions for such

<sup>11.</sup> Sales Tax in the American States: R. M. Haig and C. Shoup, p. 7.

<sup>12.</sup> For principal provisions of recent state sales tax laws, general and administrative provisions, exemptions and dispositions of revenue, etc. see "Sales Taxes in American States," R. M. Haig and C. Shoup.

important items like foodstuffs and adopted only retail sales taxes. The fear that manufacturing and wholesaling concerns might be tempted to migrate to neighbouring states where there was no tax or only a lighter tax, weighed much with the state authorities in fixing the tax at one point only, namely, retail sales. Naturally enough it was only the retailers who opposed the tax tooth and nail at the time of its introduction in every state; their campaign of opposition, it is said, had assumed a nation-wide aspect. But however vigorous and organised their opposition had been, it had always been a losing one. The proponents consisted of a combination in many cases, almost imperfect, of members of farm groups, teachers' organisations, urban real estate associations, public service corporations and governor and Governmental authorities. The limitations on the scope of the tax base resulted in raising the rate of the tax. It can be said that generally the state sales taxes range in the majority of cases between 2% and 3%. It may be noted here that one state Kentucky tried a new experiment, by introducing the principle of progression in 1930. "The rates began at 1/20 of 1% on gross sales not exceeding \$400,000 and rose to 1% of the excess of sales over \$1,000,000." The Supreme Court however declared this law unconstitutional in 1935 and the distinction between a large volume of sales and a small volume was held not to be a reasonable basis to justify the imposition of a progressive sales tax.<sup>13</sup>

More than nearly 1/3 of the revenues is secured from this tax by states adopting rates ranging between 2% and 3%. The total income for all the State Governments from this source, comes to about \$350,000,000, about 1/7 of all state tax revenue, to which \$50,000,000 have to be added if the total tax receipts from this tax for all states and local units is to be gathered. Thus \$400,000,000 is the aggregate income for all states and the 2 cities of New York and New Orleans from this tax, and thus comes to about 6% of the total state and local revenues. It is estimated that the yield of the sales tax occupies 1/30 of all the tax revenues of all governmental units in the country—federal, state and local. It is expected, that but for the unfavourable political reactions to which the tax had been lately subjected, the income of \$400,000,000 "might be doubled or trebled." 14

Not all the revenues from this source are utilised by the State Governments themselves. They share the revenues from this tax with the local units. It has been found that in a period when the tendency to share taxes has been slightly decreasing and grants-in-aid

<sup>13.</sup> Facing the Tax Problem. 20th Cent. Fund p. 183.

<sup>14.</sup> Facing the Tax Problem: 20th Cent. Fund p. 93.

have been coming into vogue, the local units have been getting increasing shares from sales tax revenues. From  $1\cdot3\%$  in 1934 it has increased to  $3\cdot3\%$  in 1935 and  $18\cdot4\%$  in 1936. Represented in thousands of dollars it comes to 3552,9686 and 79025 in 1934, '35 and '36 respectively.

The tax is separately charged from the consumers in many states. In 15 out of the 22 states and 2 cities the laws provide to that effect. The same practice is followed up by the retailers in other states with the hope that it would by keeping the consumers aware of the fact that they are paying the tax, facilitate the organisation of severe opposition and help its repeal ultimately. To help them in accomplishing this deed, the retailers in America have adopted various tactics. 15 But this practice should not lead one to the conclusion that the incidence of the tax rests uniformly on the consumers in America. The authors of a recent book while dealing with this question warn readers against coming to such a hasty They observe, "Separate charging of the tax, so common conclusion. under retail sales taxes, is no guarantee that the tax is being shifted. A retailer might sell an article at \$1.00 for instance, if there were no sales tax, while under a 2\% sales tax, he sells it at 0.98 cents plus 2 cents tax".

In many of the states adopting the tax, the revenues from it are ear-marked for education. Though it seems there is no rhyme or reason in this practice, it is believed to be 'a political device designed to gain support by confusing the issues at stake.'16

The administration of the sales tax is being carried on in the American States by special administrative divisions created for that purpose. In some states nearly 2 to 4% of the sales tax revenue is allowed to be spent over the administration, while in some other states "such sums as are necessary" are allowed to be drawn to meet the administrative The authorities concerned with the administration of the tax are costs. invested with wide powers by special statutory enactments. of the administration of the tax which has got a significance and a lesson that should be grasped by every country introducing the tax for time deserves be noted. "There to widespread tendency to be lenient with taxpayers for the first few months, but this arises not from any indifference but rather from a studied desire to avoid friction which might imperil future collections and perhaps the very existence of the tax".17 The violation of this idea

<sup>15.</sup> See section on Shifting and Incidence of Taxation, p. 73.

<sup>16.</sup> Facing the Tax Problem, p. 552-553.

<sup>17.</sup> Sales Tax in American States, R. M. Haig and Carl Shoup, p. 27.

by some of the narrow minded administrators has led in many cases to disastrous results.

However, it cannot be said that the tax is popular in the states. The opinions of teachers of Public Finance, which is decidedly against it, in the enquiry conducted by the New York State Tax Commission 1936, brings out in a striking way, the attitude of the learned section of society. "Out of 127 professors, responding to the questions asked about the sales tax, the following were the replies: <sup>18</sup>

General Retail Sales Tax (Local) .. No. 119.
Producers' Sales Tax (Local) .. No. 119.
Tobacco Tax .. Yes. 121.
Such luxury taxes as can be practically administered Yes. 116.

It is expected that though the sales taxes which have been passed are temporary and mostly emergency measures and in eight states scheduled to expire in a year or two, it will remain for several years to come in states that have adopted it. For with the passage of time, the opposition from the bigger merchants will wane, while the smaller retailers can by themselves offer no effective opposition.

A study of the tax in foreign countries will be of no avail, if an attempt is not made to draw out the general tendencies of the tax common to all the countries, that have imposed it. Besides the intrinsic merit involved in that piece of work, such an enquiry will facilitate the comparison of the measure under study, viz., the Madras General Sales Tax Act, with those of other countries. Necessity for great revenue and inability to draw it from the existing sources of taxation or from sources other than the sales tax have been in general the main causes, for its adoption by many countries. In almost all these countries, while the tax was levied for the first time, it was collected at a very low rate. The following table, summarising the statements made in the previous pages, will present the point clearly.

Country		Rate % of the tax.
Germany	••	∙5
France	• •	1.1
Belgium (Manufacturers' tax)	• •	1
Czechoslovakia	••	1
Austria	. ••	1
Hungary	• •	<b>1·5</b> .
Canada	• •	1
Madras	• •	•5

<sup>18.</sup> Taken from: Facing the Tax Problem, p. 580.

It is unnecessary to point out that our province too has followed the practice of the other countries adopting turnover taxes, by starting with a low rate of tax.

Taxes on services are very common in continental countries. Luxuries also come under the field of taxation; and sales taxes on luxuries extending to more than 10% are common in Europe. But these rates have been constantly changing according to the needs of the state. Over the question of exemptions also a general tendency is noticeable. Many of the countries that have adopted the sales taxes have exempted the food articles, the necessaries of life, from taxation. sale of prime necessaries, government enterprise and transactions, and to a certain extent, machinery also are generally not taxed. too the Madras General Sales Tax Act compares favourably with the general tendencies noticed in other countries. A rebate of half the tax is granted for exports of manufactured articles for delivery outside the province under our Provincial Act. Government transactions, as well as certain transactions of local bodies<sup>19</sup> are exempt from taxation But it is only in the case of exemption of food articles under this Act. and necessaries of life that our province, rather strangely enough, has Even when the point was pressed very not shown any concession. much, the Government maintained an unfavourable attitude. here that the Madras Act has deviated totally from the general policy followed in other countries. Madras Province has not yet copied in full, the practice of imposing luxury taxes on the model of foreign countries, though it cannot be said that it has not proceeded in that If the Electricity, Tobacco, Motor Spirit and Entertainment taxes can be regarded as taxes on luxuries, it becomes evident that our province also has embraced the general principle of levying taxes on luxuries along with turnover tax. A clear point of difference between the Madras General Sales Tax Act and those of foreign countries is, that while some of them tax service also, the Madras measure excludes it. The reason for this divergence is not far to seek; for it is to be found in the Constitution Act itself.

As regards the administration of the tax and other allied questions relating to it, it can be inferred from the foregoing pages that the administration is found to be difficult only in the first few months; later on when the opposition to the measure dies out and some time elapses, the tax becomes an old tax; the administrative work also gets into a routine.

<sup>19.</sup> The sale of rubb'sh by municipalities is exempted. It is interesting to note here that the Srirangem Municipality raised the question whether municipalities selling rubbish should be taxed.

It might be regarded as hazarding a guess if it is said that the Madras General Sales Tax also will have a smooth run in course of time. But from the working of the Act in the first 6 months such a remark can be safely made.

These are some of the points on which a comparison between the Madras General Sales Tax and the turnover taxes in other countries can be made. But it is not good to carry comparisons While comparing any two countries in any field of the enquiry care must be always taken to understand the special peculiar features of the country that is being compared. A condemnation of one country on the basis that it has not followed in toto the principles and practices of other countries is unwise. Every country should adopt a principle and follow a practice sanctioned by its conditions. this truth is remembered while comparing the Madras General Sales Tax with the turnover taxes of other countries, there is no ground to condemn the measure for not following practices of other lands. In the light of the above truth, the refusal by the Government to exempt exports as such from taxation<sup>20</sup> and the half-hearted policy of taxing luxuries followed by the government can well be understood as being sanctioned by the special conditions of the province.

## SALES TAX AND THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ACT 1935

When the question of Provincial Finance was taken up along with the question of constitutional changes, the arduous task of setting apart a number of tax heads for the provinces to carry on their autonomous regimes had to be faced. The result of all discussions that followed was the formulation of schedule 7, List II of the Government of India Act of 1935, in which the tax heads of the provinces are enumerated. The Sales Tax (entry 48) is an item in that list and the clause relating to it refers it as a tax "On the sale of goods and on advertisements."

The assignment of the sales tax to the province by the centre has been taken advantage of by many persons to criticise the actions of both the Central and Provincial Governments, on the assumption that the sales tax has been rejected as being unsuited to India by the Taxation Enquiry Committee. The Government of India has often been represented as an unscrupulous mother giving an unwanted thing to its child. while the action of the Province imposing it is criticised as of a naughty child attempting to do а thing declared to be harmful. But the baselessness criticisms becomes evident if one goes through the relevant pages of the Taxation Enquiry Committee Report. Neither the Central Government nor the Provinces need be chastised for their actions. Taxation Enquiry Committee cannot be said to have made any detailed investigation of the applicability of the tax to India either as a Provin-It has considered only the case of a retail cial or Central measure. sales tax, as an alternative to the Octroi in connection with Local taxation; and to condemn the sales tax as a whole on the basis of the meagre attention paid to the tax by the Committee would not be wise. sales tax, as has been pointed out earlier, is employed by many countries and states in all stages of development; and because it was felt that India would not be committing a folly, the tax has been assigned to the province. If India adopts the tax either as a Central or as a Provincial measure, it is only to be taken as an indication of the movement of India along right lines in the field of Public Finance. She is only sailing along the current that has been flowing in the post-war era.

The power to levy "taxes on the sale of goods and advertisements" conferred on the provinces by the constitution, it must be admitted, is very limited in scope. It is only a tax on the sale of goods; taxes

on advertisements are allowed; but there are no references to services. It need not be repeated here that taxes on services too are common in modern states. In many states a tax on the sales of goods and services is levied. But in India, the provinces cannot attempt such a thing, for the mere reason that they are not endowed with such powers. In so far as the tax is restricted to the sale of goods, it must be admitted, that the scope of the tax has been to a considerable extent circumscribed.

With the commencement of working of Provincial Autonomy, the question of expanding the resources of the various provinces to enable the party in power to give effect to its policy—a feature noticeable in many countries of Europe during recent years¹—became acute. In many provinces rapid retrenchment policies were followed by efforts to raise greater revenues from certain of the existing sources of revenue. But the abolition of excise revenue in some provinces, and the elaborate scheme of public expenditure in others, made it impossible to bridge the gulf between income and expenditure. Hence hasty searches were made to find out new sources of taxation and the provision for a "tax on the sale of goods and on advertisements" in the provincial list of the Constitution Act was attractive. Many provincial governments have embraced it with eagerness.

The C. P. and Berar Government were perhaps the first to put the provision into use. They passed an Act allowing for a tax on the retail sales of motor spirit and lubricants. The validity of the Act was soon questioned. The Government of India held that the above action of the provincial governments was an 'intrusion upon a field of taxation reserved by the Act exclusively for the Federal Legislature.' They contended that the power to levy excise duties, which was exclusively left to them, extended up to the sale of the article, that is, that it may be imposed upon home-produced goods, at any stage, from production to consumption. They further pointed out that the taxes on the sale of commodities are simply taxes on commodities and the provincial levy of a retail sales tax which may fall on motor spirit and lubricants of Indian origin, is a duty of excise, within entry (45) and therefore to that extent ultra vires the powers of the provincial legislature. It was argued further that "even if the impugned Act2 were otherwise within the competence of the Provincial Legislature, it was nevertheless invalid, because the effect of the non-obstante clause in S. 100 (1), and a fortiori of that clause read with the opening words of S. 100 (3), is to

<sup>1.</sup> Refer Encyclopaedia Britannica 1939 Year Book, Article on 'Taxation' by Sir Josiah Stamp.

<sup>2.</sup> Refers to the Provincial Act.

make the federal power prevail if federal, and provincial legislative powers overlap." It was declared that while the provinces had power to levy the taxes "commonly known as turnover taxes, which under that name or under the name of sales taxes have since the war proved so successful a fiscal expedient in many countries" they could not without encroaching upon their powers embark on a policy of selective taxation.

It was contended on behalf of the Provincial Government that "an excise duty was a tax on production or manufacture only and that it could not therefore be levied at any later stage." The provinces hence would not give such a wide connotation for the term "excise;" nor would they admit of the power of the Federal Government to levy excises extending up to the stage of consumption of goods. The points involved in the question were highly complicated and His Excellency, the Viceroy, decided to have the question settled by the Federal Court of India. Accordingly the question was referred to the Federal Court. hearing the arguments of the Government of India, and the Province of C. P. and Berar, and other provinces which were invited to have their say as it was a matter which concerned all of them, the Court decided in favour of the provinces. The Court stuck to the principle that "a general power ought not to be so construed as to make a nullity of a particular power conferred by the same Act and operating in the same field, when by reading the former in a more restricted sense effect can be given to the latter in its ordinary and natural meaning." remarked that "if the two legislative powers are read in the manner suggested above, there will be no overlapping between them." It clearly laid out that "the central Legislature will have the power to impose duties on excisable articles before they became part of the general stock of the Province, that is to say, at the stage of manufacture or production, and the Provincial legislature an exclusive power to impose a tax on sales thereafter." After pointing out, by way of strengthening its conclusions, that neither precedence (i.e. excise duties levied under the 1919 Constitution Act) nor the existing excises lend support to the contention of the Government of India, it has declared that the Central Provinces and Berar Sales of Motor Spirit and Lubricants Taxation Act. 1938 is not ultra vires the Legislature of the Central Provinces and Berar.

This decision of the Federal Court is of great importance as it lays down some important principles on which this provision regarding Sales Tax should be interpreted. It gives out in clear words the meaning of the provision "taxes on the sale of goods" and it has clarified the position of the Provinces regarding the levy of selective sales taxes.<sup>3</sup> This

<sup>3.</sup> In view of the importance of the judgment, extracts of the same are appended.

decision of the question in favour of the provinces by the Supreme Court in India, has opened a wide field of taxation for them. Other provinces including Madras have enacted similar measures with regard to the same commodities. But it is not the intention here to study all those taxes, that may be called selective sales taxes. Our attention will be confined here to only the Madras General Sales Tax Act.

## LEGISLATIVE HISTORY OF THE MADRAS MEASURE

The Madras Government was perhaps the first to introduce a general sales tax; no doubt the Bombay Government also proceeded that way but there is much difference between the two measures, the enunciation of which may be deferred to a later section.

The Madras Sales Tax Bill was first published in the Fort St. George Gazette of February 28, 1939 for public information. Between the draft bill and the bill that was finally passed by the Legislature there is much difference. A study of the bill in all its 3 stages—as it originally stood, as it came out of the Select Committee; and as it was finally passed by the Legislature—may be highly instructive.

As originally published the bill was a short one of sixteen clauses giving very wide powers to the executive authorities. A notable feature of the bill was the absence of any exemptions. The tax was levied on the turnover of all goods "including all materials, commodities and articles other than those excluded from the scope of the act by a notification by the Provincial Government in the Official Gazette." It was this all inclusive nature of the bill that raised a loud hue and cry and which made the Select Committee include far-reaching exemptions. The rate of levy consisted of 2 slabs and a ½% rate of tax on turnover exceeding Rs. 40,000. Every dealer with a turnover of less than Rs. 10,000 was exempted while the following rates were charged for others:—

previous year exceeded Rs. 10,000	
but did not exceed Rs. 20,000	75
(b) If such turnover exceeded Rs. 20,000	
but did not exceed Rs. 40,000	150
(c) If such turnover exceeded Rs. 40,000	One half per cent of the amount of such turnover.

(a) If the estimated towns

Rs.

Much opposition was raised against this form of the bill. The whole attack converged round the rates of assessment and the complete absence of exemptions; criticisms were very vehement; protest meetings were held in all parts of the Presidency; deputations were sent which waited upon the Government; the press too to a certain extent carried a tearing

and raging campaign against the measure; hartals were observed; influential men denounced the measure through the press and the platform; in the legislature also when the bill was taken up for the first reading the Government was severly condemned by the Opposition.

The outcome of all this was the appointment of a Select Committee consisting of 15 members of the House including the Chairman, to consider the Madras Sales Tax Bill and report on it. The Committee sat over the question for nearly ten days and finally submitted a report to the House on the 22nd April. It is necessary to mention here that though the Report was to all appearance a unanimous one, yet in reality it was otherwise, for four important members opposed the measure on two grounds:—

- (1) "They are against a cumulative turnover tax and favour taxation at one point only; and
- (2) they are against the imposition of any rate of taxation above one-eighth per cent."<sup>1</sup>

However, when the bill was taken up by the Select Committee for consideration, very important and far reaching changes were introduced. The work of the Select Committee may be considered under a few heads:—

Changes in definition:—A few changes of great significance were introduced with regard to the definitions of 'dealers,' 'goods' and 'turnover' the important aspects of which will be referred to here. As the Committee was of the opinion that in certain trades dealing with articles of export, it may be more appropriate to levy the tax imposed by this Bill on the persons to whom the sales are made than on the persons by whom the sales are made, they have thought it desirable to amend the definition of 'dealer' as 'any person who carries on the business of buying or selling goods in the course of trade or commerce therein.2 Under the new definition of 'goods', stocks and shares and securities are exempted. Following the definition of 'goods' in the Sale of Goods Act, they have also excluded actionable claims from the scope of the expression.3 The power of exempting articles from the scope of the act that was vested originally in the hands of executive authorities by means of a notification by the Provincial Government in the Official Gazette has been taken away under the new definition of 'goods', as the Committee felt that exemption of any selected goods

<sup>1.</sup> Select Committee Report, 8.

<sup>2.</sup> Ibid cl. 2. Definition of 'dealer'.

<sup>3.</sup> Ibid cl. 2. Definition of 'goods.'

from the scope of the bill should be provided for by express enactment in the bill itself and not by means of a notification issued by the Executive Government. Apart from modifying the definition of 'turnover' to suit the new definition of dealer, other changes have also been made, which include important concessions for merchants. Any cash or other discount on the price allowed in respect of any sale and any amount refunded in respect of articles returned by customers are not included in the turnover. Accommodation sales, that is, sales made simply to oblige the customers by taking goods from another dealer for immediate disposal, have also been excluded by freeing the former dealer from paying the tax.

Rate of Assessment:—It is in clause 3 of the bill that the Select Committee has effected the most important changes. As has been remarked earlier, the bill as it originally stood contained 2 slabs with fixed rates and only turnover exceeding Rs. 40,000 was subject to ½ percent rate. The Select Committee considering 2 slabs of fixed taxation as unnecessary decided that the percentage basis should apply to all cases where the turnover in a year exceeds Rs. 20,000.<sup>5</sup> The bill was amended thus with one slab and all those dealers whose turnover is between Rs. 10,000 and 20,000 come under it. On this the amount of the tax has been reduced from Rs. 75 as it originally stood, to Rs. 5 per mensem. The original rate of ½% has been retained by the Committee and is operative on turnover exceeding Rs. 20,000.

Question of Exemptions:—Nothing had absorbed the attention of the Select Committee so much as the question of exemptions. What commodities are to be exempted and how are they to be exempted were the chief problems that confronted them. As had been mentioned earlier, the greatest objections as soon as the bill was published were directed to this section of the bill and hence the Select Committee was faced with a very arduous task. The claims of export trade, of necessaries, of particular trades like hides and skins, bullion, etc., were all put before the Committee. After going through the whole problem, the Committee came to the conclusion that exemptions in certain cases may be granted and decided upon adopting different methods in different cases. Total exemption from taxation, taxation at one selected point only and concessions in the rate of assessment in the form of a rebate were the three courses decided upon. Under the first head came 'the sales of bullion and specie, of cotton, of cotton yarn and of any cloth

<sup>4.</sup> Select Committee Report cl. 2. Definition of 'goods,'

<sup>5.</sup> Select Committee Report cl. 3.

woven on handlooms and sold by persons dealing exclusively in such cloth.' In the case of export trade, after considering the alternative methods of treatment, they decided not to exempt goods sold for export as such but allowed a rebate of ½ the tax on the sale of finished articles of industrial manufacture for delivery outside the Province. regard to hides and skins and tanned goods, the Committee adopted the method of taxing at one point only.6 Apart from these exemptions the Committee found the necessity for exempting from taxation under this Act those commodities that were subject to separate levies under special enactments. Under this heading come all those items mentioned in clause 4 of the Act. In addition to these express provisions for exemptions made by the Select Committee, certain other concessions were also granted under the new definition of the term "turnover", which have been referred to previously. On the whole, considering the work of the Select Committee over this question, one must warmly congratulate them for the great consideration they paid to the various representations made at that time.

Some minor changes:—Apart from such alterations such as the dropping of a few clauses dealing with the comparatively minor question of the officers by whom the tax should in different classes of cases be assessed and the various authorities to whom appeals could be preferred in respect of the assessment of the tax no important change has been made in the bill. A new clause (13) has been included by the Select Committee making it obligatory upon all except very petty dealers carrying on business in any class of goods to show in the accounts maintained by them the value of the goods bought and sold, failing which, they will be required to maintain accounts in such form as may be prescribed in this behalf by the Government. Under the section dealing with penalties the Select Committee has taken care to see that no person is punished for unconscious omissions and mistakes and has made it clear that only wanton or 'wilful' actions should be punished by inserting the term 'wilful' at the proper places.

Though the changes effected by the Select Committee satisfied a great part of the general public, many were still dissatisfied with them and clamoured for more. The same kind of opposition as was indulged in previously was repeated and the Opposition in the Legislatures grew more intense. A large number of amendments, greatly modifying the principle as well as the form of the bill, were tabled when the Bill was taken up for consideration clause by clause. But the Government

<sup>6.</sup> For details ref. to Madras General Sales Tax (Turnover and Assessment), Rules 15 and 16.

eager to stand by the principle and the form evolved by the Select Committee found itself unable to accept the numerous modifications that were brought forward. In a word, the bill as it was finally passed retained *in toto* the decisions of the Select Committee and beyond some verbal alterations nothing new was accomplished in the houses of the legislature.

Under the Act in the present form, the tax is levied in case of the various assessees only on net turnover after making the necessary deductions from the gross turnover. It may be interesting to note here that in addition to the concessions granted to merchants under the Act, the rules provide for the deduction from the gross turnover of any merchant the duties paid by him in respect of salt to the Central Government. Except in the case of commodities in Rule 4 the tax is levied only on the sales of commodities. The special provision in these cases under Rule 4 has been made with a view to bring the foreign buyers of these commodities within the purview of the Act.

The rules provide for two methods of assessment, except in the case of licensed dealers in hides and skins for whom special provisions One method is open only to dealers with a turnover of over Rs. 20,000. Under this method, the dealer is taxed on his actual monthly turnover, which he is expected to submit in respect of each month, before the last day of the next month, in special forms provided for that purpose. The other method consists in asking the merchant to furnish in the form prescribed at the beginning of every year his turnover during the previous year or an estimate of his business during the first twelve months if it is newly started, on the basis of which he is provisionally assessed in the current year. The total tax calculated on that basis is divided by 12 and the monthly instalment of tax payable is fixed, which is to be paid by the merchant in respect of each month before the 10th of the succeeding month. At the end of the year, when the final check is made and the actual net turnover for the year is calculated, the tax is collected on the basis of the actual turnover and any excess found to have been collected is refunded while any amount due is forthwith collected.

The rate of the tax has been subsequently reduced with effect from 1940.9

<sup>7.</sup> See Madras General Sales Tax, (Turnover and Assessment) Rules, No. 5.

<sup>8.</sup> Ibid Rule No. 5 (i).

<sup>9.</sup> See appendix I.

## CRITICISMS CONSIDERED

No new measure of taxation is ever received by the tax payers without any comment and it is no wonder that the sales tax of our Province was subject to severe condemnation. Politicians, merchants and legislators lost no time in pointing out its defects; the principle as well as the form of the tax was much criticised.

That the tax was unsuited to India and more so to our Province was a chief point generally raised by all. Somehow or other the sales tax came to be associated in the minds of many with only industrially advanced states. Perhaps the reason is to be found in the imposition of the tax by such countries as Germany, America and Belgium. And the conception of India as a predominantly agricultural country stood in the way of reconciling the sales tax with our country. The more acute and argumentative among this class of critics went still further and exclaimed that the sales tax, in as much as it would raise the cost of production of manufactured articles, would in future handicap our country to a very great extent in this competitive world. Thus it was pointed out that the tax stood in the way of the future development of the country to an industrial stage.

It is difficult to assess how far these contentions are correct. First it can be pointed out that the sales tax is not levied in highly industrialised countries only. Even agricultural countries like Hungary, Poland and the Phillipines have levied the tax. If the tax has been successfully tried in these countries where is the harm in India or any Province in it taking a lesson from them?

Secondly, the latter part of the criticism that the tax would stand in the way of the future industrial development of the country, pre-supposes many things which it is not proper to take for granted. If it is said that the new tax would increase the cost of production of articles, it cannot be taken as axiom-It will have to be examined whether such a tendency would inevitably follow the levy of the tax and whether such a tendency cannot be avoided. The view that the cost need not necessarily increase but may even fall is also held by some economists. Hence before saying anything definite about the matter it has to be analysed in what ways the increase in cost of production would be brought about and in what other ways could decrease in cost of production be effected.

Increase in cost might be caused by higher prices paid for raw materials and higher wages paid to workers in order to meet the higher cost of living caused by the tax.\* It can confidently be said that the tax is not such a heavy one, as to raise the working class cost of living appreciable extent as to make them demand higher wages. Wage rise on this account is hence highly improbable. As for the higher cost caused by higher prices paid to raw materials, the question must be studied in relation to the incidence of the tax. It has been found in the course of this practical survey that illiteracy, helplessness, heavy demand for money for revenue and other purposes and lack of combination amongst the producers and lastly the absence of any adequate marketing facilities on a wide scale have all helped the purchasers of these raw materials in shifting the tax on to the heads of the producers and making them bear the incidence Increase in cost of production from this direction also seems improbable. Granting that the prevalent tendency is reversed and it is made probable, one must consider the point raised by a German Economist that the proportion of raw material utilised in the manufactured product is not always constant, that there is always an effort made to lessen the use of the quantity of the costlier material without damage to quality and that these things are being facilitated by modern science. If the tax increases the cost of raw materials, could not this tendency be counteracted by a more economical use of that material? This is a delicate question to be answered straight. The whole thing depends upon the capacity of the organising head of the industry and various other factors. Thus after weighing the arguments in support of and against the criticism, one feels that any dogmatic assertion is highly risky. It would be safe and scientific to observe that while there are probabilities for an increase in the cost of production of manufactured articles in future on account of this tax, there are great possibilities to maintain the status quo or even for lessening the cost. Thus while doubt prevails over this issue, much value could not be attached to the assertion that the future industrial progress of India or of our province is barred by the imposition of sales taxes.

There is another class of critics who oppose the measure as regards its form. Almost every clause of the bill is condemned by such critics. Only the more important of their points will be taken here for examination.

The cumulative character of the tax has been generally condemned. As many of the commodities including the necessaries change hands

<sup>\*</sup>Shirras in his Science of Public Finance Vol. II p. 610 remarks that this is a point amongst others which has not always been capable of proof.

many times, in many cases as much as 4 times, it is feared that the prices of commodities would go up by at least 3 or 4 times the tax. Such a rise in price would greatly affect the various stratas of society, especially the lower ones.

This is a legitimate fear and if prices do rise as per our expectation, the tax would only be doing great harm to society. A practical study of the question of incidence has brought out the fact that certain retail dealers refrain from shifting the tax on the heads of consumers, while in the case of many others, though it is their intention to shift the tax, the low unit value of the commodity, small transactions of low value, the lack of combination amongst merchants and various other factors have prevented them from successfully accomplishing their aim. It is only in certain commodities that shifting is rendered possible: whereas in other cases they have to bear the tax. Under such circumstances, to assume that prices would rise uniformly in all cases would amount to shutting one's eyes to the realities.

Certain advantages that the cumulative tax possesses over other forms of sales taxes may be stated here. A cumulative tax is said to be broadbased, and the rate of the tax also may not be very high. But, on the other hand, if a one-point tax is adopted, as the base of taxation is restricted, the rate must be very high which may not be agreeable to public taste. The cumulative tax has the further advantage that in certain places the tax may 'stick on,' without being passed on to the consumers; a highly rated one-point tax is not likely to have the same tendency. These arguments have not been advanced to justify the cumulative tax but are only intended to bring out the merits of this form of the tax over other forms and to show that it is not capable of causing so much harm to society as it is feared it would cause.

But the most important of all these criticisms is the one directed against the inclusion of exports within the orbit of taxation under this Act. It is argued that this inclusion goes against the practice of many European countries which have imposed the tax. But to follow the practices of foreign countries, without considering the question in relation to the peculiar circumstances of our not a desirable difference one. There is much between the conditions prevailing in our country and those of other European countries. The former is mainly an agricultural country exporting raw materials while the latter are industrial countries exporting manufactured articles. Exemption of exports from taxation in such cases is justified, as it is the policy of those Governments

to keep the cost of the manufactured articles low. While it is the endeavour of our Central government to conserve the raw materials and slowly industrialise the country, the exemption of exports of raw materials from the General Sales Tax Act by a Provincial Government would run counter to that policy. It is such a collision of policies that must be avoided at any cost. And if the Madras Government had acted in the proper way by not exempting exports as such, its action is not to be condemned.

## MOTIVE OF SALES TAXATION

The previous sections would have left the impression in the minds of the readers that the sales tax is one which is adopted only in cases of extreme necessity, that it is a measure of last resort. Its appearance in the fiscal policy of various countries, just after the War and during the depression, has even earned for it the name of a "distress" tax. And one may be tempted to ask what exactly is the reason for its adoption in this Presidency when it has been subjected to no severe calamity that had disturbed the equilibrium of its budget and when the province was fairly off the depression. This chapter is devoted to discover the true answer for such a legitimate question.

From the speeches and articles on the subject at the time of the imposition of the tax, it is possible to tabulate 4 causes, which have been individually advanced by different persons as being the cause of the levy. The tax had been imposed,

- 1. to balance the budget which had a deficit of Rs. 17 lakhs,
- to equalise the burden of taxation of the various sections of society or as is commonly claimed, to shift the burden of taxation from country to town,
- 3. to balance the trade of the Province and
- 4. 'to carry out the policy of Prohibition.

It is to be seen whether such imputation of motives as these could be justified.

Proceeding in the order given above, it is very doubtful whether the first reason could have ever acted as the sole motive for the levy of such a contentious measure. Modern tendency in budgeting does not seem to be the balancing of the budget every year but balancing the budget for a certain period. In the light of this tendency, it would not be correct to attribute this levy to the craze of a finance minister to see a balanced budget. On the assumption that theory might have been relegated to the background in the face of pressing needs, it needs to be brought out clearly that the deficit is so small, that if it was balancing that was desired, it could have been achieved by floating an attractive loan or by resorting to a milder form of other taxes, as was actually done. These arguments are sufficient to show besides pronouncements made to the contrary, that the balancing motive, if we can call it so, could not give a satisfactory explanation.

The second objective, i.e., to equalise the tax burden among the various classes of the country by taxing merchants who, it is alleged, have escaped paying their due share of the tax burden is doubtful of realisation. Is the sales tax the only means to correct this defect? Are there not less contentious measures than this one? Again what is the relationship between the grades in the tax fixed and the tax burden of the various sections of traders? These questions going to the fundamentals of the problem must naturally reveal the truth that if it was proper adjustment of the tax burden that was the only aim, the sales tax in the present form is a very bad choice and its selection had motives other than the one declared openly. The Taxation Enquiry Committee which analysed the question of the tax burden and devised measures to rectify the existing inequality, had not suggested the sales tax as a remedy, but had only recommended a more extensive and efficient administration of circumstances and property taxes, a higher rate of profession tax, probate duties and a steepening of the graduation of the income tax, (together with increases in local taxation) to be levied on merchants. Apart from the lack of approval by this expert body, the complete absence of any relationship between the rate of assessment and the ability of the various classes of traders. is a sufficient proof to show that the sales tax had never been intended as a corrective for the inequalities in the tax burden among the various sections of traders and hence among the various sections of society.

Surely along with the exemption of necessaries from taxation, there ought to have been more gradations both in the slab rate and in the percentage rate if any adjustment of the burden was the aim. A uniform rate of the tax on turnover, could never be expected to shape the tax burden according to one's desire and more so according to the accepted canons of sound finance. Practically also, there are great impediments in the way of the tax achieving proper adjustment of tax burden. Such an assertion rests on a peculiar theory of incidence, which is very often violated in practice. It cannot always be asserted that the tax sticks to the place where it is applied, and is not passed on to the heads of consumers. The merchants always try to pass on the tax to the purchasers. The shifting of the tax is governed by several factors that it is not possible to say anything definite regarding its incidence.

The third claim stands to be analysed.<sup>1</sup> It has been proclaimed, with the support of sufficient figures, that the province has been experiencing in recent years an adverse balance of trade and that the sales tax has been imposed to check this tendency and improve the trade position

of the province. It must be examined whether this motive is theoretically desirable and feasible. However desirable it for the country as a whole to balance its trade, it is not sensible that the individual units of the country should have the same aim. If one province tries to balance its trade by adopting such measures as these. every other province would try to restrict the products of other provinces from coming into it. The result of this policy would be that inter-provincial trade would be stifled. Free flow of trade and commerce between the various provinces would be greatly hampered. Each province would try to produce within itself all that it requires; there will be diversification of capital and labour of all forms from the most profitable enterprises to the less profitable ones; the previously established division of labour would be seriously disturbed; and the national income of the country and every province would fall, in the short period at least. These would be the catastrophic results of this planless drive for self-sufficiency. The defect of the principle could be more glaringly demonstrated if the point is carried still further. Let each district in the province, each taluk and each village adopt the same principle by which their trade is to be guided. What a harmful idea it is for each village to balance its trade? What a sacrifice would that policy impose on its inhabitants? Further, is there no alternative to the sales tax, for balancing the trade of the province? If tariffs could not be imposed by the province, could not the system of bounties be tried? Besides, it is also doubtful whether the sales tax would be capable of balancing the trade of the province because of the uncertain nature of the incidence of the tax even if it is imposed. Anyhow, it seems that balancing the trade of the province was not so important a motive as the one to find money to finance the scheme of prohibition.

Thus it is to be understood that the introduction of the sales tax in our province is to be attributed more to the policy of prohibition, than to any of the other motives.

## THE BOMBAY SALES TAX ACT 1939

The Finance Minister, the Hon'ble Mr. A. B. Latthe introduced the Bombay Sales Tax Bill on the 30th March 1939, in the Bombay Legislative Assembly. Though the Act by its title leaves the impression that it is also a general sales tax Act, it cannot be said that it is really so. It can be remarked without diverging from truth, that it resembles more a form of selective sales tax Act or a retail sales tax Act.

A few important features of the Bombay Sales Tax Act may be mentioned here. Firstly, in contrast to the Madras measure, the tax in Bombay is not levied at the time of every transaction but only at one point. For there is an explicit provision that though the tax may be levied on the sale of any kind of goods specified in the schedule, at such stage between their manufacture, production or import, as the case may be, and their consumption, such tax shall not be levied on the sale of anv goods at more than one such stage. By rule 13 of the Bombay Motor Spirit Sales Tax Rules, the tax is levied on every retail dealer. The proviso to that section also brings any trader purchasing motor spirit for resale or consumption within the ambit of the tax. Secondly, the rate of the tax is rather high, the maximum rate allowed being 64/2% on the value of the sale of goods. This is in striking contrast to the Madras Act where the original rate was only about 1 pie in the rupee or ½%. Thirdly, the Bombay measure, is considered by many, as only a preliminary step to the introduction of a more comprehensive measure and as such is not a final measure introducing sales tax. The most important feature of the measure is that every trader carrying on business in the sale or purchase of any kind of goods specified in the schedule is forced to obtain a licence from the Collector for carrying on such trade in respect of each shop or place of business.<sup>2</sup> Even a hawker cannot escape taking out a licence, whatever may be the area of his operation. It is also provided that no trader shall carry on business in the sale or purchase of any kind of goods specified in the schedule without holding a licence (Section 8). Any violation of this section is severely punishable with fine which may extend to two thousand rupees. Further, the licences taken may be suspended or cancelled by the Collector

- 1. Section 3, Bombay Sales Tax Act, 1939.
- 2. Sections 6, 1 and 2, Bombay Sales Tax Act, 1939.

for default of payment of tax or any breach of any of the conditions subject to which the licence is granted, and for any contravention of the provisions of the sections of the Act relating to maintenance of accounts. This clear linking of the life of the licence with the maintenance of proper accounts must produce a wholesome effect; the Madras Act suffers much for want of such a clear provision. Under the Madras Act there is only a rule<sup>3</sup> that the licences issued can be cancelled for violation of any of the provisions of the Act; this provision is very rarely put into use, for it is learnt that though the agents and a few other licencees have been noted for their incorrect accounts, their licenses have not been withdrawn in this district. The introduction of a provision similar to that in the Bombay Act, may improve the Madras General Sales Tax Act very much and serve as an effective check over a few methods of tax evasion. Fourthly, the Bombay Act does not allow the same latitude for the merchants as regards account keeping as the Madras Act does. The Act lays down that every trader carrying on business in the sale or purchase of any kind of goods specified in the schedule shall keep and maintain accounts in the form prescribed of the value of goods (manufactured, produced or import).4 The Madras measure while dealing with this question merely mentions that every dealer and person licensed under section 8 (of the Act) shall keep and maintain true and correct accounts showing the value of goods sold and bought by him; and it is only in such cases where the accounts maintained in the ordinary course do not show the same in an intelligible form that they will be forced to maintain true and correct accounts in such form as may be prescribed.<sup>5</sup> Failure to keep accounts in the manner prescribed is liable for a heavy fine extending upto Rs. 500 under the Bombay Act. Fifthly, the Bombay measure must be said as giving very wide rule-making powers to the executive authorities.<sup>6</sup> Even the rate of the tax is left to be fixed by the rule; the Act merely prescribes the maximum rate that should be levied which is 61/4% or 1 anna in the rupee. In fact, an amendment moved by an honourable member of the House that the rules framed by the Government for giving effect to the provisions of the Bill, should be placed before the Assembly, was defeated. The Finance Member replying argued, "that it would not be opposed to the principles of democracy if a responsible Government should frame its own rules, for giving effect to the provisions of a legislation."

- 3. Rule 8, Madras General Sales Tax Rules.
- · 4. Section 10, Bombay Sales Tax Act, 1939.
  - 5. Section 13, Madras General Sales Tax Act 1939.
- 6. The rules need only be published in the Provincial Gazette and not placed before the legislature as in Madras.

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Even with regard to the motive of the levy, there seems to be a difference between these two provinces. Even though Bombay stands to lose as much of excise revenue as Madras on account of Prohibition, and has greater justification in levving new taxes, because of its more rapid or suddenly accelerated policy of Prohibition and had consequently to incur as much as 1½ crores of loss of revenue in the first year itself, the tax is said to be more the outcome of a policy of rural development than that of Prohibition. It was also remarked in the legislature by the finance minister, while replying to the debate on the bill, "that a section of the house seemed to be under a misapprehension that the fund sought to be raised by the tax, was needed for the purposes of prohibition. The amount of Rs. 35 lakhs to be raised by the sales tax was intended to be utilised for rural development."7

It cannot be said that the Bombay Sales Tax Act is as comprehensive as the Madras General Sales Tax Act. The commodities taxable under the Bombay Act are only two in numbers which are mentioned in the schedule. They are motor spirit, and manufactured cloth, mechanically produced in Bombay or imported, and silk yarn, including artificial varn and cloth made of such varn. It need not be mentioned that in Madras the Act covers very nearly and virtually all goods. Besides this, there is a large difference in rate and in the mode of assessment, which have been enumerated above. These differences go a good deal to give the credit to Madras for having discovered a proper form of a new source of revenue, capable of covering up the present as well as expected future deficits, without causing any annoyance to the taxpayers.

#### Administration of the Madras General Sales Tax

The tax is administered in every district by the Commercial Tax Department working under the Commercial Tax Officer appointed by the Provincial Government and the Deputy Commercial Tax Officer and Assistant Commercial Tax Officers working under him and appointed by the District Collector. The Commercial Tax Officers are responsible for the efficient administration of the Act and their chief work is of a supervising nature. By extensive tours, they keep themselves in constant touch with the work of the Deputy and Assistant Commercial Tax Officers and guide them whenever necessary. They are the appellate authorities under rule 13 of the General Sales Tax Rules; and under rule 14 (2) of the same set of rules they are authorised to exercise powers of revision. Any difficulty experienced in the matter of assessment or any other difficulty felt in the working of the Act is brought to the notice of the Commercial Tax Officer for his advice and guidance.

The assessment of dealers as well as the issue of licences are the work of the Deputy and Assistant Commercial Tax Officers, along with auditing of accounts which also is to be done by them; the collection of the tax is entrusted to the bill collectors and village headmen. Sometimes the Assistant Commercial Tax Officers also do a little of the collection work. As the Bill Collectors are employed only sparingly, the greater part of the collection work falls upon the shoulders of the village headmen. This has resulted in some parts in the village headman being apathetic towards the work, and the impossibility of getting into direct touch with them by the tax authorities has rendered their position rather helpless. It is hoped that in course of time, the village headman would begin to consider this work as part of their routine and would not give room for such accusations of indifference or negligence with which they are charged to-day.

It may be noted here that most of these officers have not been given any commercial training, as they have been recruited in most cases either from the Excise Department or from the lower ranks of the Judiciary. Though it is learnt from enquiries that they feel no difficulty in carrying on their work of auditing etc., it is felt, a course of training in commercial subjects would greatly facilitate their work. It is also interesting to note here that Merchants' Chambers of Commerce in certain places have also passed resolutions to that effect.

# ACCOUNTS AND ACCOUNTS CHECKING (AUDITING)

The successful working of the Act depends solely on the proper checking of accounts and any imperfections found in the execution of this most important duty may lead to the frustration of the object for which the Act was enacted. Hence the greatest care should be directed towards this question and efforts should not be slackened to devise measures to introduce perfection in the work in all possible ways as quickly as possible.

But before describing the actual manner of checking accounts practised by the tax collecting authorities let us examine the nature of the accounts maintained by the merchants and their mentality in the matter of showing them to the tax collecting authorities.

Types of account of Merchants.—There are various types of accounts kept by the merchants which fall under the following category:—

- 1. Rough 'Kuripu.'
- 2. Fair 'Kuripu' (Journal)
- 3. Purchase and Sales Book
- 4. Ledger

A word about each of these accounts is necessary to indicate their usefulness to the merchants.

Rough 'Kuripu'.—This is an account maintained by the merchants wherein all daily transactions are noted in a rough and ready fashion. The merchant keeps this account mainly to aid him in his memory of things. He never has recourse to this account when once he has copied it in his fair Kuripu and carried it on in his purchase and sales book.

Fair 'Kuripu' (Journal).—This is the same as the previous one but for this fact that here the transactions are arranged neatly and in the proper manner. As the merchants are in the habit of entering their daily transactions in the ledger only at the close of the day's business or sometimes even after the lapse of a few days or weeks, these entries are of invaluable use to them. It may also be pointed out here that not all merchants keep this fair 'kuripu'; it is only a few dealers who keep this fair 'Kuripu'.

Purchase and Sales Book.—This is the same thing as what is sometimes known in English as trading account. This is the most important account book both for the merchants and the tax authorities. In this account all purchases made by the dealer within the year he is following, as well as the sales effected by him are noted down. This account is complete in itself as it brings in all kinds of purchases made by the dealer and all sales effected by him, whether cash or credit. At the end of the year the merchant takes account of his stock and after comparing it with his purchases and sales accounts realises his position in the business. As this is the account book which reveals to the dealer whether he is working on profit or loss all merchants are very careful in keeping this account book in correct form. Even before the Act came into force this account book was maintained by the merchants.

Ledger.—This is only a register kept for the convenience of the merchant in which all entries regarding lending of cash and credit transactions are put in against the name of each person in the page alloted to him; and this is of great help to the tax authorities in finding out the persons doing business under "Vasakkattu" accounts.

These are the 3 or 4 important types of account books maintained by the merchants and available for the perusal of the tax authorities, and each one of these registers is useful in the actual checking of accounts by the authorities. "The Kuripu" is often verified with the purchase and the sales book and the ledger also is compared with the same. While the purchase and sales book form the main source of information the others serve as correctives.

Besides these mentioned above, the merchants are now asked to keep purchase vouchers and sale receipts. With regard to the preservation of the first the merchants feel no difficulty, for they file them up together usually in a long iron rod and hang it in a corner of their shop. It is only in maintaining the sales receipts that certain merchants feel the difficulty, for they could not afford to have receipt books with duplicate forms. Such cases are not severely dealt with; but all merchants are compelled to keep vouchers of purchases. The importance of these two kinds of bills should not be minimised as they serve to check certain new tendencies of evasion. The purchase vouchers are compared with the trading account and, where sales receipts are available, they are also utilised for comparison with the sale accounts shown in the same.

It is learnt that the merchants feel no special difficulty in keeping up the accounts. It does not cause them any annoyance nor do they feel it irksome. Even if they had felt any difficulty in the beginning, as

## 1. Refer page 69 relating to Omission of cash sales.

the smaller dealers admitted they felt, they had now become accustomed to it. Talks with the merchants had made it clear that they feel no difficulty in keeping accounts.

Special attention was paid during the course of the enquiry to learn whether the merchants had to incur extra expenditure by employing accountants or special accountants in order to maintain accounts. In the majority of cases, the answer has always been in the negative. They frankly admitted that they had been keeping accounts even before the enactment of the Act, and as the Act had not stipulated any special rule with regard to account keeping with which they may be unaccustomed, they had no cause for incurring any new expenses on that account. But special cases had been noticed where special or extra expenses had to be incurred by merchants. Wherever the accounts had been maintained in vernacular languages unknown to the tax authorities, a translation of the accounts in English or one of the languages known to the tax authorities had been insisted upon, and this had caused them some extra expenses. The difficulty could be easily solved by a judicious scheme of appointments and transfers by which a Tamilian or Andhra finds a place in his own district or in places where such languages are largely used. But as this policy, may cause some administrative difficulties, and may even lead to abuses on certain occasions, some other solution must be evolved. This consists in enforcing the tax authorities to learn the rudiments of the vernacular languages of the Presidency. Scales of pay commensurate with qualification would be a sufficient inducement to assure success for the scheme.

Further, the merchants are not reluctant to show the account books to the tax collecting authorities. The information gathered from a few officers of the Commercial Tax Department had only gone to prove that the merchants bring their account books as soon as they are called for. Hence it seems to the writers that fears entertained at the beginning of the Act that merchants would not like their accounts to be submitted to others for scrutiny, is born out of a wrong understanding of the psychology of the merchants. The merchants are quite ready to abide by the rules and regulations ordinarily, but grudge doing so only when they are called upon to submit accounts at improper times and places and wait at the office for unreasonable hours. It must also be said to the credit of the tax authorities that they try to adjust their time as much as possible to the convenience of the merchants.

Quality of accounts kept by different classes of merchants:—Of the various classes of merchants, dealers and commission agents, and of the various classes of dealers, that is, those with a turnover between Rs. 10.090

and 20,000 and above 20,000, an effort was made to gather some idea regarding the quality of accounts kept by them. It was noticed that intelligible accounts were kept only by a certain class of merchants, whereas in the case of others the tax authorities had to spend some time and effort to understand the accounts. A more correct idea could be obtained as to the classes of dealers keeping intelligible and non-intelligible accounts, if they are divided into those who are income tax assessees and non-income tax assessees. In the former case, as they had been trained and insisted upon to keep proper accounts, they are considered to maintain good and intelligible accounts. The others are yet to cultivate the habit of maintaining proper and intelligible accounts and it is hoped that with the passage of time, this defect too would be rectified. For the same reason, mistakes in the account books of the former class are less numerous than in the latter class. But it must be said that even these mistakes, in most cases, are only accidental and not wilful. Only mistakes in totalling or adding have been noticed. Even when other and more serious omissions had been found out, the merchants were only too ready to have them corrected.

Amongst the commission agents and brokers many have just begun to keep correct accounts, especially those who were formerly known as paddy brokers. These paddy brokers as they had no place of business, but did only commission business (according to them) by taking over cart-loads of paddy and delivering them at the mills without retaining them in any place for any time under their custody, had not been in the habit of keeping regular accounts of their business transactions. Once they are declared as 'dealers' and assessed on their turnover under this Act, they are compelled to keep proper accounts, just like other dealers, which they do, of course grudgingly. The other agents, viz., commission agents, maintain good accounts but serious mistakes occur on account of the 'forward sales' indulged in by them. The agents who adopt these methods are said to be easily detected by any vigilant tax officer. Apart from this type of mistake to which they are easily susceptible, they are found to maintain accounts in a proper manner and to a degree comparable with other dealers.

While these are some of the features of accounts maintained by merchants in general, special mention must be made of the Mahomedans and the Kallakurichi Comutis as regards their accounts; while the former deserve all praise for the superfine accounts maintained by them the latter stand to be condemned for keeping incorrect accounts. Their accounts have not been considered to be accurate and free from flaws for which they have been compounded on a few occasions. But it is hoped that this class of people too would reform themselves soon, in view of the stricter punishments that would be enforced on them in future.

Auditing.—This process of checking accounts consists of really two types of verifications, which may be called direct and indirect checking. Indirect checking is also called cross checking. On the whole the entire process is a very laborious one for the satisfactory execution of which an uncommon degree of patience and coolness on the part of the authorities is absolutely necessary. The merchants of Cuddalore confessed without any reserve that the authorities of the place were very kind to them even when they had committed mistakes in accounting and, if the same good-will prevails between the two parties in other places also, there is no cause to fear that serious bickerings would result between them.

The Deputy Commercial Tax Officer and the Assistant Commercial Tax Officers who are on tour for the major part of the month usually try to check the accounts of merchants coming under their jurisdiction as faras possible in the merchants' own places. It is only cases of merchants who have their places of dealings at the the Officer himself that they are headquarters of bring their accounts to the office of the authority concerned. The merchant is made to bring his 'Kuripu,' Purchase and Sales book. and other bills and vouchers, relating to sales and purchases. It is felt by the tax authorities as almost a Herculean task to verify whether all the the bills of purchase and sales are carried into the purchase and sales book. Only certain big items are generally selected and checked and if there are discrepancies, the tax authority makes it a point to verify the whole account. Sometimes the tax authorities also make a note of such dealers to help them in the verification of accounts in future. Explanations are asked for the discrepancies and, if what are offered are satisfactory, the dealer escapes without punishments; otherwise he is made to pay a fine.

This is only the preliminary checking; there are other methods more elaborate but more secret. These are mostly departmental enquiries. Whenever a dealer shows a purchase or sales receipt for any big sum, such attractive figures are noted down by the tax authorities and then referred to the Officer of that particular place from where it has been bought or to which it has been sold. The tax authorities in that place take this question on hand and verify whether that particular item is entered correctly, in the purchase or the sales account, as the case may be, of the dealer of that place. Information regarding the results of the inquiry is sent to the office that enquired. In cases where there are differences, the whole question is taken up again for consideration at the time of final checking or even before and the offender is punished.

Even apart from this, the verification is done with the help of a third source. The previous method would fail to give correct informa-

tion if there had been perfect understanding between the two dealers in the different places, as to what items should be brought in the purchase and sales book and as to how it should be manipulated. In order to safeguard against such extreme cases, the third manner of checking is usually done without the knowledge of either the seller or purchaser, by the tax officer availing himself of the records kept at the Parcels Office at the Railway Stations. Important items of less straight-forward dealers and big bookings are noted down and then verified in the ledger accounts of both the seller and the purchaser. This system of verification though it would yield very reliable results could not be carried out to perfection owing to inadequate staff in the various centres. The Tax Officers alone who could do such intelligent investigations have been overburdened with so much of clerical and routine work, that they are unable to carry out such necessary and important investigations as often as possible. But if the tax officers are relieved of such of their routine work and provided with clerks to assist them in their auditing, they could do a great piece of work this way and discover systematised, polished and well executed modes of tax evasion based on perfect understanding between the two parties, purchasers and sellers.

In the case of groundnut dealers in this district, verification is done with the help of Groundnut Marketing Committees also. These committees furnish very reliable information as regards purchases and sales of groundnut by dealers and commission agents. The utility of the committees would be greater if some more committees are organised with regard to other commodities also. According to the Act and the rules under which they are functioning, every dealer coming within their jurisdiction is compelled to submit a daily return of his purchases and sales. Whenever they suspect the accounts submitted to them by the dealers, the tax authorities call for more information from these committees.

These are the various ways in which the checking of accounts is accomplished. As has been mentioned earlier, there is a dire necessity to perfect this important work for which cross checking has to be done more elaborately. This would mean again an expansion of the technically qualified staff. It need not be mentioned that the present policy followed here with a view to minimising the cost of administration of this new tax, must give place to a better one.

#### CERTAIN DIFFICULTIES

It is but natural that difficulties should be experienced during the first few months of the working of any Act as it takes really a considerable time for a routine to be established. Most of the problems that have risen in connection with the Act under consideration are connected with the question of assessment and only a few others with other questions. While by the process of time many of these have been solved, still a few exist over which decisions are yet to be taken.

Assessment of Agents.—The problem of dealing with the agent has given the greatest trouble to the Department. If there is a serious omission in the Act, it has to be found in the absence of the definition of agents. The authorities have therefore to be guided by nothing more than their own ideas of the business of the agents and whenever the agents run counter to the views held by them, it is difficult for the authorities to deal with them. The agent carries on business in the mofussil centres on behalf of his principal for which he receives a commission. For being the agent of a principal dealer, he has to enter into an agreement with him, oral or written, which he is expected to observe but he generally does not. For all purposes he is considered an agent only so long as he observes these terms of contract and ceases to be one when he breaks them. The difficulty experienced by the tax authorities begins only when the agent breaks his terms of agreement with his principal. So long as he observes the terms of the contract. and is an agent in principle and in practice, his sales are exempted from taxation by the licence taken by him under section 8 of the Act. But how is he to be assessed when he behaves contrary to the principles of his agency is the question that the authorities have to face.

Occasions when the agent breaks his principles are too numerous and the manner in which he does so are also too various. The commonest type of violation is found in the 'forward sales' that are contracted. This consists in showing sales for larger amounts than real sales in the principal's account, while retailing the difference on hand with a view to selling them during the times of increased prices. This tendency the agents evince at all times when there are symptoms of rising prices. The extra profits realised this way are not credited to the principal's account, but are taken away by the agent himself. The agent's accounts to the principal are manipulated to show that he has

sold the commodity only at the stipulated rate whereas he has really sold it at a price higher than the contractual price. This is a case of the violation of the terms of the contract by the agents and the problem of how they are to be assessed under such cases has given considerable trouble. Now, the procedure adopted is that whenever the terms of the contract entered into by the agents with their principals are broken in the matter of price, the agents are taxed as 'dealers.' The argument advanced in support of this practice is that when once the agent stocks goods on his own responsibility and is ready to monopolise the profits or to meet the loss, he acquires a right over the property and hence becomes a dealer and should therefore be assessed just as a 'dealer'.

While the violation in this matter has been settled, there are certain other cases of doubt which have not yet been cleared. Some agents try to tamper with the quantity of the product. This tendency has been noticeable in the case of kerosene agents who draw out a quantity of kerosene from the backside of the sealed tin by making a small hole which is sealed again after the process is over. This is also a violation of the contract by the agent, for though the tin is sold at the contractual price, the quantity to be delivered is reduced by the agent without the knowledge of the principal. A smiliar type of violation exists when the agents get the quantity in bulk and sell it in under-Some agents collect extra sums in addition to the agreed price in the name of transport and other incidental charges which they are not expected to collect under the terms of their agency. others even go to the extent of collecting the sales tax even though they are not assessed under this Act. How are these cases to be assessed is a matter of difficulty encountered in the course of the working of the Act. Sometimes agents are obliged to sell at a higher price whenever they transact business with their sub-agents or wholesalers on credit. In these cases he charges a higher price to cover the risk and interest charges involved in the credit transaction, though he submits accounts to his principal at the agreed rate and makes up the deficit in cash at the time of remittance of money from his own purse. There are other cases where the agents sell the commodity at a price less than the agreed price by foregoing a certain portion of the commission he gets as the sub-agent or wholesaler pays him ready cash. Though it seems justifiable in these cases that he should charge a higher or lower price as the case may be, to cover himself against any risk or to show some concession to dealers in cash, as these actions seem to give him a title over the property which he does not possess as an agent, doubts are entertained as to how the agents are to be assessed under such circumstances.

The reasons for the difficulties experienced in these doubtful cases are to be found only in the serious omission of the definition of the term 'agent' in the Act. If a comprehensive definition, covering up the activities and duties of the agent is drawn up leaving no room for doubts to arise, it is hoped that many of the questions left unsolved would be properly solved.

The case of paddy brokers.—The case of paddy brokers calls for special consideration as they have been another source of friction in the smooth working of the Act. These persons wish to pass off as commission agents, and escape paying the tax whereas they are really dealers, as a description of their business would show. In and around Chidambaram a large number of paddy brokers regularly supply paddy to the mills in that area. The mills advance them cash with which they purchase paddy in the villages on their own account. They take samples of this paddy to the various mills in the locality and after noting the prices they are willing to pay, dispose it off to the highest bidder. Being themselves men with very meagre resources, they do the business on the money advanced by the mills, and on that score claim they are the agents of these mills. But when the mills are questioned if they would admit the paddy brokers as their agents they refuse to have any other relationship with them save that involved in advancing cash and realising it as they please, in cash or kind. Virtually beyond the bonds of a debtor and creditor, the mills would have nothing else to do with the agents. In such circumstances the position of the brokers is rendered anamalous. However, it must be noted that they purchase paddy on their own account, acquire the right of property over such goods, and also run the risk of incurring a loss in the course of their transactions. These things which are only the marks of an independent dealer bring them under the definition of 'dealer' and they are now accordingly taxed under that head. The same problem is also noticed in the case of certain merchants connected with the marketing of groundnut at Cuddalore. They buy groundnut, sort them into different grades, sell them at a price higher than the cost price, but still peculiarly claim to be only middlemen or agents who do nothing more than merely transfer the produce from one hand to another. But such cases have been classified not as agents but as regular dealers on account of their intermediate business of mixing and grading and selling the produce at a difference over the cost price.

In both these cases the assessees have found it rather difficult to approve of the treatment meted out to them and hence try to give as much of trouble as possible, while the authorities try to trace them out for realising the amount of the tax. The authorities are subjected

to many difficulties in this work, as the information available from the mills is in some cases not helpful and complete. The very fact that only 25 out of the nearly 65 paddy brokers in the district of Cuddalore have been assessed so far is sufficient proof of the enormity of trouble, difficulties and delay involved in bringing them under the orbit of taxation. These administrative difficulties, it is feared, will grow in future. They can be got over only in course of time by instilling into the minds of these persons the responsibilities they owe the state, by making them tax conscious and by imposing heavy penalties on those obstinate cases of refusal to pay the tax.

Assessment of Seasonal Traders.—Another difficulty experienced in the working of the Act is connected with the assessment of the seasonal traders. These as their very name implies are engaged in business for only a certain number of months in the year and suspend business for the rest of the year to be started again the next year at the proper season. No difficulty arises amongst the dealers of this class with a turnover of over Rs. 20,000 as they pay the tax at a certain percentage rate. It is only in the case of those who are assessed under the slab rate that the difficulty is experienced. The taxpayers under this clause have to pay (Rs. 5 formerly) Rs. 4 a month which they refuse to pay during the months when they are doing no business. They contend that they have "stopped" business and as, by the Act, a tax has to be paid on the sale effected "in the course of trade or business" they argue that the tax need not be paid when the trade or business is stopped. Prima facie their contention is wrong, for they have not stopped the business altogether but only suspended it to be resumed later on in the next year. As such they should be made to pay during all months even though it goes against common sense and fairplay and the canon of convenience that one should be made to pay a tax when he is deriving no income out of which he could pay it. But if their contentions are accepted and they are exempted it would create an anamoly in the Act. for a dealer doing business for Rs. 19,000 in two months will be liable to pay only Rs. 8 whereas one doing business for a pie more than Rs. 20,000 has to pay Rs. 50 per year. Hence care must be taken to see that such anamolies do not creep in. A compromise out of these two ways of assessment has to be struck according to which they should be taxed. It seems that the seasonal traders in as much as they differ from regular traders by a wide margin should be dealt with separately in the Act. It is felt that the Act itself could be suitably enlarged, if necessary, by introducing a new clause to deal with them.

Cases of Non-assessees collecting the tax.—There are many in these parts who though they are not assessed under the General Sales

Tax Act do not refrain from collecting the tax on their sales from the customers. Such people even after repeated warnings by the tax authorities are said to be very persistent in this wholly condemnatory action. Such cases are encouraged to grow in numbers in view of the lukewarm policy followed by the officials in taking action against them. On their part the authorities are unable to take any action as there is no provision in the Act to deal with such cases. To take proper action it is necessary that suitable modifications should be made in the Act or rules to put an end to such undesirable and improper actions of certain greedy merchants.

#### DOUBLE TAXATION

Even while the Madras General Sales Tax Bill was on the anvil of the legislature, it was feared that owing to complexities of trade, cases of double taxation might creep in and hence a certain section of the legislature thought it fit and necessary to enact an explicit provision in the body of the bill, to guard against the occurrence of such The result was the proviso to clause 3 (1) which said "that in respect of the same transaction of sale, the buyer and the seller shall not both be taxed, but only one of them, as shall be determined by the rules made in this behalf under subsection (2), shall be taxed thereon, and (2) that, when the amount for which any goods were bought by a dealer has been included in his turnover, the amount for which the same goods were sold by him shall not be included in his turnover, for the purposes of this Act." Thus while care was taken to provide against complexities of trade leading to double taxation, the complexities of the Act itself have led to such a practice. The difficulty arises out of the policy followed in taxing the purchase amount in the case of a few commodities which are groundnut, leaf tobacco, cashew etc.\* In many cases the buyers of these commodities in the local markets, effect the purchases with a view to converting them into their finished products and selling them at increased prices in the market. In addition to paying a tax on the purchases of these commodities, the dealers are taxed again on the sales of the finished products, which they represent is a clear case of double taxation and from which they should be exempted.

How far is it correct to regard this practice as an instance of double taxation is rather a debatable point. Strictly speaking a case of double taxation may be said to occur here, if the same person is taxed twice, once on the purchase of the commodity and another time on the sale of the same commodity. The merchants contend that it is nothing but a case of double taxation pure and simple as they are taxed once while they purchase the commodity and again when they sell the product of the same commodity. They further point out that the term 'same goods' in section 3 (1) includes the different varieties of goods manu-

<sup>\*</sup>The Madras General Sales Tax Act (Turnover and Assessment) Rules, Section 4, Sub-section 2; 1939.

factured from the original goods without the addition of any other extraneous goods and as in the cases under observation, no extraneous goods are employed, the final product being only a variety of the original product, should be exempt from taxation. But the other view is that dealers are not taxed on the sale of the same commodity, but only on the product of it, whose physical and chemical properties are so different from those of the original commodity that they form a different commodity by themselves and hence liable to taxation. It is said that it should not therefore be construed as a case of double taxation. The merchants rather feel it difficult to reconcile themselves with this view and still hold that they are being unjustly taxed twice, and there seems to be a certain amount of truth in their statement also. For it is not the commodities that pay the tax but only the persons who deal in them; and if the same person is asked to pay twice, the merchants who are more practically minded, unable and unwilling to understand the niceties in the counter arguments advanced, are too quick to proclaim vociferously that here is a case of unjust and oppressive taxation. Since for all practical purposes this seems to be not very much different from a case of double taxation, it may be considered as such in the following pages.

Whatever may be the name by which it may be described, the effects of this practice have been found to be very injurious in this district and the same, it is feared, would be the result in other places also. As this district has got a large trade in groundnut, it has been possible to study the question only in relation to this trade. If similar attempts are made in other places where dealings in other commodities are wide and large, the effects of this practice would be seen in full.

Nearly 367,000 acres of land are sown with groundnut in the year 1939-40 which represents about 30% of the total normal area sown in this district. As such it forms an important supplementary crop and, with some people, even the main crop and hundreds of labourers make a living in the cultivation of groundnut and in the industries connected with it. The total production for the year under observation is estimated at 70,000 tons. To this must be added the goods imported from parts of Coimbatore, Salem, Trichinopoly, Tanjore, North Arcot and Chingleput if the total trade of the district in the commodity is to be assessed correctly. It has been estimated for the year 1939-40 that the total arrivals in all the different markets, including the products from the districts bordering on South Arcot come very nearly to 90,500 tons of which 74,800 tons representing 82% is taken by the

exporting firms, 4664 tons equal to 5% is taken by the press and 'chekku' owners. These figures would show the large volume of trade carried on in groundnuts and the necessity to guard the trade against mishap due to double taxation.

The effect of this policy of double taxation has been most noticeable in the case of the groundnut oil industry. Formerly, that is five years back, the industry was in a flourishing condition. But now, owing to the disappearance of export of groundnut oil from these parts, the industry has declined very much. It is said that 100 presses originally each costing about Rs. 1,000 have been sold in recent years as scrap iron for a ridiculously low price owing to the fall in the demand for oil from outside. At present only 1 expeller, 15 presses and a few 'chekkus' scattered over the country, are in operation in the district. This was the condition when the Act came into force, and the merchants engaged in groundnut oil say that the Act has given the deathblow to this dwindling industry. The main cause for the decline of the industry is to be found in the severe competition of oils from the Hyderabad State. The state which is a producer of groundnut on a large scale and which was exporting large quantities of the raw product has imposed an export duty on groundnut with a view to retaining within its boundaries the industries connected with the raw product. As the price of groundnut in the state is governed by the rates for port delivery in the province, this has made the purchase of groundnut in the state cheaper by more than the export duty, and as no export duty is levied on groundnut oil, the tendency of merchants has been to purchase groundnut in the state, convert it into oil and sell it at competitive rates in the local markets of the district. Thus it has been possible to sell imported oil at Rs. 3 per ton cheaper than local oil. coming into force of this Act in October of 1939, has placed the local oil industry at a further disadvantage as the local oil producers have to pay the tax twice, once while they purchase the groundnut and another while they sell oil, while dealers in the state oil pay tax only once, on the sales of the oil. This, they represent, widens the difference already existing in the rates of the 2 sorts of oil leading to a further decline in the demand for local oil.

The merchants of these places have not been slow to realise the difficulties caused by this kind of levy and have formulated their case before the tax authorities. They proclaim that they are willing to pay the tax either on the purchase of groundnut for oil extraction or at the sale of oil. Their solution for the difficulty consists in granting them a rebate on the purchase of groundnut for oil extraction. This would be possible as they keep separate accounts of their purchases in groundnut for trade and for oil extraction. But a much better way of giving relief is by

exempting the manufacturers from paying the tax on their sales of oil and cake. This would virtually mean the exemption of the first sale of locally produced oil and cake. Thus the difficulty felt by the manufacturers in disposing of their oil could be got over and the difference in prices between the two oils may be minimised. This method of giving relief is considered to be superior to the other method suggested by the dealers themselves, as the chances for manipulation of accounts are comparatively less here than in the other case. The manufacturers trading in locally produced oil usually do not trade in imported oil from the state except in rare cases and in rare circumstances. Hence under ordinary conditions there are no chances for evasion in this method, by passing of imported state oil as locally produced oil. On the other hand, as most of the purchasers of groundnut deal in raw groundnut and oil, the chances for duplicity by a distortion in accounts are greater in the method suggested by the merchants. Thus from the fiscal and administrative points of view the former method seems better.

It would not be out of place to say that by granting relief in this way, the Government does not stand to lose much. At present there are only about 15 assessees in this district under this Act engaged in the manufacture of oil. Of these 8 are 'chekku' owners who are assessed under the slab rate; 6 are manufacturers using presses while there is only one using an expeller driven by power. The average turnover of these 6 dealers using presses is estimated at about 3½ lakhs of rupees a year. On the basis of the rates of tax for 1940-41, the loss to Government, if exemption is granted to sales of oil and cake by these dealers, would come to about Rs. 875 and, even if it is supposed that those who are now paying the slab rate would fall below the minimum level, on account of the exemption given, which is very unlikely, the loss on that sum would amount to only 8×48=384 Rs. The total loss therefore would not be more than Rs. 1,500, allowance being made for the case of the expeller also. This is not a big sum which the Government could not forego in a district where the income for the half year has come to about Rs. 78,000, on 1939-40 rate. If the income for the full year of 1940-41 is calculated on the same figures owing to reduction in the rate of the tax, the loss would not be more than 1.7%. Even if slightly higher rate of loss is incurred in other districts, where the trade is being carried on, it is felt that there is no case for the Government to delay granting this relief in view of the impending disaster to one of the important indegenous industries and the consequent suffering that would be caused to those dependent on the prosperity of that industry. But so far no gesture of help seems to have come from the Government; it can be said that they have not brushed aside the question but are giving it their full consideration.

In these circumstances, the local oil producers have found it impossible to pass on the tax to the shoulders of the purchasers of the local oil. because of the competition of State oil. Nor are they able to pass it on the sellers of the raw produce, for the exporting firms compete with them here. The result has been the adoption by the dealers of a most hateful and highly objectionable policy, to rid themselves of the burden of the It has been found, that many of the oil press owners, under the curious impression that the addition of labour alone has made the commodity taxable a second time and that therefore the labourers should be made to pay the tax, have been deducting one pie from the daily wages of the coolies employed by them. This levy of one pie on the labourer comes to about 2 to 3 annas per month, and the deduction of this amount from his meagre wages, is a thing which he may not afford. But as the labourers are mostly disorganised and illiterate, they find it impossible to fight over the issue and they meekly submit to any exactions imposed on them. This is the grave danger to which this mode of taxation has led, and unless effective measures are taken, it is feared, there is no knowing to what hardships the labourers may not be subjected.

### Section 13

### Tax Evasion

Along with the growth in the methods of taxation, ways of escaping the payment of taxes have also grown up. They are today so great in numbers and so widespread, that they have grown powerful enough to defeat the purpose of taxation itself. With every new tax or new act, new methods of tax evasion spring up. Some people indulge in them mainly for the pleasure they derive from such a deed; but many others try to avoid paying the tax because of the pecuniary gain that evasion brings; still others resist paying the tax owing to political convictions and it is only proper that such cases should not be treated as cases of tax evasion.

It is to be noted that in almost all cases where evasion prevails, it is due to the defects in the acts and rules relating to the tax. These defects can be remedied by the legislature by suitable modifications of the act and formulation of rules.

Many kinds of evasion of payment under the General Sales Tax Act have been noticed and they will be narrated one by one; one such is that indulged in by the bullion merchants. The dealers in bullion are exempted from taxation under the Act, subject to certain conditions including licensing. According to the rules framed they are obliged to take out a licence which exempts their dealings in bullion from taxation under this Act. As per the Act, while their dealings in bullion are exempt, they are liable for taxation for the sales of articles manufactured out of the bullion, that is, wares and jewellery. It is this part of the Act that is violated resulting in a serious kind of evasion.

There are nearly four kinds of bullion merchants, some of whom are difficult to be tackled with. Some are dealers in bullion as such, that is selling bullion as such, and earning very meagre profits. Another class of bullion merchants have such dealings in addition to dealings in silver wares and jewellery. The difference between these two types of dealers and the next is that while these do not own a smithy of their own, the third type has a smithy of his own wherein he has got facilities to make wares and jewellery to order and out of the bullion he has. The last class of dealers in bullion are the manufacturers who carry on business on a large scale by sending manufactured articles to dealers in the mofussil and receiving cash or inferior silver in return.

Of these categories, it is the third class of dealers who are predominent in almost every place. Next in rank comes the second class of dealers, i.e., those who deal in bullion and wares but do not own a smithy. It is very rarely that exclusive dealers in bullion as such are met with.

While the first mentioned class do not create any problem, it is the others who are the source of a serious form of evasion prevalent on a wide scale, which even when found out is felt difficult to be tackled. How they successfully try to evade the tax, will be understood when each of these classes is dealt with separately.

Taking the third class into consideration first, it is found that most of them are having direct contacts with consumers or the public. They purchase bullion from the wholesalers and as soon as it is brought to the shop, a great portion of it is sent to the smithy for conversion into wares and jewels. The evasion of the tax begins here when an adjustment in the accounts is made. The bullion taken to the smithy is not shown as such in the accounts, but are kept in suspense. Whenever a sale from the wares and jewellery stocked in the show room takes place, the sale is shown as two sales, by showing the value of bullion content and the making charges separately. Sometimes two receipts are given, one representing the sale of bullion and another making charges: while at some other times, two such sales are shown in the same bill separately. On the same day the sale is effected, to complete the trick, the bullion content of the article sold is transferred to the purchase and sale register kept for bullion, where it is shown as a sale of bullion on that particular day. It is this way that the evasion is accomplished by showing the major part of the transaction in the form of a sale of bullion and covering it up by the licence taken under section 5 of the Act, and allowing only the minor part, that is making charges only, for taxation. Strictly speaking, the bullion merchant may escape taxation even on this part of the turnover as this is only charges for "services" rendered. But the practice of charging bullion merchants on this part of the turnover seems to be prevalent in Madras, which has also been copied in some mofussil stations. As most of these dealers are intelligent businessmen with high business acumen and keep perfect accounts, it has been found difficult to check this malpractice, by fastening upon any defects in their accounts. Even sudden inspections of their stalls and a verification of their purchase and sale of bullion with the stock placed in the show room do not help in bringing out the truth as the dealers escape by saying that the stock had been made to order, out of silver brought by their customers, who on enquiry invariably happen to be relatives of the merchant.

Generally, the second type of bullion merchants does not commit such tricks. They are dealers in wares and jewellery bought by them from the manufacturers. As they do not own a smithy of their own, they would be exposed if they enter their sales separately. Hence a good number of dealers in this class enter their transactions as sales in wares or jewellery and subject themselves to taxation. But the more adventurous among them enter the two sales separately, make the necessary modifications in their accounts, with regard to their purchases\* and escape by saying, that they made things to order in smithies known to them, though they did not possess one of their own

The procedure adopted by the manufacturers is different. They are both dealers in bullion and in wares and jewellery manufactured by them. Besides having direct contacts with consumers, such big manufacturers send articles to other dealers to be sold by them. It is here that the source of the series of evasions that follow is to be found, for, the manufacturer instead of entering in his accounts the sale in wares as a sale in manufactured article, records it as a sale in so much of bullion and so much of making charges. Further, most of these manufacturers have got running accounts for silver with their purchasers and credit to their account the bullion received from the purchaser against the bullion content sold to him by them. Thus the whole transaction is shown as dealings in bullion while they are really transactions in manufactured articles. Strictly speaking they are not dealings in bullion even though bullion is exchanged for bullion, for the manufactured articles are not made out of the bullion received by the manufacturer but from different bullion. The silver that is paid by the customer is very often of an inferior quality and really serves only the purpose of currency. The transaction of the manufacturer can only be considered as a transaction for 'valuable consideration' and will have to be assessed as per rule No. 17 of the Madras General Sales Tax (Turnover and Assessment Rules).

It is not proper that all these type of transactions should be allowed to go tax free and strict measures to check this widespread and ingenious mode of evasion must be forthwith taken. The check must be applied at the very source viz., the manufacturers, for it is because of the accommodating nature of the accounts allowed to be maintained by the manufacturers that the evasion creeps in. All manufacturers and bullion dealers must be insisted upon to keep, purchase registers, showing their purchases of silver and wares, an account showing the silver taken to the

<sup>\*</sup> This is facilitated by the accommodation shown by the manufacturers in accounting.

smithy, the articles manufactured, their bullion content, their sale of wares and jewellery with all details as to the purchaser date and terms of contract of sale, and finally an order book showing the orders placed with them by their customers. These accounts, if they are properly kept would go a great deal in putting a check to this practice of evasion and as the accounts would help the tax authorities in their cross checking, it may not be too much if it is expected that the practice would altogether disappear.

Another kind of evasion is accomplished under a type of business partnership known as "Kashtakootu" (கஷ்டக்குட்டு). This is a form of business organisation where more than one person join together and do a business or different businesses on the money advanced by a single individual. In such a case, the principal dealer is said to carry on the business on "Kashtakootu" basis. He may be himself doing a single business, while he may be engaged in other business e.g. jaggery, groundnut, etc. in combination with others. While the principal dealer advances money to these individual traders with whom he is in combination and also claims a share of the profits that may accrue in the business, he is not concerned very much with the actual working of the business, which is done by the person who had borrowed the money, and who for the sake of convenience may be called a working partner. These working partners are usually men with very poor means but endowed with good business ability; it is only on this consideration of their business ability that the bigger merchants advance money.

The principal dealer never tries to show the turnover of the working partner in his accounts, especially after the coming into force of this Act, but only enters the money advanced to him in, a type of account maintained by him which is known as 'Vasakkattu' account. The working partner could not be taxed on his business as in most cases it does not go beyond Rs. 10,000. Further these working partners have no particular place of business, which makes it almost impossible to trace out the business. In one or two cases when such working partners were questioned by the writers as to what they would do if they were taxed, they replied by saying that it was not just that they should be taxed, as they were only doing the business on behalf of their principal dealer, that the money with which the business was done was not their own and justice requires that the owner of money who had lent the cash should be taxed. When a principal dealer working on Kashtakootu basis was questioned, he quickly retorted by saying that he has only a share in the profits for the money he has lent, that he has not himself conducted the business and that therefore he should be exempted from taxation. Thus a large volume of business has been escaping taxation. The vigilance of the Tax Officers alone has been responsible for finding out such cases and bringing them within the orbit of taxation.

In cases that had been found out by the tax authorities the turnover of the working partners has been added to that of the principal dealer who is assessed on the total turnover. In Cuddalore alone enquiry has shown that many cases have been discovered and assessed. The offences against evasion have been in most cases compounded for sums that are lenient.

This kind of business organisation is found to a very great extent at Kallakurichi and Tirukoilur and other places bordering on the Salem district, where it is practised mostly in the purchase of raw materials. In the neighbourhood of Chidambaram and Cuddalore, such type of business organisation is rare, though the lending of money by a bigger merchant to smaller or itinerant merchants on "Vasakkattu" account is quite common. The Kashtakootu organisation is said to be prevalent generally in all those places, where dealings in the purchase of raw materials is carried on widely. Even an approximate idea of the number of dealers engaged in this kind of business is difficult to secure. But it can be said without any fear of contradiction that they are sufficiently large in number to deserve the immediate attention of the tax authorities.

In places where this type of business organisation is not prevalent, evasion is practised by merchants under the heading of "Vasakkattu This type of account is maintained by almost all merchants in these parts. Under this mode of accounting only cash advanced by a principal dealer to his near relatives, intimate clerks or close friends for the purpose of trading is entered. The clerk, relative or friend buys the commodity on the instructions of the principal dealer, sells it as per his directions, returns the money and profit when the transaction is over, himself retaining only a share of the profits. Sometimes instead of selling the produce to a third party, it is taken by the principal dealer himself, who instead of showing the purchase of produce in his purchase accounts, adjusts the value of the produce bought against the cash lent by him. This type of false accounting is purposely kept to cheat the tax authorities. The vasakkattu account in such cases does not reveal anything more than mere cash dealings, and in both cases, whether the goods are sold to a third party or are taken by the principal dealer himself, the purchase and sale of these goods are not brought in the accounts rendered by the principal dealer. Unless the assessing authorities are vigilant while checking the accounts and call for the details of the vasakkattu business the trader escapes. This type of evasion is common almost everywhere. In principle, this is not very much different from the one previously described, but there are slight differences between the two forms over the

question of responsibility of business which have earned for this the special name of "Vasakkattu business." As evasion under this heading is more widespread than under 'Kashtakootu" business, which is confined to only certain localities it seems necessary that certain regulations should be drawn up by the Government with a view to restricting this type of evasion. All persons having "Vasakkattu accounts" should be forced to maintain separate accounts showing the persons to whom cash is advanced, the purpose for which it is advanced, the manner in which it is recovered etc. The persons borrowing under "Vasakkattu accounts" may also be asked to submit to the nearest tax collecting authority all details as regards the transactions as e.g. the person from whom money is borrowed, the purpose for which it is borrowed, the manner in which it is utilised and repaid. It is realised that the enforcement of these suggestions would mean a lot of work for the officers which may necessitate the increase of departmental staff, but they have to be carried out if leakage is to be stopped.

Commission Agents.—The agents provide another loophole in the Act. They cover their sales with licences taken under section 8 of the Act and it is their principals who are obliged to pay the tax on the sales effected by them. For this purpose, they have to send monthly returns to the office of the Commercial Tax Department of their turnover, just as they have to send returns to their principals. It is in the discrepancy noted in these two accounts that we find the third source of leakage.

Under the terms of certain kinds of contracts entered into by the agents with their principals they can sell the produce only at the rate fixed by their principals. But the agents especially, in some branches have always a tendency to sell the articles at a higher price with a view to monopolising the profits for themselves. They watch whether there are any tendencies for a rise in the price and if there are, submit accounts for larger sales in the returns tendered to the principals than the actual sales. When the price actually goes up, they effect the sales take the profits for themselves and render no accounts in the returns submitted to their principals for this extra amount realised by them. As the principals alone are responsible for taxation, unless this discrepancy is brought to their notice, the agents succeed in hoodwinking their principals of their profits as well as the tax authorities of the tax.

The loophole would not be serious if only some agents had taken to this type of "forward sales" as they are called; but the tendency seem to be common amongst almost all the agents especially those dealing in kerosene and manure. It is a bit difficult to say who exactly is responsible for the evasion, whether the agents or the principals. The principals cannot be held liable for the fault, for they are not responsible for the mistake; they are themselves duped and it is only incidentally that the Government also come in for loss. It has therefore to be noted that the agents are the real offenders. As a punishment for their offences whenever such malpractices are found out, the agents are taxed as dealers on their total turnover. But a perfect scrutiny of accounts is not always possible. Further even when found out such agents are not seriously punished, but as remarked previously, are merely taxed as "dealers." It is perhaps this leniency that encourages them to carry on such forward sales as often as possible. A more drastic punishment in the form of a withdrawal of licence when such tactics are indulged in by them, may have greater effect in checking this temptation.

While in this case the agents are to be blamed, there is another manner of evasion where the principals are responsible for evading the payment of the tax. This kind of evasion consists in not showing the expenditure charges separately item by item, but in showing only the actual sale proceeds they had realised after making allowances for all deductions. This practice is not peculiar to those who sell their goods through commission agents only but also among dealers. Whenever merchants sell goods through commission agents, some of them do not show in their accounts the full value for which the goods had been sold and accounted for by the commission agent as sale proceeds in their accounts but only the net amount of sale proceeds they actually receive after deducting from the accounts submitted to them all items of expenditure, both by them and by their agents. This process of accounting, besides making cross checking difficult and placing the agents in a precarious position, serves as a fruitful source of evasion. The merchants are encouraged in indulging in such kind of accounting, as there is nothing positive in the Act which makes it obligatory on their part, to show in their accounts the full value of the sales effected on their behalf by the commission agents and not the net amount they receive after allowing for many deductions. In addition to making provisions for the maintenance of such type of accounts, stipulations must also be laid down that items that are to be deducted should be shown separately, and not treated in the fashion done at present. The reason why many dealers refrain from showing expenses separately, is due greatly to the objections raised by the Income Tax Department against too many deductions. If sufficient safeguards are provided against this difficulty, this serious kind of evasion current both among dealers and merchants selling through commission agents could be effectively checked.

Omission of Cash Sales.—In addition to these modes of evasion a tendency seems to be prevalent especially amongst the merchants of Madras, to omit cash transactions of sale in their accounts and keep the book turnover low. Such a tendency is highly dangerous if it spreads on a large scale. Effective measures must be taken against such practices to nip them in the bud. The only remedy to check this evil seems to be in educating the public to demand bills or receipts for their purchases and to force such merchants to keep receipt books with duplicate forms and to conduct a thorough verification of accounts with these duplicate forms.

It must be admitted, that the examination of the question of evasion leads us to conclude that it is being practised not because of any predetermination on the part of the merchants to dupe the Government but because of the existence of certain loopholes in the Act and the rules made thereunder. If steps are taken to amend and modify the Act wherever necessary and lay down more rules with a view to checking the types of evasion enumerated above, it is believed that such practices would end at the earliest possible time. It should be clearly appreciated that the evasions practised at present are not due to any political or other convictions nor even due to any inherent psychological weakness of the Indian merchants, but only due to the imperfections in the Act which make it possible for them to escape without being caught or if caught, without being severely punished. If penalties for violations are made more stringent and enforced more strictly, no doubts need be entertained as to their effectiveness in checking these malpractices.

### Section 14.

### SHIFTING AND INCIDENCE OF THE TAX.

While consolidating the results of the survey on this most important question, it must be observed, at the outset, that it is a very knotty problem and that the results obtained must be studied in conjunction with the limitations mentioned below. A comparison of the prices of articles prevailing after and before the Act came into force, or after the Act came into operation and before it was announced to be introduced, or in the same period during last year and this year is not likely to reveal the true relationship between the tax and the price or the pricing policies of the merchants for the mere fact, that price levels are subject to a variety of forces apart from this new one. The outbreak of the war in September just a month previous to the coming into force of the Act, introduces a factor whose effect is almost impossible to isolate. Hence it has not been possible to assess the effect of the sales tax on the retail and wholesale price fluctuations. When deduction has failed or is suspected would lead to wrong conclusions, an attempt has been made to study the question inductively. It need not therefore be mentioned here that what is said in the few following pages is a mere attempt at a logical and a cogent statement of conversations conducted with a good number of dealers of all classes with the help of the questionnaire. It seems better to warn the reader here against placing absolute reliance on the statements. The conclusions reached have been based on what businessmen say they have done. Sometimes they might have given false information either wilfully or out of indifference, or fear. An absolute faith in their words is not warranted on account of these limitations. But the writers feel that the suspicion due on this account can be ignored as a large number of cases have been well examined.

While studying the questions of the shifting and incidence of the tax, how it is charged and collected from the consumers, it needs to be considered how and how far the various classes of dealers engaged in trade succeed in accomplishing this. There are various hands through which the commodities have to pass before they finally reach the retailers and these as they deal only in wholesale transactions may for the sake of convenience be grouped together under the head of "wholesalers." There are at the end of this chain of traders the retailers who have direct dealings with the consumers. Apart from these two classes of dealers, there is a third class to be taken into consideration and this is the Co-operative Consumers' Society. Though these institutions are not merchants

in the real sense of the term they are classed as 'dealers' for the purposes of this Act. The question of incidence and shifting of the tax together with allied problems will be considered in relation to each of these classes separately.

Wholesalers.—This type of dealers, it is learnt, feel no difficulty in shifting the tax on to the shoulders of their purchasers. As they deal in large lumps, the tax also comes to a good sum which is entered separately in the bill and collected from the purchasers. The same procedure is generally followed in the case of all kinds of commodities, both necessaries and luxuries. While in the case of the former the procedure is generally and uniformly adopted by all the wholesalers, it is found that in the case of luxuries the practice is not so general. However, as the wholesale transactions in the case of commodities, especially in the case of luxuries are in the hands of very few persons, the lack of competition enables them to dictate policies in such cases. The shifting of the tax also is rendered easy.

Retailers.—The case of retailers is not so easy to deal with. From the point of view of the incidence of the tax there are nearly 2 classes One class of retailers does not charge the tax on the purchasers, but pays it out of their profits. When the reason for their unique behaviour was sought, they replied that when the Government had asked them to pay (1 pie formerly and ½ a pie in a rupee now) to relieve the drunkards, it is not just they should refuse such a small payment towards that noble object or should collect it from the purchasers back again, in the form of higher prices. But such types of dealers are very few. This brings out a point of great significance. which should not be overlooked. It only shows how the willingness or unwillingness of the merchant himself plays a great part in determining of the question of shifting of the tax. This factor has not been given the importance it deserves in the study of the incidence of taxes so far. The class of merchants mentioned above has brought into prominence this important factor and may be said to have been at the source of widening our knowledge of the question of incidence by their unique behaviour.

All others try to shift the tax to the consumers. While the tax is shifted on to their shoulders by those from above in most cases, the shifting of the tax to the consumers by these is rendered difficult by many factors. In the case of certain commodities where the retail prices have been steady for a fairly long time, the prices cannot be suddenly increased without much inconvenience to the traders. The

cases of soaps, pencils, blades, matches and such other things are examples of such classes of goods. Further the unit value of certain commodities is so low that the charging of the tax on each of them is rendered almost impossible. Thus wherever the prices of commodities have been constant or steady for a fairly long time and where the unit value of the articles is very low, the shifting of the tax is made difficult.

In respect of all commodities, where these factors are not prominent, the dealers try to collect the tax from the consumers. Nearly 3 types of procedure have been noticed. Some merchants charge the tax on the total value of transactions by mentioning the tax in the bill separate-But this method can be followed without loss only in cases where the total value of the transactions is above the minimum (of 1 rupee formerly and 2 rupees at present). In order to avoid the loss on transactions of less than this minimum amount and the inconvenience of charging the tax every time the sale is effected, other merchants adopt advantage claimed for this practice by its exponents and adherents is that as the tax is not specifically and separately mentioned in the bill, the consumers return with the impression that they have not been taxed, and this idea creates in them an attraction for such shops. same time, these merchants complain that this method also has not been thoroughly successful in view of the difficulty of adding the tax to the cost of the purchases of very small quantities of goods, running to only a few annas. The lack of understanding amongst the retail merchants has also been responsible to a certain extent in defeating the attempts of some to raise the retail prices of the commodities by more than the amount of the tax. The difficulty in such cases could only be over-come by adding one pie which is the smallest sub-multiple of the Rupee; but this action could not be resorted to on account of the severe competition amongst the merchants.

These difficulties could completely be got over if there is perfect understanding amongst the retailers of this Presidency as in the States of America and if they copy the same devices with suitable and necessary modifications as those employed in the American States. The American retailers feeling these difficulties have come together and employ various devices which enable them to pass only the exact amount of the tax without any difficulty. Two of these devices\* may be noted here.

<sup>\*</sup> For more details as regards their advantages and disadvantages, etc., see Sales Tax in American States by R. M. Haig and C. Shoup, pp. 33-37.

- 1. The use of Fractional cent devices.—"The second group of plans for shifting involves the use of fractional cent devices ...... Under a 3% tax, for instance, a consumer purchasing a 10 cent article would pay 11 cents and receive from the merchant a coupon, or metal slug, worth seven-tenths of a cent, thus allowing for exact payment of the tax. The worth of the coupon or slug would lie in the fact that it would be used in future purchases as a means of paying the tax charge; in some plans it was redeemable in merchandise, or even in cash, at the store where it was received or at some local trade association office . . . . devices such as this have been used to some extent in Illinois and in Michigan."
- 2. The Use of Coupon books.—"A third device whereby shifting would be made more certain has been devised by the Ohio Retail Merchants Association. Under this plan. coupon books, would be printed by the State, the coupons being in denominations of one cent and up. A dollar book of coupons would be sold to the retailer for one cent under a 1% tax, 2 cents under a 2% tax and so on. The retailer would then resell the books to consumers at the same price. Carrying these books around with them, consumers would be required to hand over to the retailer, at the time of every purchase, coupons to the face value of the purchase. The State would thus collect the tax in advance, and the merchant would collect it from the consumer in the exact amount, no matter what the tax rate or how small the sale."

Another factor which has been noticed as influencing the shifting of the tax in this district is concerned with the attitude of the consumers. Some merchants have informed the writers that they are not taxing the consumers on account of the unwillingness and sometimes blunt refusal of their customers to pay the tax. This, some merchants say, has been solely responsible for not taxing the consumers. Thus many of the factors enumerated above have seriously impeded the task of shifting the tax. It is not correct therefore to say without any qualifications that the incidence is on the consumer, and that every individual is taxed on his purchases. Perhaps such a statement might have been true in the first few months when the Act came into force. Many merchants confess they had taken all steps to shift

the tax during the first few months of its working even at times incurring the displeasure of their regular customers. But later on, when some of them began to pay the tax out of their profits, the difficulties of others have become rather magnified and the severe competition amongst them has nullified the attempts of some to shift the tax.

Co-operative Societies.—Even among the co-operative societies there is no uniformity of procedure with regard to the shifting of the tax. There are as many practices current among them as amongst the merchants. In Cuddalore itself, where there are two societies, they follow different policies. The Manjakuppam Society meets the tax out of the general profits it secures, while the Pudupalayam Stores adds the price to the cost price of the article. Many of the difficulties experienced by the merchants have also been felt by them.

Thus, on the whole, over the question of incidence and shifting a definite and categorical answer cannot be given. One thing is sure, that the merchants, that is retailers, are not successful in passing the whole tax on all goods to all consumers uniformly. They try to pass on the tax wherever and whenever possible but when they encounter difficulties abstain from persisting. Sometimes the whol etax or even more than the amount of the tax is passed on to certain customers on certain commodities; while in other cases the merchants bear the whole or part of the tax as the case may be. They have to adjust their policy according to the nature of their customers. Thus while a definite conclusion would be impossible, and if made would be far from realities, these points stated above would serve to bring to the minds of the reader an idea of the difficulties encountered in the effort to shift the tax on to the consumers.

The above statements may leave the impression in the minds of the readers that, as the merchants are not generally or in many cases successful in passing on the tax to all consumers, the tax may not cause a substantial rise in price. But it was pointed out when the Act was on the anvil of the legislature that though the whole tax may not be shifted as the commodities change hands many times—about which nothing definite was known—even a partial shifting of the tax may ultimately lead to a substantial rise in price. An effort has been made during the course of the enquiry to learn how many times each class of commodity changes hands till they reach the consumer and the results are tabulated below:—

Sales Tax is levied in respect of each class of commodity, the number of times noted against each of them.

1.	Groceries	3	to	4	1. Cashe	w			2
2.	Shop articles			4	2. Leaf ?	<b>Fobacco</b>	2	to	3
3.	Hardware	2	to	3	3. Groun	dnut	2	to	3
4.	Clothing	3	to	4					
<b>5</b> .	Silver and gold article	es 1	to	2					
6.	Edible Oils	2	to	3					
<b>7</b> .	Paddy, rice grams as	nd			•				
	Cereals			3					
8.	Kerosene Oil			2					

From this it could be inferred that the belief that the commodities would be changing hands 6 to 8 times before they reach the consumer is exaggerated. In many of the cases noted above, the number of times the commodities change hands are only 2 which is indispensable in the present structure of business organisation and it is therefore not likely that the cumulative tax would be causing a heavy or perceptible rise in price.

### Section 15

### EFFECT ON BUSINESS TURNOVER

### (A) Merchants

This is an important question of the enquiry for the correct study of which the details are difficult to procure. An attempt to compare the turnover of different types of business during the past 2 or 3 half year periods as has been done in the case of co-operative societies has not been successful, mainly because the data are not available. It must be pointed out, that most of the merchants are accustomed to keeping accounts only for the year as a whole and not month-war or even half yearly. Certain merchants who pay income tax and for that purpose maintain half yearly accounts to facilitate them, are unwilling to give any figures. Any kind of appeal fails to convince them of the purpose for which it is required. Thus in the face of these difficulties, the problem has to be left unsolved.

### (B) Sales Tax and Consumers' Co-operative Societies.

The fear entertained by some that the Co-operative Societies would be robbed of much of their business because of the competition from tax-free retailers seems to be exaggerated. This fear, it needs to be pointed out, is based on the belief that the co-operative societies generally charge the tax on their purchasers, that the tax-free retailer has no necessity to charge the tax and that because of this, there is a difference in prices which acts to the disadvantage of the consumers' society. Firstly, it is to be noted that all societies do not charge the tax on the consumers but only some; while others meet it out of their profits. Secondly, as the co-operative societies charge only very small percentage of profits on their transactions which is much lower than that charged by the merchants, the prices of commodities sold by the society are decidedly less than the prices fixed by the tax-free retailers, (who have to charge higher prices as they lack the advantages of large scale buying which the societies enjoy) and even an addition of the tax to the price would not create any difference in prices which would be prejudicial to the prosperity of the society. To illustrate the points put forth, the following case may be noted. The prices of articles sold by the Pudupalayam Stores (which charges the tax on consumers) has been found to be lower or the same but never higher than the prices charged for the same articles of the same quality by dealers and tax free retailers in the neighbourhood. A comparison of the prices of a few articles prevalent during the last week of October will illustrate the truth of the statement.

	Articles.*	Unit of measure Co-or			Prices charged by dealers & tax free retailers.			
				Rs.	A. P.	Rs	. A	. P.
1.	Sirumani rice		per bag	10	11 0	10	14	0
2.	Ghee	••	one seer	0	3 10	0	4	0
3.	Gram (Bengal, broken)		per measure	0	3 10	0	4	0
4.	Camphor	••	per palam	0	3 3	0	3	6
5.	Chillies	••	per thooku	0	15 0	1	0	0

<sup>\*</sup> Care has been taken to include only those commodities that have been bought in October by the Society and not those commodities that the Society had in stock.

This table clearly indicates the tendency in which the prices are moving in the two cases.

A look into the turnover of the two societies in Cuddalore, the Manjakuppam and Pudupalayam Stores, during the last 3 half years from October to March would also lead to the conclusion that there has been no setback in their business.

Turnover in Rupees.

Manjaku	ippam St	ores.		Pudupalayam Stores		
1937-38.	1938-39.	1939-40.		1937-38.	1938-39.	1939-40
2002	2416	2418	October	2085	2846	2387
1991	2355	2377	November	2379	2348	2542
1880	2583	2285	December	2656	2667	2717
1781	2223	2626	January	2399	2584	2718
1913	2002	2320	February	2371	2034	2717
1699	2268	2258	March	2471	2197	2810
11266	13847	14284	Total	14361	14676	15891
1878	2308	2381	Average	2394	2446	2649

The table clearly shows that these societies have been keeping up their tendency of increasing trade even in the half year of 1939-40, in spite of the sales tax; and the fact that they have maintained the increase in spite of the restraint they had put upon themselves by not selling to

non-members during the half year in 1939-40, only goes to strengthen the argument. Hence in the opinion of the writers it is not true or correct to say that the societies would be undercut in the matter of prices by the tax free retailer and that they would consequently lose their business, which would hamper the progress of the movement itself. Such a tendency has not been evinced so far and if the past is to be a guide to the future, it can confidently be asserted, that there would be no occasions for the Societies to suffer.

These observations are strengthened by Appendix (A) in which the turnovers of a few more co-operative consumers' societies are studied. The condition of the premier consumer society of the Presidency has been dealt with. The total turnover of the Triplicane Urban Co-operative Society and of a number of its various branches have been tabulated to facilitate a comparison of their turnover during the past 3 half year periods from October to March. But before comparing the figures as such, certain allowances have to be made. Firstly the sudden and quick rise in price during the months from September 1939, has rather shown a sudden increase in turnover. It is generally considered by merchants that, on the whole, taking into consideration all commodities, there has been only a rise of about 1 anna in the rupee in their turnover because of this rise in price. Hence the effect of this factor will have to be considered while comparing the figures given in Appendix. Another factor will have to be taken into account which is also an effect of the war. The war which has brought about a distinct difference in the prices of articles sold by the co-operative societies and merchants, has resulted in such a heavy rush for goods at the co-operative societies, to combat which they were forced to resort, to a kind of rationing of goods. This it is feared, has sometimes even acted as a check over genuine demand of goods for consumption. Thus the possibility of any loss in turnover on this account must also be borne in mind.

Anyhow it must be admitted, that though the sales tax has not actually brought about a decline in the turnover of consumers' co-operative societies, as has been feared by some, it has had some effect development of the society. It has been that the Triplicane Urban Co-operative Society which had an idea of undertaking the sale of piecegoods of different kinds and articles like sandals and shoes, has been obliged to partially suspend such plans. because of the sales tax. If the same is the effect in the case of other societies situated elsewhere in the Presidency, it seems necessary that such new ventures of Co-operative Societies should receive the sympathetic consideration of the Government and result in some form of help which would induce such societies to get over their fear and execute their plans well.

### Section 16

### EFFECT OF MIDDLEMEN

There are really two classes of middlemen, one doing business on behalf of others and another class doing the intermediary work on their own accounts. The position, of the first class of intermediaries has been safeguarded in the Act under the head of 'agents.' It is only with regard to the second class of intermediaries that grave doubts were entertained; it was thought that because of this cumulative tax they would be forced out of existence.

To examine whether such fears have materialised, it is necessary to consider this class of middlemen in two separate groups, as such a method would help the analysis. Middlemen are found both in the purchasing trade and in the selling trade of a country; the effect of the tax will be considered on each of them separately.

There are large numbers of middlemen dealing in raw produce, purchasing them in the villages and selling them to exporters. The case of such men dealing in groundnut in Cuddalore has come under the observation of the writers and their condition will be stated at length in the hope that it would be representative of that group of men where the same conditions prevail.

The marketing of groundnut is carried on in Cuddalore by the exporting firms, their shandies and agencies, middlemen, co-operative sale societies and groundnut marketing committee. Before the establishment of the co-operative sales societies and the marketing committee, the middlemen were doing a greater part of the business and even now they are responsible for a considerable amount of trade. Of these some are wealthy and big merchants who purchase and stock commodities to sell at times of favourable prices. But such persons are very few in numbers; the greater part of the middlemen are those with very low means who make their living by making small profits on their daily transactions.

The price of groundnut is fixed by the foreign market demand for port delivery. Whenever the middlemen buy the commodity they have to pay the tax and again when bigger middlemen buy it they have to pay the tax once more. In these cases, as the middlemen's selling price of groundnut has been already fixed, the middlemen try to deduct the tax they have to pay from the price paid to producers. But this course is objected to by the Marketing Committee and hence the middlemen have

no other course except to make allowance for the tax by quoting reduced prices without showing the tax outwardly. Even this they could not do, the competition of exporters, their marketing committees. As the commodities bought these agencies have to pay the tax only once, these institutions succeed in defeating the purpose of the middlemen, by quoting higher prices. Thus the middlemen are driven to bear the tax themselves, without shifting the tax on to the shoulders of producers. While the bigger and richer middlemen are able to bear the burden of the tax by meeting it out from their profits earned from the fluctuations in prices on the sale of their stored goods, the condition and existence of the smaller middlemen have become almost precarious. They are unable to bear the burden of the tax as the profits they realise from their sales are very meagre. Their existence today depends upon how they can dupe the illiterate and innocent growers who come to them or on dealings with growers who have taken loans from them and therefore bound to come to them. When the marketing committees grow more popular and by means of efficient propaganda shut out this only way of shifting of the burden of the tax by the middlemen, it is feared that many of them would be thrown out of employment. The activities of Marketing Committees and the operation of the Sales Tax have thus greatly affected the middlemen dealing in groundnut.

The same would be the case with middlemen dealing in other commodities also. It can be generalised that wherever there are competing agencies with middlemen in the buying market who could pay higher prices, and wherever chances for deceiving producers, in the matter of weights and measures and other ways are restricted, the position of the middlemen becomes rather critical. But the absence of any such competing agencies and marketing committees in the case of other commodities has rendered their condition in these trades easier for the present. The paddy brokers of Chidambaram say that they feel no difficulty in passing on the tax to the producers.

The condition of middlemen in the selling trade now remains to be examined. Compared to the previous class, their condition is better. Most of them, as they deal in wholesale transactions feel no difficulty in shifting the tax on to the purchasers. The concessions they show, in the matter of allowing credit and instalment system of payment, induce their customers to stick to them, and even lower prices quoted by the manufacturers and wholesalers has had no effect in diminishing their trade. Shifting of the tax has been made easier for these middlemen during the past 7 or 8 months by the rising of prices after the outbreak of the war.

### Section 17

### DISINTEGRATION OF BUSINESS

It was a very widespread fear prevalent at the time of the passing of the Act that there would be a keen tendency amongst businessmen to split up their businesses in order to escape taxation or derive some advantage. Hence in the course of field work special attention was devoted to elicit as much of information as possible on this question; but all the answers secured after a detailed examination had only revealed the fact that no such tendency is visible, at any rate in this district. And convincing reasons too for this opinion have been gathered, which may be set down below.

Any practically minded businessman would consider first the probable loss of business and the consequent decrease in profit and then only the gain in taxation before launching a scheme of dividing his business. The smallest unit to which the business could be split up to escape taxation, depends upon the minimum exemption level set up in the Act. As under the present Act, Rs. 10,000 which is the minimum fixed, is very low, it is not likely to induce businessmen to split up their businesses. Nobody having a good business would like to set up small and petty shops with a turnover of less than Rs. 30 per day. The fixing of such a low minimum has really conferred a benefit and may be said to have acted as a brake, if there was a move in the direction of splitting up of business.

Again the setting up of the slab rate close to the percentage rate has also weighed much with the merchants in arresting this tendency. As the following calculations would show, persons having business with a turnover of more than 20,000 do not stand to gain, nay, rather stand to lose, by splitting up their businesses into small ones, all assessable under the slab rate, or into one or two in the slab rate and the rest under percentage rate.

In the case of the first line of division, splitting all into concerns coming under slab rate, the resulting loss would be in each case as follows:—\*

<sup>\*</sup>In this and the following tables the turnover of the business units in the slab rate is assumed to be just below Rs. 20,000; i.e. 18,000 allowing for business fluctuations: the amount of the tax is calculated on the basis of the revised rates: i.e., Rs. 4 per month for firms under slab rate and 4% for those above slab rate.

Turnover of firms.	% tax.	Maximum No. of firms under slab rate.	Tax under slab rate.	Difference.
30,000	75	2	48×2: 96	21
40,000	100	2	48×2: 96	+ 4
50,000	125	3	48×3 : 144	-19
60,000	150	3	48×3: 144	+ 6
70,000	175	4	48×4 : 192	<b>-</b> ,17

Firms having a turnover over 70,000 are not likely to be divided into small ones under the slab rate all having a turnover of less than 20,000, as such a procedure would only result in a heavy loss of business. While in such cases it is not considered beneficial to adopt any such practices in others the results in difference are not encouraging. Whereas the negative results denoting loss in each of the three cases are clearly about Rs. 15 to Rs. 20 in the two cases where there is a gain it is so meagre that it would not induce merchants to undergo all pain and trouble involved in the course of division and in the management of small concerns.

Thus while possibilities along this line of division are ruled out of question, sufficient gain would not accrue even by the second mode of division that is of having two concerns under slab rate and one on percentage basis, as the following figures would show:—

Turnover.	Rate %.	Slab rate.	% rate.	Total of 3 & 4.	Difference between 2 & 5.
60,000	150	96	60	156	-6
70,000	175	96	85	181	<b>—6</b>
80,000	200	96	110	206	-6
90,000	225	96	135	231	-6

In all the cases this kind of division involves only a loss.

Only the last method of division remains to be examined, that is, with one concern under slab rate and the rest on percentage basis. Even here there is no gain by dividing businesses but only loss as the figures would show.

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	30,000	75		48×2		96	-21	
	40,000	100		48	55	103	<b>— 3</b>	
	50,000	125		48	80	128	- 3	
	60,000	150		48	105	153	<b>— 3</b>	
	70,000	175		48	130	178	<b>— 3</b>	
	80,000	200	•	48	155	203	<b>— 3</b>	
	90,000	225		48	180	228	<b>- 3</b>	

Consolidating these results in the following manner it is clear to say that in all the 3 possible ways there is no material advantage to be gained by the merchants by splitting up their business. When mer-

	Possible gain (+) or loss ( — ) by splitting up of business into concerns.				
Cases of turnover.	concerns all under slab rate.	2 under slab rate & rest on % basis.	1 on slab rate and rest on % basis.		
30,000	-21		-21		
40,000	+4		<b>- 3</b>		
50,000	19		<b> 3</b>		
60,000	+6	<b>6</b>	<b>- 3</b>		
70,000	<b>—17</b>	6	<b>– 3</b>		
80,000		6	<b>– 3</b>		
90,000		6	- 3		

chants are asked why they do not entertain any idea to split their business, to gain some advantage in the amount paid as tax, they point out by working in the manner shown above of how they only stand to lose by such a procedure. When further questioned, why they do not wish to divide their business into small ones, each with a turnover of less than 10,000 to escape taxation altogether, they reply that such a course of action would only result in a loss of business and profit for them; besides, such small concerns, in view of the separate administrative charges that would have to be incurred would be found to be not very remunerative. Conversation with merchants has thus revealed the fact that they are not therefore willing to split up their businesses into smaller ones, either to gain any advantage in the amount of tax paid or to escape taxation altogether.

Besides these factors, the nature of the business also greatly influences the decision of the owners. Not all business concerns could be

easily split up. It is only certain types of businesses that can be easily split up, while in other cases it is not possible to do so, without incurring any material loss in the process of division itself. As a general rule, it can be stated that in business concerns where much fixed capital in the form of buildings and machinery has been sunk, the process is not easy of accomplishment and, even when accomplished, it is done only at substantial loss. Only in cases, where the greater part of capital invested is circulating capital, that the division is easy and could be indulged in without much loss. In such cases the probable gain must be sufficiently high to compensate for the difficulties attendent on the division and administration of smaller concerns. Such inducements being rendered nil or meagre by the framing of the Act, a tendency in that direction has not been noticeable in this district.

But it would be too much to say at the same time that the sales tax has had no effect at all on the merchants in this direction. Tendencies for merchants to do business under 'kashtakottu' or 'vasakkattu' form have increased with the hope of escaping taxation. As these types of business are also found out and taxed in the name of the principal dealer, it is expected that the weakness the merchants evince in this direction would soon be put a stop to.

### Section 18

### COST OF ADMINISTRATION

It has been the aim of the Government of Madras to keep the cost of administration of the tax as low as possible, and it is with a view to achieve that end that they seem to have minimised the appointment of special bill-collectors on a large scale and entrusted the work of collection to the village headmen wherever it is possible. It has already been pointed out how this system of administration of the tax has led to indifference on the part of the village headmen and much arrears in collection.

It needs to be stated that it has not been possible to calculate the cost of administration of the tax for the Presidency as a whole. difficulties, theoretical and practical have been experienced. Until definiteness is reached to what as included under cost of administration of any particular tax, the former difficulties seem to be more difficult to be got over than the latter ones. Doubtful cases such as whether the portion of salaries of the judicial authorities hearing cases brought to them, and the expenses incurred by Government in conducting cases on their behalf relating to the Act are to be added to the administrative cost have to be cleared. Other doubtful points of a similar nature are also found, but they need not be enumerated. The practical difficulties arise out of a system of administration of the tax in which the Commercial Tax Department is entrusted with the administration of a few taxes other than the Sales Tax. administration of Entertainments Tax Act and the Tobacco (Taxation of Sales and Licensing) Act are also left to it. As such it has been found very difficult to divide the total expenditure of the department among the various taxes. Certain items of expenditure with joint costs could not be separated. Whether the cost is to be allocated among them in the proportion of yield, or total collection of taxes, or in respect of time spent on each tax by the tax authorities or any other method is a point of grave doubt. It will be evident on the face of these suggestions that while in some methods the process of allocation could be carried out without much difficulty, it is not so in other methods. . Under such circumstances until some definite policy is laid down with a view to solving the difficulties mentioned above, an attempt to discover the cost of administration of the tax must be postponed.

However it may not be out of place to add here a few words about the cost of the tax in other countries that have adopted it. Materials about this point are meagre. But in a recent book dealing with the sales tax in Amerian States the authors have published the materials made available by the Research staff of the Interstate Commission on Conflicting Taxation. The sales taxes are classified on the basis of the basic retail rate of the tax. And the costs of administering the State Sales Taxes, covering for the most part the years 1933 and 1934 are tabulated as follows: \*

Estimated direct cost of administering Gross Sales Taxes in States for which Data are available.\*\*

		Annual Revenue Collections. (In dollars)	Approximate Annual cost of Adminis- tration. (In dollars)	Cost. (in % of revenue)
Basic retail rate, 3%				
Kentucky	• •	7,985,208	558,965	7
Michigan	••	34,871,949	414,327	1.187
North Carolina	• •	6,657,022	133,140	2
Ohio	• •	43,264,000	1,025,500	2.37
Basic retail rate, 2%	<b>2·9</b> %		•	
California	••	50,378,604	856,436	1.7
Illinois	••	36,886,116	737,722	2
Iowa	••	10,625,128	318,754	3
Mississippi	••	2,909,701	93,110	3.2
New Mexico		1,709,013	51,270	3
Utah		1,871,514	30,000	2
West Virginia	••	20,031,900	Data lacking	
Basic retail rate, 1%	1·9%			
Arizona	••	1,354,360	54,174	4
Indiana	••	11,355,499	283,887	2.5
Oklahoma	•••	4,229,724	126,892	3
South Dakota	••	3,414,191	136,568	4
New York		25,869,504	388,043	1.5
Pennsylvania	•••	18,243,892	Data lacking	2.0
z cinisji vania	••	10,210,002	but cost has	
			been high	
Basic retail rate, und	ler 1%			
Missouri	••	4.155.444	Data lacking	
Washington	••	5,036,467	225,000	4
Georgia	••	1,212,000	36,360	3

<sup>\*</sup> Vide Twentieth Century Fund: "Studies in Current Tax Problem," p. 127.

\*\* Table from Sales Taxes: State vs. Federal, p. 10.

Certain broad generalisations to which the authors have come from these figures may be quoted. They remark:

"It appears to be generally true that a 3% tax can be administered for less than 2% of the revenue; a 2% tax can be administered for less than 3% of the revenue; and a 1% tax can on the average be collected for a little more than 3% of the revenue."\*

These figures and inferences therefrom only bring out the plain truth that the smaller the rate, the greater is the cost of administering the tax. In our province with a low rate and with a wide area to cover up, the cost of administering is likely to be high. The possible ways of minimising cost seem to lie only in checking evasion and securing greater co-ordination between the Commercial Tax Department and various other tax departments and other governmental, quasi-governmental and private bodies, with a view to avoiding duplication of work leading to unnecessary expenditure. Minimum expenditure with maximum efficiency alone can achieve good results.

<sup>\*</sup>Quoted in "Studies in Current Tax Problems": (Twentieth Century Fund), p. 128.

### Section 19

### GENERAL OBSERVATIONS.

Within the short period of working of the Act, it cannot said without exaggeration that all the merchants locality have clearly understood the implications of the it is too much to expect that they would have executed the duties that fall upon them as promptly and as punctually as may be imagined. Cases of negligence of work have been numerous and they would have been still greater had not the tax authorities taken upon themselves during the first few months the task of going about and informing the merchants of what they ought to do. It is said that in the beginning of the half year, that is, during October and the subsequent months, the assessing authorities themselves did a greater part of the filling up of forms of returns, on behalf of the taxpayers. In spite of the trouble taken by the authorities many merchants had defaulted in the submission of A returns and monthly returns (A3) in respect of which they could not but be punished. One noticeable feature among such merchants had been that they always accepted their mistake and paid the fines without much grudging. When asked why they committed such mistakes especially when the Act had been explained to them and they had also been informed of the impending punishment in case of default, they pleaded ignorance. The real reason seems to be their intention to gain as much of time as possible for the payment of the tax, and when they realised that delay in submission of returns would facilitate the fulfilment of their object, they were only too quick to seize it.

While cases of failure in sending up of returns are not negligible,—about 7 for 6 months—cases of non-payment of taxes are also common. But the default of payment of taxes at the proper time, as in the previous case, is observed to have been greater in the case of smaller merchants, usually having a turnover of less than Rs. 40,000. As those with a turnover of above Rs. 40,000 are mostly income tax payers and are therefore accustomed to regular payment of taxes, they are not usually at default with regard to the payment of this tax. It is to be clearly emphasised here that the reason for the smaller merchants showing a tendency for default is to be found not in their incapacity or inability to pay the tax, but in the fact that they have not yet got into the habit of regularly paying the taxes. It is a regrettable fact to note that their payment of municipal and profession taxes has not in any way brought about a change in their habits and modes and instilled into them

any idea of punctuality and a sense of the duty they owe the state. But it is confidently hoped that with the march of time such a feeling would prevail upon the smaller merchants who would then become regular taxpayers.

Apart from these two weaknesses that the merchants have evinced, it is learnt, they have not shown any other case of wilful negligence, at least so far as this district is concerned. When especially an effort was made to know whether dealers have any inclination to submit incorrect accounts and they have attempted to violate the provisions of the Act it is learnt that such cases have been extremely rare. It is said that in the whole district with a total number of assessees of about 800 only 2 cases have been compounded for such offences for the first 6 months. This is almost a negligible number.

In general it must be said, that so far as this district is concerned, the merchants have paid all attention they could to observe the Act. But there have been cases, where violations of the Act or rules were noticed, but they are only small compared to the total number of assessees. It will not be too much to say, therefore, that the Act has been more often observed than violated.

A word might also be added here as regards the punishment awarded for the offences. It must be said to the credit of the tax authorities that they, knowing human weaknesses and limitations, have always been sympathetic to the merchants. Realising that the tax is a new one and that it would take some time for the merchants to attend to their duties in fulfilling the Act, in a routine way, they have always been generous to let off the defaulters with light fines. The fact that the compounding charges had not gone beyond Rs. 25 (in this district) though they had power to levy fines up to Rs. 1,000 shows how lenient they have been. In the greater number of cases compounded for offences here, the fines are said to range from Rs. 5 to Rs. 15. But it is expected that the merchants would not avail themselves of this tenderness on the part of the authorities to take any undue advantage. They have already realised that they would be taken to task severely for offences in future and are becoming more and more punctual in the proper execution of their duties.

### APPENDICES.

A.
TURNOVER OF TRIPLICANE URBAN CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETY AND SOME OF ITS BRANCHES

(In Rupees)

			` - /				
Months.			1937-38.	1938-39.	1939-40.		
October			87,487	74,636	<b>76</b> ,	76,492	
Novemb	er		76,259	68,290	81,	292	
Decemb	er		83,957	77,497	82.	679	
January	•		82,222	74,935	•	011	
Februar			73,970	68,920		461	
March	•		78,174	73,996		324	
					•		
Tota	վ		482,069	438,274	48	3,259 	
Bro	odies Roa	đ.		Geo	rge Town	II.	
1937–38.	1938–39.	1939-40.	Month.	1937–38.	1938–39.	1939–40.	
3322	2906	2672	October	3142	2551	2133	
2762	2687	2868	November	2865	2203	2229	
3132	3091	3407	December	3195	2621	2386	
3148	3077	3197	January	2693	2299	2374	
2824	3067	3286	February	2590	1886	2259	
2941	3127	2976	March	2802	2025	2362	
18129	17955	18406	Total	17287	13585	13743	
Nur	ngambakk	am.		Thy	agarayana	gar.	
1937–38.	1938–39.	193 <del>9-4</del> 0.	. Month.	1937–38.	1938–39.	193 <del>9-4</del> 0.	
5532	5069	4767	October	5179	3805	5369	
4728	4514	5519	November	4512	3682	6055	
4720	4814	4871	December	4968	4392	6362	
5124	4784	5514	January	4900	4238	6569	
4967	4433	5118	February	4288	3995	6193	
4755	<b>~ 4866</b>	5273	March	4473	<b>4513</b>	6449	

Total

28320

24625

36997

31062

28480

29826

	Car Street			xmipuran	ram.	
1937–38.	1938–39.	1939-40.	Month.	1937–38.	1938–39.	1939–40.
3410	2908	3165	October	1638	2510	2586
3246	2725	3571	November	1612	2113	2330
3491	3140	3547	December	1869	2326	2378
3369	2918	3731	January	1802	2399	2448
3033	2794	3471	February	1843	2288	2297
3343	3127	3529	March	2154	2532	2434
19892	17612	21014	Total	10918	14168	14473

R	oyapettah	•		Madhavapuram.			
1937–38.	1938–39.	1939–40.	Month.	1937–38.	1938–39.	1939-40.	
4826	3826	3926	October	4752	3915	4491	
4126	3291	4033	November	4003	3604	4499	
4795	3972	4163	December	4437	4101	4940	
4798	3656	4705	January	4274	4063	4500	
4043	3350	3996	February	4025	3473	4299	
4222	3505	4724	March	4303	3993	4613	
26810	21600	25547	Total	25794	23149	27342	

	Friplicane.			Mylapore II.			
1937–38.	1938–39.	1939–40.	Month.	1937–38.	1938–39.	1939-40.	
5626	5169	5097	October	4997	3985	3921	
4959	4525	5528	November	3932	3223	3996	
4920	4949	5319	December	4458	3587	4050	
5374	5164	5687	January	4227	3611	3901	
4976	4827	5471	February	3715	3326	3566	
<b>52</b> 89	4963	5399	March	4114	3468	3486	
31144	29597	32501	Total	25443	21200	22920	

# GENERAL NATIONAL-GOVERNMENT SALES TAXES IN VARIOUS COUNTRIES.\*

## Section a.—British Empire.

Country.	Title of tax.	Law establishing Payment tax. of tax.	Payment of tax.	Basis of tax.	Measure of tax.	Rates.	Disposition.	Exemptions.
Australia	Producer's sales tax	Law of August, 18, 1930.	Monthly	Sale of commodi- ties by producers and importers.	Total sales and imports	5% %	To National government	Exporting, sales of agri- cultural foods, many articles used in the extractive industries, and specified articles.
Canada	Sales tax	Law of July, 1, 1920.	Monthly	Sales of producers, manufacturers and importers.	Total sales completed	6% Annual licence \$ 2.00	To National government	Exporting, agriculture, sales of essential foods, fuels, raw materials equipment used in the extractive industries, etc.
New Zealand Sales tax	Sales tax	Law of March 9, 1933.	Monthly	Sales of whole salers and manu- facturing retailers.	:	5%	To National government	Exporting, agriculture, many foods machinery and implements and many other specified articles.

\* Adapted from "The Tax Systems of the World"-5th Edition, page 266.

Country	Title of tax	Title of establishing tax	Payment of tax.	Basis of tax.	Measure of tax.	Rates.	Disposition.	Exemptions.
Austria	Turnover tax	Law of April 1, 1923.	Annual <sup>2</sup>	Total business turnover	Total Sales	Rates generally 2% to 8% but vary with classes of commodities.	60% to National government & 40% to local government	Exporting.
Belgium	Transfer tax	Law of August, 28, 1921.	Monthly	Sales of commodities except at retail and for use in business	All business transactions	Usual rate 2.5% with variations according to commodities	To National government	Exporting, government purchases, and sales of prime necessities.
Danzig	Turnover tax	Law of July, 7, 1922	Annual	Amount of receipts	Completed sales	3% ordinary rate, 1% on retailing, 1.5% on agriculture and 10% on restaurants.	40% to State and 60% to Local Governments.	Exporting and Importing.
France	Turnover tax	Law of June 25, 1920	Monthly for larger and annually for smaller tax-payers.	Total business turnover	Total com- pleted sales	2% on ordinary articles, 3% to 16% on luxuries and various rates on special industries	90% to National and 10% to local governments.	Exporting, agriculture, professions, government enterprise, transactions liable for special taxation.
Germany	Turnover tax	Law of December 24, 1919.	Annual	Gross income of business and professions	Gross income	2%	70% to National and 30% to State and local governments	Exporting, government enterprise transactions liable for especial taxation, and a
Hungary	Turnover Law of	Law of 1921	Annual	Gross receipts	Delivery of sales	3% basis on ordinary articles, 10%—25% on luxuries, various rates on special industries.	10%-25% to local governments & rest to National government.	Exporting and essentials foods

2. As far as may be ascertained the information is not altogether conclusive.

Country	Title of tax	Country Title of establishing tax	Payment of tax	Basis of tax	Measure of tax	Rates	Disposition	Exemptions
Italy	Transfer tax	Transfer Law of tax November 24, 1919.	Monthly	Sales of commodities for use in business except at retail	Value of goods trans- ferred	2.5%	To National government	Exporting, government industry, sales of essential foods
Luxem- burg	Turnover tax	Turnover Law of tax July, 21, 1922.	Quarterly	Value of sales except at retail	Total business	Total business 1% on ordinary sales and 5%—10% on luxuries	8% to communes and rest to State	Exporting.
Poland	Industrial tax and licence duty	Industrial Law of tax and July, licence 15, 1925 duty	Monthly for larger and Quarterly for smaller tax-payers.	Gross income of business and professions	Gross sales and privilege of doing business	Industrial tax ½% to 5% and licence varies	Local govern- ments may add 25% to indus- trial tax and 30% to licence duty	Exporting, state industries utilities, railways, non-profit associations of workers, certain raw materials and semi-manufactured articles
Rumania	Turnover tax	Law of 1921	Single	Total business turnover	Value of sales	1.1% to 2.5% on ordinary sales and various rates on specified articles and luxuries	To National gov- ( ernment	To National gov- Certain Commodities ernment
Soviet Russia	Industrial tax and licence duty	Industrial Law of tax and July, licence 26, 1921 duty	In 5 instal- Total ments turr through year	Total annual turnover	Total annual turnover	Vary according to classification	Divided between 3 National and local govern- ments	

3. Data unavailable.

Country.	Country. Title of tax.	Law establishing tax.	Payment of tax.	Basis of tax	Measure of tax.	Rates.	Disposition,	Exemptions.
Argentina	Transactions tax	Law of October, 15, 1931	Quarterly	Commercial re- ceipts	Total Sales	0.3%	To National gov- Public Utilities, ernment retailers of effoods, and mag	Public Utilities, agricultural products, retailers of certain foods, and magazines
Bolivia	Sales Tax	Law of December 12, 1923.	Annual	Sales of merchants and manufacturers	Gross Sales	0.5%	: :	Exporting and importing in general, sales of mines, farmer, etc.
Brazil	General Stam <b>p</b> Tax	Law of 1924	က	Sales of commodities at whole-sale and retail	All transac- tions	0.5%, 1% and 2%	To National gov- A ernment	gov- Agriculture and the professions
Ecuador	Sales tax	Law of 1923	Single	Gross sales of commerce and industry	Gross Sales	1%	To National gov- E ernment.	gov- Exporting and Act subsidiary to selling
<b>Philippine</b> Islands	Sales Tax	1904 1904	Quarterly	Gross sales of merchants and manufacturers and gross receipts of printers, publishers, contractors, public utilities, laundries etc.	Total sales or receipts	1%, 1·5%	About 10% to A insular government and remainder to local governments	About 10% to Agriculture, small veninsular govern- dors and producers, ment and remain- and (specially taxed der to local articles) governments
Puerto Rico	Sales Tax	Law of ] August, 20, 1925	Monthly	Gross sales of Merchants	Total daily sales	2%	To insular gov- Fi ernment	gov- Foodstuffs, gasoline, electricity, real property, sales of farm products, fertilizer, etc.

### 3. Data unavailable.

PERCENTAGE OF REVENUES DERIVED FROM GENERAL SALES TAX IN VARIOUS COUNTRIES.\*

Country.		1921.	1922.	1923.	1924.	1925.	1926.	1927.	1928.		
Austria	ń	ļ	ı	6.5	17.4	16.9	18.0	1	I	a.	Based on budget estimates in 1926.
Belgium	ė	ı	32.2	10.8	18.2	16.5	17.2	28.4	56.9	Ģ.	a a
Brazil	ಟ	1	ı	1	8.4	8.4	5.0	ı	ļ	ថ	
Canada	Ġ.	8.	16.1	22.6	24.6	30.6	19.3	20.5	16.8	ď.	Based on Revenue collections.
Czechoslovakia	<b>ં</b>	1	11.7	15.7	16.8	17.2	15.9	17.6	18.5	ø	Based on budget estimates for years 1923-28.
France	4÷	8.2	9.3	12.7	14.3	13.3	18·1	19.9	20.1	÷.	Based on budget estimates for 1925.
Germany	g.	7.7	14.3	8.9	24.7	18.3	10.7	2.6	10.3	g.	Based on budget estimates for 1923.
Hungary	4	ı	I	I	23.6	16.7	15.7	14.6	13.7	ħ.	Data show % total revenues.
Italy	قبه	0.3	6.0	1.3	2.3	<b>5</b> .8	3.4	3.0	1	٠:	Based on revenue collections.
Portugal	٠.	1	I	l	١	8.0	4.8	6.5	5.4	٠.	Based on provincial receipts.
Poland	*	ı	1	6.6	15.0	15.0	13.0	13.3	13.5	ઋ	Data show % of total taxes.
Phillipines	-	26.4	27.1	32.7	36.6	35.4	35.5	34.1	31.6	. ]	Data show % of internal revenue receipts.
Roumania	ä	l	I	4.9	2.0	4.2	4.9	2.6	5.8	ä.	Based on budget estimates.
Russia	ŧ	l	I	ļ	ı	ı	11.7	12.5	26.3	ï	Based on budget for years 1926 and 1928.
West Virginia	ó	ı	20.3	23.6	23.5	18.4	20.3	23.8	20.4		Data show % of total taxes for state purposes.

<sup>\*</sup> Table taken from "Readings in Public Finance and Taxation"; Mills and Starr.

### SUMMARY OF THE MEMORANDUM OF THE DEPUTATION TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR OF MADRAS.<sup>1</sup>

A Deputation representing the Chamber\* and its affiliated bodies waited on H. E. the Governor of Madras at Government House, on the 12th Feb. 1940. The object of the deputation was to make representations to His Excellency on the subject of the Madras General Sales Tax Act and of certain details regarding its application.

The deputation pointed out that the Act had been worked for more than four months now and during these months many of the fears expressed by commercial opinion in the province with regard to the repercussions of this Act had been justified. There had been a marked flight of business, so far as the wholesale trade was concerned, to places beyond this province. The trading community had been subjected to distress and annoyance by the insistence on returns, accounts and explanations arising out of the administration of the Act, and the consequent necessity to employ account clerks, was found to be a severe strain on small traders who worked on extremely low margins of profit. Other factors brought in by the present unsettled condition of world trade together with the price increases brought upon by the sales tax would, it was feared, accentuate the regressive tendency that a sales tax had on consumption generally.

The popular Government which introduced this tax justified its imposition on the ground that it was needed to replace the loss in excise revenue and that the improvement in the economic condition of the districts which went dry would result in a stimulation of trade in the dry districts and would more than offset the adverse effects of the tax which the commercial community would ordinarily experience. In fact that was the only justification that was urged for the imposition of tax so universally unpopular both with trade and commerce. But in view of the fact that His Excellency's Government would not propose to make a general extension of the dry area in the province so as to absorb the entire revenue from this tax, the justification for continuance of this tax did not seem to exist. The deputation would, therefore request His Excellency to suspend the operation of this tax forthwith.

The deputation also urged that Indent Agents should not be brought within the scope of Explanation (2) to Section 2(b) of the Act and pleaded that oil crushing industry should be exempted from being taxed twice, namely both on purchase turnover of groundnuts as well as on the sales turnover of oil and cake.

The Indian Chamber of Commerce, Tuticorin, also submitted a memorandum to His Excellency pointing out some of the difficulties felt by commission merchants and canvassing agents in the application and administration of the Sales Tax. It referred to the objections raised by the Commercial Officers in regard to the mode of trade and accounting by commission merchants and stated that any change in the present system which had been approved by the Income-tax Department would mean complete dislocation of trade and wipe out many middlemen.

<sup>1.</sup> The Southern India Chamber of Commerce, Vol. III, No. 2; February 1940; p. 49.

The Southern India Chamber of Commerce.
 S.T.—13.

### REPLY OF THE GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS TO THE MEMORANDUM \*

The following letter dated 6th March 1940 has been received from the Government of Madras in reply to the Memorandum of the Deputation of 12th February 1940 to H. E. the Governor regarding the Madras General Sales Tax:—

"I am directed to inform you that H. E. the Governor has carefully considered the representations regarding the working of the Madras General Sales Tax Act, 1939, made by the deputation orally and in their written memorandum.

"As regards the request that the operation of the Act should be suspended, I am to invite attention to the Press Communique No. 27, dated 4th March 1940, on the Budget Estimates for 1940-41. As explained therein, the Sales Tax and the other new taxes are necessary in order to finance Prohibition in the four districts in which it is in operation. The Sales Tax is, however, to be reduced for the year 1940-41 from one half of one percent to one quarter of one percent in the case of the tax on turnovers exceeding Rs. 20,000 and from Rs. 5 to Rs. 4 per mensem on turnover between Rs. 10,000 and Rs. 20,000 in order to limit the total yield from the new taxes to the amount actually necessary to finance Prohibition during 1940-41.

"As regards the request that 'indent' agents should not be brought within explanation (2) to section 2(b) of the General Sales Tax Act, I am directed to state that the decision of the Government will be communicated to the Chamber in due course.

"With reference to the complaint that commission agents who receive a commission from both the buyer and the seller, are being taxed as dealers, I am to state that there appears to be some misunderstanding of the orders issued by the Commissioner of Commercial Taxes in this respect and that the Government have the whole question under examination.

Another representation made at the deputation was that the officers of the Commercial Tax Department frequently call for and detain account books which are required by the dealers in their places of business for making day-to-day entries. I am directed to state that the Commissioner of Commercial Taxes has recently issued instructions that accounts are not to be called for as a routine matter for the purpose of checking every return, that inspection of a dealer's accounts should only be made occasionally and as far as possible at the premises of the dealers and that the accounts of dealers will normally be summoned only in cases where there is reason to suppose that returns are incorrect or incomplete.

"As regards the rebate on finished articles of industrial manufacture under Section 7 of the Act, I am to invite attention to G. O. No. 3434, Revenue dated 21st December 1939, a copy of which has already been forwarded to the Chamber in which certain additional articles have been listed for the concession. In preparing these lists the Government have followed the principle of selecting

<sup>\*</sup> The Southern India Chamber of Commerce, Vol. III, No. 3; March 1940; p. 67.

those finished articles of industrial manufacture which are manufactured by employers of labour on an appreciable scale in this Province and of which the export is not inconsiderable.

"It was also represented that the accommodation and furniture in certain Commercial Tax offices were inadequate and particular reference was made by Sri. Dhanushkodi Nadar of Tuticorin to the office at Tuticorin. I am to state that the Commissioner of Commercial Taxes has this matter in mind and will provide more adequate accommodation and furniture for the offices as far as circumstances permit.

"The following matters are under consideration and orders will be passed as soon as possible:—

- (a) The complaint against the taxing of dealers who buy groundnut and convert it into oil and cake both on their purchase of groundnuts and again on their sales of oil and cake.
- (b) The request for the reduction from the turnover of a manufacturer of the excise duty paid by him to the Central Government on matches and sugar.
- (c) The request for the acceptance of the system of account-keeping followed by certain dealers at Tuticorin (made by Sri Dhanushkodi Nadar) and
- (d) The contention that the Agent for the Associated Cement Company at Cocanada was being treated as a dealer instead of as an agent under section 8 of the Act."

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# Some Recent Studies in the Kinetics of Reactions in Solution.

(A Review)

By

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I

The first observation in the field of reaction kinetics in solution was made by Wilhelmy (1), who studied the rate of inversion of cane sugar. Systematic investigations in the field, however, are of comparatively recent origin. The earliest fundamental law was enunciated by Guldberg and Waage (2) and this law of Mass Action has been thoroughly tested by experiment.

Early in the numerous publications dealing with the velocities, it was noticed that temperature had a profound influence on the rate and the first important attempt to explain the high temperature coefficient was made by Svante Arrhenius (3). The much discussed radiation theory of Chemical Reactivity (4) followed twenty years later and, though it gave an impetus to the work, had to be ultimately abandoned in favour of a modified Arrhenius equation.

The basic idea in the Arrhenius postulate is the formation of an activated molecule, the energy of activation of which may be defined by the equation,

 $k = se^{-E/RT}$ 

It is implict here that the energy of activation is independent of temperature. For purposes of calculating this energy of activation two methods have been developed, the advances being essentially a post-war one.

Hinshelwood (5) and School have very successfully developed the idea of activation by collision. From the work of Clerk Maxwell, it is well known that in any system of molecules there is a definite distribution of velocities. Similarly, there can be a distribution of energies arising from continued impact. Obviously, this energy can be in different degrees of freedom, rotational and vibrational or translational. Since we do not know what to assume for internal phases of molecular motion, we assume the second alternative and the probability of two colliding molecules having an energy equal to the energy of activation will be the usual exponential term. Hinshelwood has shown that if n quadratic terms are involved in defining the energy, this is given by

$$\frac{e^{-E/RT}(E/RT)^{\frac{1}{2}n-1}}{(\frac{1}{2}n-1)}$$

For collisional purposes, two "square terms" for the translational energy of each of the colliding molecules are used.

In the ideal system, every collision between two molecules having the energy E results in reaction, but in practice, it has been found from numerous gas reactions that the more general reaction velocity equation should be,

$$k = PZ e^{-E/RT}$$

where P is a "probability" or "steric" factor and Z the number of collisions. Allowing for  $\frac{1}{2}n-1$  square terms for the degrees of freedom involved, this becomes,

$$k = \operatorname{PZ} \frac{e^{-\operatorname{E/RT}} \left(\operatorname{E/RT}\right)^{\frac{1}{2}n-1}}{\left(\frac{1}{2}n-1\right)}$$

Attempts to translate these expressions derived for gas reactions to reactions in solutions by Christiansen and by Norrish indicated considerable discrepancies that could only be explained by assuming a deactivation by collision with solvent molecules. Though several correction terms have been suggested, none of the alternatives are satisfactory and, as an approximation, only the gas expression is generally used.

Apart from the collision method with its approach from Kinetic theory, a new method has been developed in recent years by Wigner, La Mer, Rodebush, Eyring and Polanyi. This is the now familiar 'Transi-Chemical reaction involves the breaking of bonds tion state' method. and the formation of new ones. During this transformation, it is not unreasonable to assume an intermediate stage which has neither the characteristics of the old nor those of the new. In the collision theory. this activated complex may either lead to the products or revert back to the original reactants, while the new concept allows of change only in one direction. In the formation of the products, the energy expended is a minimum and represents the activation energy. This energy may be calculated on the basis of the internal energy as a function of position, taking mutual interaction also into account. These calculations involve the solution of the Schrodinger wave equation with certain simplifica-Assuming the nuclei to be fixed, the electronic energy is approximately equal to the potential energy for various nuclear configurations, the earliest path from initial to final molecular configuration can be determined, the energy of activation being the minimum height in The fundamental problem in these computations of electronic energy is the finding of the relation between the inter-atomic dis-functions, an empirical equation due to Morse (6) has been of considerable help in the treatment of complex molecules. With simple diatomic molecules, the potential energy curves have been calculated from a full knowledge of the quantum numbers and infra-red frequencies but the complexity of spectra rules out this method for other molecules. Morse's equation, which is used in these semi-empirical calculations of activation energy is

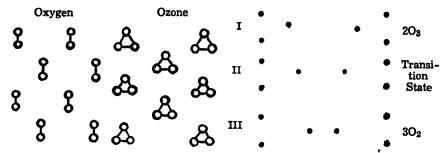
$$\mathbf{E} = \mathbf{D}' \left[ e^{-2a(r-r_o)} - 2e^{-a(r-r_o)} \right]$$
 where  $\mathbf{E} =$  energy,  $\mathbf{D}' =$  a modified heat of dissociation,  $a =$  a constant,  $r =$  interatomic distance and  $r_o =$  normal distance.

The inter-atomic distance in the normal molecule  $r_0$  may be obtained from X-ray data or from Infra-red absorption spectra. D' differs from the ordinary heat of dissociation D by the "zero point energy"  $\hbar\omega_0/2$ , a value that may be determined from Raman spectra or from a complete analysis of the Band spectra. The constant a is defined by the equation

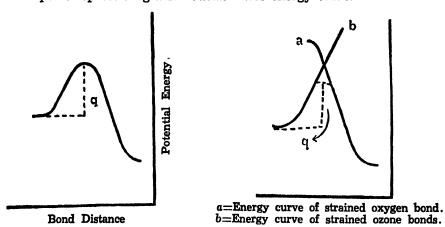
$$a = 0.1227\omega_0\sqrt{\mu/D'}$$

where 0.1227 is a general constant and  $\mu$  is the reduced mass.

To illustrate this method, we may take up the decomposition of Ozone and the Ethylene-Bromine reaction.



A comparison between Ozone and Oxygen in the condensed state shows that the change consists only of a rearrangement in the pattern; instead of three bonds in each molecule and an intermolecular gap, we have pairs of oxygen molecules and a different gap. In the transformations from one to the other there is the transition state in which the distinction between gap distances and bond distances vanishes. Starting with two ozone molecules, consider the symmetrical horizontal displacement of two oxygen atoms, assuming no interaction between the two. Similarly, starting with three oxygen molecules, pull two oxygen atoms apart, again disregarding interaction between displaced atoms and the oxygen molecules flanking them. Plotting the potential energy against bond distance, we get two curves intersecting at a point, the energy and configuration of which represents the transition state. On account of the quantum mechanical degeneracy of the state, however, the crossing point is not sharp but is rounded off somewhat lower down, the maximum point representing a somewhat lower energy value.



The application of Morse curves for chemical reactions is well illustrated by the ethylene-bromine reaction (7)

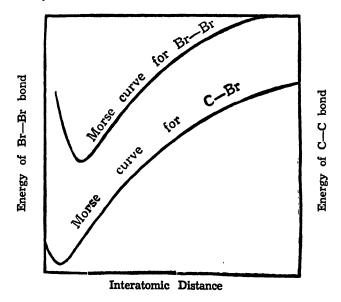
For Bromine, 
$$r_o = 2 \cdot 28 \text{A}$$
  
 $\omega_o = 323 \cdot 86 \text{cm}^{-1}$ .  
 $D = 45 \cdot 23 \text{ kilocalories}$ .

 $D' = D + \frac{1}{2} 323 \cdot 86/352$  where 352 represents a factor absorbing Planck's constant h and giving energies directly in kilocalories  $= 45 \cdot 23 + 0 \cdot 46 = 45 \cdot 69$  kilocalories.

$$a = 0.1227 \times 323.86 \quad \sqrt{\frac{1}{2} \cdot 79.92/45.69} = 1.98$$

$$E = 45.69 [e^{-2 \times 1.98(r - 2.28)} - 2e^{-1.98(r - 2.28)}]$$

By substitution of various values for r the tables and the corresponding Morse curves are obtained for Bromine. Curves for other pairs can also be similarly derived.



Suppose the two bromine atoms, as a molecule, is at the bottom of a topographical map and they approach the two doubly linked carbon atoms of the olefin by moving "northwards." The stable position is represented by circular lines of radius  $2\cdot06\text{A}^{\circ}$  representing the normal C—Br distance. If  $r_{\text{C-Br}}$  is plotted on the Y axis and  $r_{\text{Br-Br}}$  on the X axis, the energy of the system may be plotted at right angles to the plane and contour lines of definite energy can be projected on to the plane of the map. For purposes of the semiempirical method, one of the bromine atoms and one of the carbon atoms alone need be considered. The bromine atom moves along the valleys of energy contours. The straight line approach obviously represents a minimum expenditure of energy.

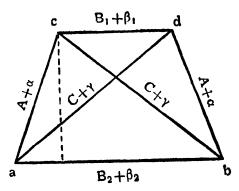
TABLE I.

<i>r-r</i> <sub>0</sub>	<b>E/D</b> ′	D
-0.47	1.286	58·7
<b>-0·23</b>	0.658	30.1
0.0	<b>1·000</b>	45 · 69
0.12	0·958	<b>-43·75</b>
0.23	<b>0·864</b>	<b>—39·5</b>
0.35	<b>-0·751</b>	<b>_</b> 34·3
0.47	<b>0·638</b>	-29·2
0.58	-0.532	<b>-24·3</b>
0.70	<b>0·439</b>	-20.1
0.93	-0.292	<b>—13·35</b>
1.16	<b>—0·190</b>	8·67
1.51	-0.0999	<b>-4·57</b>
1.86	-0.0496	<b> 2·27</b>
2·21	0·0250	<b> 1·14</b>
2.79	-0·00796	0.36
3.49	-0.00200	<b>- 0.091</b>
	-0·47 -0·23 0·0 0·12 0·23 0·35 0·47 0·58 0·70 0·93 1·16 1·51 1·86 2·21 2·79	-0·47       1·286         -0·23       0·658         0·0       -1·000         0·12       -0·958         0·23       -0·864         0·35       -0·751         0·47       -0·638         0·58       -0·532         0·70       -0·439         0·93       -0·292         1·16       -0·190         1·51       -0·0999         1·86       -0·0496         2·21       -0·0250         2·79       -0·00796

TABLE II.

Atom Pair.	r <sub>0</sub> Normal interatomic distance. (A)	600 Fundamental vibration frequency (cm.—1)	D Energy of dissociation (kilogram calories).
C-C	1.54	990	77
C=C	1.38	1,600	122
C≡C	1 · 21	1,960	200
C—H	1.12	2,930	92
C—I	2·10	497	44
C—Br	2.06	560	58
C-Cl	1.85	660	79
H—H	0.74	4,375	102
H—I	1.62	2,233	66
H-Br	1.42	2,603	85
H_Cl	1.28	2,840	100

The bromine atom has to move from this into the valley that curves round the carbon atoms. The impelling force for this is derived from molecular collisions. For calculating the energy of activation for this reaction, only the binding electrons are involved, the solution being that of a four electron problem.



Consider a polygon abcd in which the lines are drawn at random except that ab and cd are parallel and symmetrical with respect to a central line. The electrostatic and exchange reactions between all possible arrangements of atoms taken two at a time are then calculated for various distances Br—Br and C—Br. The two independent variables are  $r_1$  the distance of separation of Br—Br and C = C pairs and  $r_2$  half the distance between the bromine atoms. Other distances may be calculated from these. It can be shown that the potential energy J which is the sum of the coulombic energy and the exchange energy is equal to

$$J = Q + k = 0.14[2(A + \alpha) + (B_1 + \beta_1) + (B_2 + \beta_2) + 2(C + \gamma)]$$

$$+ \frac{0.86}{\sqrt{2}} \sqrt{2[(A + \alpha) - (B_1 + \beta_1) - (B_2 + \beta_2)]^2 - 2[(A + \alpha) - 2(C + \gamma)]^2}$$

$$+ [B_1 + \beta_1) + (B_2 + \beta_2) - 2(C + \gamma)]^2$$

The energy of activation E is given by the difference between this potential energy and the sum of the dissociation energies of Br—Br and the C—C bonds.

$$\mathbf{E} = \mathbf{D}_{\mathbf{B}r - \mathbf{B}r} + \mathbf{D}_{\mathbf{C} - \mathbf{C}} - \mathbf{J}$$

The values of E thus obtained are plotted against  $r_1$  and  $r_2$  to give the contour map and the lowest pass between the valleys comes at  $r_1=1\cdot14$ ,  $r_2=2\cdot40$  and gives a value for the Energy of Activation of 23,200 calories for the addition reaction. The relation between structure and the value of E will be considered later.

There are thus two distinct methods of approach to the problem of reaction kinetics but as in all applications of quantum mechanics, the transition state theory is of limited application. As Hinshelwood (8) remarks, "the great value of the transition state method is in causing us to think more deeply about the inter-relationship of thermodynamic and kinetic magnitudes rather than in providing us with an essentially more accurate calculus." As yet the method cannot be applied to chain reactions or to reactions in which removal of energy from the products is the rate determining factor.

The reactions that will be considered now are all approached from the standpoint of the collision theory, since we shall be dealing with complex compounds. Further, I shall be confining my attention to just those reactions that have been extensively studied by the Ingold school during the last decade.

While the mass of qualitative work has been accumulating, the quantitive side of organic reactions has not been the subject of systematic study until recently. An impetus to work on these lines was given by the interpretation of the chemical bond by G. N. Lewis with his concept of a stable duplet and an octet as the basis of chemical linking in general and by the ideas on Polar Molecules that we owe to Debye.\* An electronic theory of organic reactions necessitated a kinetic study of familiar and unfamiliar organic reactions. For obvious reasons, the majority of the reactions that have been studied were in solutions, aqueous and nonaqueous, and we may pass on to a consideration of the methods that have been adopted in following the kinetics of the reactions in question. Attention is confined to a few of them and what follows will be a description of studies in nitration, degradation of 'Onium compounds, halogen-olefin additions, ester hydrolysis, and molecular rearrangements.

For measurements of the velocity of a reaction it is obvious that two conditions must be satisfied: the system under investigation should be made unstable in a negligibly short time and the mode of recording the extent of the reaction should also involve a negligibly short period. If the reaction takes a sufficiently long time, the time of mixing will be negligible. The subsequent method of following the reaction will be decided by the nature of the reaction. Some reactions are, however, too rapid for study by following the course of the reaction. If a series of compounds with similar structure are being studied a competitive

<sup>\*</sup>The concept of resonance in recent times has also influenced the development of investigations in this field.

method is found useful. Both these modes of study may be illustrated by taking up some of the reactions.

The reaction that has been studied most thoroughly is the decomposition of the 'Onium compounds. The nature of this reaction enables one to follow the course of the changes by the usual analytical processes, the only precaution being the use of resistance glass for containers.

The study of nitrations (9) has given rise to numerous experimental methods, each making use of different physical properties of the compounds studied. While earlier work on the relative orienting influences of groups in nitration of benzene derivatives made use of para substituted derivatives, it was obvious that mutual interaction of groups were neglected. A more accurate and reliable procedure is to have only one substituent and this has led to the use of competitive method. The nitrations are usually done either with acetyl nitrate in acetic acid or with anhydrous nitric acid in nitromethane solution, the temperature range being  $0^{\circ}-30^{\circ}$ C. a limitation arising from reaction velocities and the stability of nitration solutions.

In determining the relative rates of nitrations of say, benzene and toluene, the experimental measurement is of the quantity ratio of the mono-nitration product from which with certain auxiliary data, the relative rates may be calculated. This quantity ratio may be determined by density measurements on mixed mononitration products or by a bromometric method.

If x molecules of benzene and y molecules of toluene are nitrated together in time t to form Y molecules of total nitration product containing 100P molecules of nitrobenzene, it can be shown that

$$k_t/k_x = \log y - \log y_t/\log x - \log x_t$$
  
where  $x_t = x - PY$ ;  $y_t = y - Y + PY$ .

This equation holds good even if the reaction is incomplete. The nitration product of toluene is a mixture of the three isomerides and the quantitative estimation of this has been carried out by a modified thermal analysis method, making use of the dimorphism of orthonitrotoluene.

If  $\gamma$  represents the "first freezing point," in which the solid phase is paranitrotoluene,  $\beta$  the second freezing point in which the  $\beta$  form of orthonitrotoluene accompanies the para compound in the solid phase and  $\alpha$  the "second freezing point" in which  $\alpha$  form of the ortho compound accompanies the para in the solid phase, the following empirical equations may be constructed.

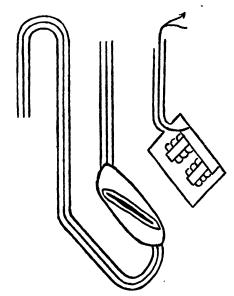
$$\gamma = 71.55 - 112\omega - 115\mu$$
  
 $\beta = -13.11 - 3.5\omega - 61\mu$   
 $\alpha = -22.53 + 2.5\omega - 47.5\mu$ 

where  $100\omega$  and  $100\mu$  represent the percentages of the ortho and meta isomerides respectively.

If  $k_y/k_x$  is the reduced velocity of nitration of toluene the coefficients of activation of the various positions are given by

$$\mathbf{F}_{\mathrm{ortho}} = 3\omega k_y/k_x$$
;  $\mathbf{F}_{\mathrm{meta}} = 3\mu k_y/k_x$ ;  $\mathbf{F}_{\mathrm{para}} = 6\pi k_y/k_x$ 

In later studies on the kinetics of nitration, a dilatometric method has proved successful (10). Several workers have noted that the distance travelled, l, by the meniscus in a dilatometer is proportional to the progress of the reaction. If D is the fractional volume change per unit length travelled by the meniscus, a constant for a dilatometer, and R the fractional volume change per gram molecule of the reaction, a constant for the reaction, then  $(l-l_t) \times D/R$  measures the concentration of the reactants at time t. For nitration studies, the most suitable type of dilatometer for accurate work was found to be of the model illustrated.



More than with nitrations, the competitive method has been found necessary with bromine—olefin additions. The kinetics of other halogen additions has not yet been systematically studied. While there are are a few reactions involving olefins with deactivating groups which take

measurable time for addition, there are several which are very fast. In the experimental studies, as light exerts a profound influence on the rate, the comparison of olefins has to be in the dark. Where the competing olefins are gases, a sufficiently low temperature has also to be used in order to have solutions of reasonable concentrations. As in the familiar thermochemical experiment of distributing a base between two acids to ascertain their relative "strengths," an amount of bromine insufficient to react completely with either of the olefins is added in solution.

If  $x_o$  and  $y_o$  be the initial concentration of the olefins and x and y the amount reacting in time t, the instantaneous speeds may be expressed with maximum generality that will be allowed by the equations,

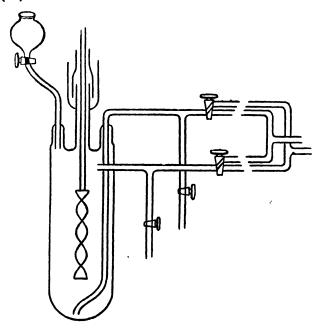
$$dx/dt = k'_x(x_o - x) [Br]_t^m [k_{x1}(\cot_1)_t^{n_1} + k_{x2}(\cot_2)_t^{n_2} \dots]$$

$$dy/dt = k'_y(y_o - y) [Br]_t^m [k_{y1}(\cot_1)_t^{n_1} + k_{y2}(\cot_2)_t^{n_2} \dots]$$

If the factors in square brackets cancel out on division except for a constant, the integrated form of the resultant equation will be

$$k_y/k_x = \log y_0 - \log (y_0 - y)/\log x_0 - \log (x_0 - x)$$

The reduced velocity for various olefins have been obtained by making use of this equation, the experiments being carried out in the apparatus illustrated (11).



The latest tool that has been used in the field of reaction kinetics is the now available isotopic tracers, radio-active as well as non-radio-active (12, 13). This has been applied especially in following the course of molecular rearrangements e.g., Walden inversion and Wagner-Meerwein transformations. The use of a radio-active halogen enables an experimental test of the hypothesis that stereochemical inversion occurs when and only when substitution takes place. The radio-active sodium iodide used in the experiments was derived by imbedding in paraffin a sealed tube containing the iodide very near a radon-beryllium-neutron source of 150 millicurie strength and the decay in radio-activity was measured with a Geiger counter. If N<sub>s</sub> and N<sub>t</sub> represent the total rates of substitution and inversion respectively, it has been shown that

$$\begin{aligned} \mathbf{N}_{i} &= \frac{1}{t} \cdot \frac{\mathbf{A}\mathbf{B}}{\mathbf{A} + \mathbf{B}} & \log_{e} \frac{\mathbf{A}}{\mathbf{A} - x(\mathbf{A} + \mathbf{B})/\mathbf{B}\beta} \\ &= \frac{1}{t} \cdot \frac{\mathbf{A}\mathbf{B}}{\mathbf{A} + \mathbf{B}} & \log_{e} \frac{1 + \gamma \frac{\mathbf{A}}{\mathbf{B}}}{1 - \gamma} \\ \\ &\text{and } \mathbf{N}_{i} &= \frac{\mathbf{A}}{2t} & \log_{e} \frac{\alpha_{o}}{\alpha} \end{aligned}$$

A = Total organic iodide; B = Total sodium iodide

 $\beta$  = Fraction of NaI in isotopic form at t = 0

x = Amount of RI in isotopic form;  $\alpha =$  rotation  $\gamma = \frac{x}{B\beta}$ 

In the recent study of the Wagner-Meerwein change, Deuterium and radiochlorine have been used.

The methods adopted for ester hydrolysis do not call for any special mention. Here too, isotopic tracers have come in handy.

The decomposition of quaternary ammonium or sulphonium compounds may be considered to be special cases of the more general reaction, namely, aliphatic substitution. The mechanistic studies in both cases are closely related and the problem of 'Onium degradations and hydrolysis of alkyl halides may be taken up together.

Exhaustive methylation is a familiar process in which very early two different reactions were noticed, one giving an unsaturated compound as a product and the other giving an alcohol. It is also found that the presence of a hydrogen atom at the  $\beta$  carbon atom is esential for Olefin formation. Systematic investigations of the Kinetics of 'Onium degradation showed that the following mechanisms serve to explain all such reactions. (14)

$$A \begin{cases} R_{1}R_{2}C \longrightarrow CR_{3}R_{4} \longrightarrow NR'R''R'' \longrightarrow R_{1}R_{2}C : CR_{3}R_{4} + NR'R''R''' + HX \\ H \\ R_{1}R_{2}C \longrightarrow CR_{3}R_{4} \longrightarrow NR'R''' \xrightarrow{\Theta} NR'R''' \xrightarrow{Solvent} R_{1}R_{2}C : CR_{3}R_{4} + NR'R''R''' + H\Theta \\ \times \\ X^{-} + H^{+} \xrightarrow{Solvated} \longrightarrow HX + Solvent \end{cases}$$

$$X^{-} + H^{+} \xrightarrow{Solvated} \longrightarrow RX + NR'R''R''' \\ R \longrightarrow R'R''R'''N \longrightarrow RP + NR'R''R''' \\ R \longrightarrow RX \\ R'R''R''N \longrightarrow RY \times SOlvent \longrightarrow R'R''R'''N + RX$$

In a later paper (15) Ingold has generalised these reactions so as to include all aliphatic substitution reactions. The more general representation of the reactions is as follows:—

Nucleophilic substitutions

This can be further subdivided

e further subdivided
$$Z + R : -X \longrightarrow R - Z + X \qquad S_{N} 2$$

$$R : -X \xrightarrow{\text{Slow}} R^{+} + X^{-} \qquad S_{N} 1$$

$$R^{+} + Z \xrightarrow{\text{Rapid}} RZ$$

Electrophilic substitutions

$$A + R - \vdots B \longrightarrow R - A + B$$

$$R - \vdots A + R - \vdots B \longrightarrow R - A + R'B$$

$$S_{E}$$

Subdivided

$$R - H \xrightarrow{\text{Slow}} R^- + H^+$$

$$R^- + A : -B \xrightarrow{\text{fast}} R - A + B^- \qquad S_E 1$$

$$R - : H \xrightarrow{:} RA + HB \qquad S_E 2$$

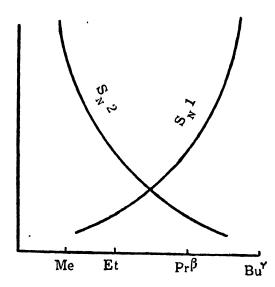
$$A : -B$$

It will be noticed that  $S_N^2$  and  $S_E^2$  represent bimolecular mechanisms while  $S_N^1$  and  $S_E^1$  represent unimolecular mechanisms. Large electron release from R, strong electron affinity in X, low nucleophilic activity and concentration of the reagent Y favour  $S_N^1$ .

An examination of a series of quaternary ammonium and of sulphonium compounds reveals certain interesting relationships between structure and mode of degradation. Accepting Sidgwick's rule of covalency maxima, an unionised quaternary ammonium hydroxide is not possible and their decompositions must necessarily be ionic in nature. Among the various substituent groups studied, it is found that Me and Me<sub>3</sub>C groups are readily eliminated as alcohols while other primary and secondary alkyl groups are not. The alcohol elimination curve thus passes through a minimum. As one goes through the series,

$$CH_3 \longrightarrow CH_3CH_2 \longrightarrow CH_3 \longrightarrow CH_$$

the inductive effect of the alkyl components increases being a minimum with CH<sub>3</sub> and a maximum with tertiary butyl. This is consistent with a second order elimination of the methyl group. The increase in the number of alkyl groups suppresses this bimolecular mechanism and at some stage in the series the unimolecular mechanism becomes the more important one.



When one passes on to the aryl substituted compounds a variation has to be expected on account of the electromerism and the duplex polarity of the phenyl nucleus. The observations of Hughes (16) on the decompositions of the series of 'Onium compounds with CH<sub>3</sub>, CH<sub>2</sub>Ph, CHPh<sub>2</sub> and CPh<sub>3</sub> substituents show that the change from a bimolecular to a unimolecular mechanism occurs at the benzhydryl group. Similar observations with alkaline hydrolysis or alcoholysis of the corresponding halides have been made by Ward (17).

Now the change from a bimolecular to a unimolecular mechanism can arise from two causes. In the compound R R' R" R" N+X, either the cationic stability of R may be increased or the basicity of the anion (using Bronsted's definition of the base) may be decreased. As with alkyl and aralphyl series, an anionic series of decreasing basicity O Et, O H, O Ph', O Ac', Cl' may be considered. When both series are taken along with a simultaneous reaction involving olefin elimination, the point of mechanistic change will appear as a region.

As a typical instance of cationic stability influencing the degradations, we can take up the case of phenyl ethyl trimethyl ammonium compounds. The unsubstituted compound decomposes with the formation of styrene and the process is essentially bimolecular. It was anticipated that the introduction of an "electron sink" in the para position by increasing cationic stability will bring about a mechanistic change. Experiments with p-nitro phenyl ethyl trimethyl ammonium compounds (18) showed the interesting result that the decomposition gave a unimolecular constant. Variation in the anionic component had no influ-

ence on the value of the constant which was also independent of the anionic concentration. The time for half change was also independent of the initial concentration of the quaternary ammonium base. Similarly an explanation of the failure of attempts to prepare quaternary ammonium compounds containing the Trityl group has to take into account the remarkable stability of the Trityl group as a cation and the greater basicity of the hydroxyl ion as compared with halide ion.

$$Ph_{3}C \cdot Cl + NR_{3} \xrightarrow{\leftarrow} CPh_{3} \cdot NR_{3} + Cl$$

$$CPh_{3}OH \xleftarrow{\leftarrow} CPh_{3} + NR_{3}$$

$$Ph_{3}C \cdot NMe_{2} + Mel \xrightarrow{\rightarrow} Ph_{3} \cdot C \cdot NMe_{3})I$$

$$Ph_{3}COH + NMe_{4}I$$

The decomposition of 'Onium compounds leading to alcohol may be taken to be the substitution of the NR<sub>3</sub> group by OH and as such the same ideas may be logically extended to Hydrolysis of alkyl halides. Kinetic studies on the hydrolysis of a scries of alkyl halides in aqueous, alcoholic, acetone, and formic acid solutions have justified the extention of this analogy.

W. Taylor (19) has objected the mechanism suggested by Ingold on the ground that hydrolysis and alcoholysis of Me, Et, and tertiary Bu bromides in 60% and 80% alcohol gave first order constants, the sequence being

$$Bu^{\gamma} >> Me > Pr^{\beta}$$
 (taken from Ingold's results) > Et

This result is however not conclusive since in the presence of a large excess of one of the reagents, a bimolecular reaction tends to be pseudomonomolecular. Taylor further contends that in the hydrolysis of tertiary butyl chloride, a bimolecular mechanism in which water takes part as a reagent should be used. This cannot, however, be maintained since this hydrolysis is known to be independent of hydrogen-ion concentration. In a series of papers Hughes, Ingold and co-workers (J.C.S., 1940, p. 899 et seq.) have conclusively shown that Taylor's observations are worthless and have adduced fresh and conclusive evidence for the ionic mechanism envisaged earlier.

From one set of hydrolysis, we can pass on to a different type of hydrolysis, namely, the hydrolysis of esters by acids and alkalis. The mechanism of ester hydrolysis that is generally accepted is the one due to Lowry (20).

By the use of an isotopic tracer, namely O18 in the acid hydrolysis of amyl acetate, Polanyi (21) has shown that during hydrolysis it is the C-O bond in C-OR that is broken and not the O-R bond. Kinetic studies with esters have been essentially with para-substituted benzoic esters, but even amongst these critical increment studies are very few. These have led to the interesting result that the value of PZ in the Arrhenius equation is substantially the same in both acid and alkaline hydrolysis, (22) a clear evidence in favour of the Lowry mechanism that gives a common route. The solvent effects observed with these ester hydrolysis, however, are difficult to amount for. In acid hydrolysis, the value of E increases as we change from alcohol-water and in alkaline hydrolysis it is the reverse. Also the influence of substituents is greater in alcohol-water mixtures. A greater knowledge of the liquid state is necessary before an interpretation of this is possible. Our experiments in glycerol water mixtures indicate the necessity for viewing this as a two stage reaction. The studies on ester hydrolysis by Hinshelwood as well as by Ingold have clearly shown that the influence of substituents on this side chain reactivity is of the same order as may be expected from an application of the electronic theory of organic reactions. With the range in velocity constants of the order of 1: 5000 or more, this series of reactions must be expected to give the results mentioned, namely, a constant PZ and a changing E, the values of which lie on a slope-2.303 RT, when E is plotted against log<sub>10</sub>k. All these experiments have been with para substituents and a few meta substituents alone. An examination of substituted aliphatic esters may be expected to show some difference and some peculiarities and experiments carried out in our laboratories do indicate these (23). It is relevent to mention here that the viscosity of the solvent seems to exert considerable influence on the reaction.

From the somewhat certain ground of 'Onium degradition and ester hydrolysis, we shall pass on to the uncertain regions of halogen addition and aromatic nitrations.

As already indicated, a competitive method has been found very useful in the comparison of the reactivities of substituted olefins. The success of the method depends on the following assumptions.

- 1. The reaction is of the first order with respect to the olefin.
- The reaction is of the same order with respect to bromine for the two similar reactions.
- 3. The reaction is catalysed by one dominant catalyst the active mass of which may be either constant or vary in any erratic manner with time, provided, however, that in the latter case the *order*, n, is the same for the two reactions.

Under controlled catalytic conditions, these assumptions appear to be justifiable. Another factor setting a limit to the validity of the equation is that the experimentally determined values of X and Y must be small if errors are to be minimised. A factor that was unnoticed in the initial stages of the competitive method for this reaction was the existence of an induction period. This introduced a further limitation. A minimum amount of hydrogen bromide has to be added to eliminate this induction period; the amount added, however, has to be sufficiently small in order to avoid the necessity of too rapid an addition of bromine. The study of a series of substituted olefins give the results appended (24)

Expts. Reduced rate X Y Mean.  $K_y/K_x$ No. for Y. 17-19 CH:: CH2 CHPh: CH2 3.24 3.24 } 3.35 22--25 3.43 CH2: CH2 CHPh: CH2 3.43 28 CHPh: CH2 CHMe: CH2 0.63  $0.63 \times 3.35 =$ 2.10 2.03 29 CMe2: CH2 CHMe: CH2  $0.35 \times 5.32 =$ 1.95 0.351-4 5.5 CH2: CH2 CMe2: CH2 5.5 5.53 5.6 20-21 CH2: CH2 CMe<sub>2</sub>: CH<sub>2</sub> 5.6 26-27 10.4 10.4 10.4 CH<sub>2</sub>: CH<sub>2</sub> CMe2: CHMe 13.6 } 5 CH2: CH2 CMe: CMe 13.6 14.0 14.1 CMe2: CH2 CMe: CMe 2.54×5.53= 6-8 2.54 14-15 CHBr: CH<sub>2</sub> small small small CH<sub>2</sub>: CH<sub>2</sub> small small small 9-10 CH2: CH2 CO2H·CH: CH 11-13 CHMe: CH<sub>2</sub> CO<sub>2</sub>H·CH: CHMe  $0.13 \quad 0.13 \times 2.0 =$ 0.26 0.26 1.5 1.5 30-32 CH2: CH2 CHO·CH: CH2 1.5 CHMe2: CH2 CHO · CH. CHMe 1.5  $1.5 \times 2.0 =$ 3.0 3.0 33

TABLE III.

Since this additive reactivity depends on the polarizibility of the double, bond one might expect the influence of the substituents on other phenomena like the Raman effect directly connected with polarizability. This is seen from an examination of the table.

TABLE IV.

Compound.	C=C Raman line	Reduced velocity.	
CH <sub>2</sub> =CH <sub>2</sub>	1623	1	
$MeCH=CH_2$	1647	2	
$Me_2C = CH_2$	1650	5.5	
Me <sub>2</sub> C=CHMe	1679	10.2	
$Me_2C=CMe_2$		14.0	
PhCH=CH <sub>2</sub>	1631	3.2	
CH <sub>2</sub> =CHCl	1608	Very low	
CH <sub>2</sub> =CHBr	1597	Very low	
$CH_2 = CH \cdot CHO$	1618	1.5	
CH <sub>3</sub> ·CH=CH·CHO (trans)		3.0	

While a comparison of the additive reactivity of olefins by a competitive method is possible by an adjustment of the experimental conditions, it is interesting to examine the reaction from the mechanistic point of view. In place of the old idea of a simple bimolecular mechanism, we have to consider other possibilities. (25) It is obvious that the reaction is very complex. There is invariably an evolution of hydrogen bromide during the reaction whether the slow additions or the fast additions are considered. The induction period is observed in all solvents, polar and nonpolar, hydroxylic and non-hydroxylic. The induction period is eliminated by the addition of hydrogen bromide or Iodine monochloride and the reaction is considerably slowed down by the addition of antimony tribromide. The existence of an induction period, an exponential type of reaction curve, and the existence of a negative catalyst are amongst the criteria for a chain reaction according to Semenoff (26). The course of the reaction also suggests a chain mechanism such as the one tentatively suggested (27).

### TABLE V.

(1) 
$$H_2C: CH_2 + Br_2 \longrightarrow CH_2: CHBr + HBr$$

(3) 
$$Br_2 + HBr \longrightarrow Br_2 + HBr$$

(4) 
$$H_2C = CH_2$$
  
 $\vdots \qquad + Br_2 \xrightarrow{*} CH_2Br \cdot CH_2 + HBr + Br$ 

(5) 
$$CH_2Br \cdot CH + Br \longrightarrow CH_2Br \cdot CH_2Br$$

An examination of the bimolecular velocity constant obtained with initially added hydrogen bromide clearly indicates that while an increased catalyst concentration increases the rate of addition there is no direct proportionality between catalyst concentration and rate constant (28).

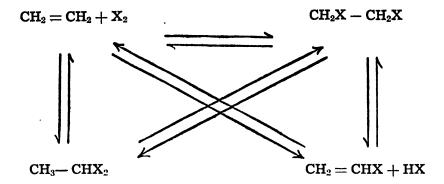
TABLE VI.

Concentration of Tiglic acid M/15.

Concentration of Br <sub>2</sub> .	Concentration of HBr in gms. per 200 c.c. of solution.	Velocity constant k <sub>2</sub> mols/litre.	
(A) M/15	0.1188	0.00790	
(B) M/15	0 · 0594	0.00627	
(C)	2.00	1.32	
(A) M/30	0.0594	0.000577	
(B) M/30	0 · 0297	0.000428	
(C)	2.00	1.34	
(A) 2M/75	0.0594	0.000483	
(B) 2M/75	0.0238	0.000317	
(C)	2.50	1.52	
(B) M/50	0.0178	0.000231	
(A) M/50	0 · 0594	0.000405	
(C)	3.3	1.76	
(B) M/150	-0.00594	0.000068	
(A) M/150	0.0594	0.000224	
(C)	10	3·29	

C=Ratio A/B.

In applying the electronic theory of organic reactions, it is clearly recognised that the energy of activation in any type of reaction as the present series will vary with the substituent atoms or groups. As I have already indicated, from semi-empirical grounds, Sherman has arrived at a value of 23,000 calories for the reaction between Ethylene and bromine considering the following series of reactions (29).



It will be noticed that these calculations do not take into account the possibility of a chain mechanism for this reaction. As such one has to expect differences between calculated and observed values for the energy of activation. For ethylene itself experimental values are not yet available and where these are available, calculations have yet to be made. The following figures, however, may not be without interest.

	E
Crotonic Acid	10,100
Tiglic Acid	6,400
ββDimethyl Acrylic Acid	4,400

The dark reaction between olefins and bromine is found to be as much a chain reaction as the photochemical one, though there is no evidence of bromine atoms being formed in solution in the dark. All available evidence is against the atom chain mechanism for this reaction. Also, in the reactions in oxygenated solvents, there is some evidence that the solvent itself takes part in the reaction (30).

Before leaving the subject, it may not be out of place to mention the peculiarities of the phenyl substituted olefins. As anticipated, from theoretical grounds, styrene adds on bromine more rapidly than Ethylene. Tetraphenyl-ethylene is remarkable in that it does not add on bromine but rapidly yields substitution products. An interesting explanation for this has been given by Pauling (31).

He shows that as a result of conjugation of phenyl groups and double bonds, the extra resonance energy of tetraphenyl ethylene (1.08 v.e.) is more than enough to overcome the unsaturation of the double bond (90.74 v.e.) in consequence of which the properties of the substance differ, radically from those of an unsaturated compound. Using bond energy values given in earlier papers Pauling calculates  $\Delta H$  values for the reaction:

$$C_{6}H_{5} = C = C = C_{6}H_{5} + X_{2} = (C_{6}H_{5})_{2}C - C_{6}(C_{6}H_{5})_{2}$$

$$C_{6}H_{5} = C = C_{6}H_{5} + X_{2} = (C_{6}H_{5})_{2}C - C_{6}(C_{6}H_{5})_{2}$$

where  $X_2$  is  $H_2$ ,  $Cl_2$  or  $Br_2$  and gets values of -0.30 v.e., -0.42 v.e. and +0.24 v.e. respectively. If  $\triangle H$  does not differ very much from  $\triangle F$ , these suggest that tetraphenyl ethylene will add on hydrogen and chlorine but not bromine. It may be remarked that as yet Pauling's conclusions are only qualitatively true.\*

To conclude, we can take up the problem of nitrations. Kinetic studies are available only for aromatic nitrations. As with bromine additions, we may notice the competitive method first and then pass on to a consideration of the mechanism. The appended table gives an idea of the relative orienting effects as revealed by these competitions in nitration of mono-substituted compounds. (32)

Substance	Relative Rate
$C_6H_5\cdot H$	1
$\mathbf{C_6H_5\cdot F}$	0.15
$C_6H_5\cdot Cl$	0.033
$C_6H_5 \cdot Br$	. 0.030
$C_6H_5\cdot I$	~0.18
$C_6H_5 \cdot CooEt$	0.0037

The results indicate that the rates of nuclear nitration passes through a minimum in the halogen benzenes contrasting with the absence of such intermediate maximum or minimum when one considers side chain reactivity. This difference is presumably due to the relatively greater importance of polarizability effects in nuclear than in side chain reactivity. The experiments indicate that the halogens are "electron releasing" in the order.

Nitration studies with various solvents have shown that they may may be divided into three classes.

Slow: Acetic acid, Dioxan, Acetonitrile.

Intermediate: Nitromethane, Acetic Anhydride.

Fast: Sulphuric acid.

<sup>\*</sup>The possibility of a bromine addition compound in the presence of a catalyst is being investigated.

For Kinetic studies by a dilatometric method, the intermediate solvents have been used and the nitration in nitromethane solution is found to necessitate a chain mechanism in which the solvent plays an important role. The suggested chain mechanism is as follows. (33)

CH<sub>3</sub> · NO<sub>2</sub> 
$$\leftarrow$$
 CH<sub>2</sub> : NO · OH (Catalysed by HNO<sub>3</sub>)

CH<sub>2</sub> : NO · OH + HNO<sub>3</sub>  $\rightarrow$  CH<sub>2</sub> : NO · ONO<sub>2</sub> + H<sub>2</sub>O

CH<sub>2</sub> : NO · ONO<sub>2</sub> + HAr  $\rightarrow$  CH<sub>2</sub> : NO · OH + ArNO<sub>2</sub>

2HNO<sub>3</sub>  $\leftarrow$  N<sub>2</sub>O<sub>3</sub> + H<sub>2</sub>O  $\rightarrow$  NO + NO<sub>2</sub> + H<sub>2</sub>O

CH<sub>2</sub> : NO · OH + NO<sub>2</sub>  $\rightarrow$  CH<sub>2</sub> (NO<sub>2</sub>) <sub>2</sub> + H

The conclusion reached from the studies is that in Nitromethane solution, the aci form of the solvent forms a mixed anhydride with nitric acid which is a better nitrating agent, recalling the relative efficacy of brominating agents as influenced by the structure of such reagents. Another interesting observation in these experiments is the surprising fact that the rate of nitration of benzene, toluene, and ethyl benzene are independent of the hydrocarbon concentration. Unlike these however, the mono-halogen derivatives follow no simple order, and the results do not lend themselves to simple mathematical computations. There are clear indications that the rate of nitration is a function of the concentration of the halogeno-benzene being nitrated. The only qualitative similarities observed in the nitration of the hydrocarbons and the halogeno-benzenes were (i) the rapid increase in the rate of addition with increasing concentration of nitric acid and (ii) the decelarating influence of nitrous acid.

The brief survey attempted in the preceding pages might have indicated the extent to which Kinetic studies have enabled a somewhat better understanding of the fundamental reactions of compounds familiar to the organic chemist. It is also clear that the studies have only tended to make the problem apparently more difficult to solve and further work on the reactions may be expected to unravel what has so far eluded us.

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# Studies in Sanskrit Texts on Temple Architecture with Special Reference to the Tantrasamuccaya

By

N. V. MALLAYYA

### ADHIŞTHANA, UPAPĪŢHA AND PADMA—WHAT ARE THEY?

Undoubtedly in our text, the Adhiṣṭhāna described as well as the Upapīṭha and the Padma, are members of the whole structure and not divisions of the column. This point is made clear by Śaṅkara in the following remarks:

" अथाधिष्ठानादिप्रासादावयवान् वदन्निधिष्ठानादप्यधोदेशे पक्षान्तरेण कल्पनीयस्योप-पीठस्य क्लिंसिमाह—मासूरोच इति ॥",<sup>810</sup>

The stanza<sup>311</sup>

" चित्वेत्यिधष्ठानिमहानुरूपं समं तलीकृत्य शिलापतानैः । विभज्य गर्भान्तरबाह्यभित्तितन्मध्यनाडी रचयेद यथाईम् ॥"

on the other hand, gives internal support to the view that the 'Adhiṣṭhāna' referred to here is the basement of the temple, which is to be distinguished from the base of the column. For, basement is an indispensable and primary member of the whole structure, whereas base of the column forms only a division of the column which is itself a member that comes above the basement. Mayamata<sup>312</sup> thus lays down that the Adhiṣṭhāna with or without an Upapīṭha below should be raised from the ground level that is obtained as a result of filling in and pavement of the foundation-pit. 'Jaṅghāvarga' (Jaṅghā meaning pillar) is required to be constructed above the Adhiṣṭhāna (जहावर्ग तद्ववंगम्—says Maya). The definition of Adhiṣṭhāna, viz.:—

" प्रासादस्तु निजैरङ्गैरधितिष्ठति यं सदा । दृढं शिलादिघटितं तद्धिष्ठानसंज्ञितम् ॥" <sup>813</sup>

is itself suggestive of the fact that the Adhisthana described is not confined to the base of the column, but related to the complete structure.

<sup>310.</sup> Tantrasamuccaya with Vimarsini (T. S. S. Edition), Part I, p. 53.

<sup>311.</sup> Tantrasamuccaya, Patala I, stanza 17.

<sup>· 312.</sup> Mayamata, XIV, 10 (T. S. S. Ed.).

<sup>313.</sup> Vide Gurudevapaddhati (T. S. S. Edition), Part III, Ch. XXX, St. 67; also the Silparatna.

This relationship of Adhiṣṭhāna to the whole structure is made clear by such statements as

# " प्रतिकमं तत् सुरमन्दिरोचितम् "<sup>314</sup>

(Pratikrama is best fitted for the temple of God). Thus in the texts we have noted above the reference is directed to the temple rather than to a part thereof.

Dr. P. K. Ācārya, in his Translation of the Mānasāra, 315 renders the terms 'Upapītha' and 'Adhisthāna' as Pedestals and Bases of Columns. This interpretation is not warranted by the text concerned, for nowhere in the course of the chapters on Upapitha and Adhisthana do we find any reference to columns. In the usual wake of procedure, Mānasāra devotes a single chapter towards the treatment of each member of the struc-The main members, as we have noticed already, from bottom upwards are Adhisthana, Stambha, Prastara, Gala, Sikhara, and Stūpikā. Each member differs from the other, and this difference is inevitable, for each is designed to express its particular function, which is different from that of the other. It is only when all these parts discharge their respective functions do they declare this affinity to the whole structural Each part being different from the other in its differing function, it is dealt with separately. But in the very separateness of parts, there is conveyed something which indicates the paradox of unity. Difference here does not mean absolute separateness, but separateness essential for the expression of the law of proportions and the principle of relationship. Proportions have relativity, and each member of the structure keeps its proportions in a relative measure, which makes it one with the whole unit of the ultimate structure. Hindu builders, no doubt considered each part individually, but they considered it in its relation to the whole building. They strove to reveal through the varying functions of the parts the architectural unity that prevades a good building. The member Adhisthana is naturally ordered to be so disposed that, while it appears to be joined on to its adjacent parts, such as the column (Pāda), it is completely organised and ultimately related to the structure as a whole. The treatment of Upapītha, Adhisthāna, Stambha, etc., as members of the building is clear-cut, scientific and artistic. It is completely in conformity with the principle of proportions and relationship. The Upapītha and Adhisthana described in the Manasara have their reference not to columns, which form part of the structure, but to the whole structure.

<sup>314.</sup> Mayamata, Ch. XIV, St. 24.

<sup>315.</sup> Mānasāra translation, Chapter XIII and XIV.

Dr. Acārya's interpretation of the terms 'Upapītha' and 'Adhisthāna' as Pedestals and Bases of Columns has no ground for support. It deviates the *Mānasāra* from the general and scientific and artistic line of treatment.

In the chapter on columns<sup>316</sup> called 'Stambhavidhāna' or 'Pādavidhāna', which naturally and closely follows the chapter on 'Adhiṣṭhāna,' Mānasāra like other authors does not fail to take note of the divisions of a column. The height of the whole column is here said to consist of the portion from above the 'Adhiṣṭhāna' to below the 'Uttara':—

# " अधिष्ठानोपरिष्ठातु चोत्तराघोऽवसानकम् ॥"<sup>817</sup>

Adhisthāna, as implied in the statement of the Mānasāra, is a distinct member and its difference from the column is indicated by the fact that it is treated as a standard, with reference to which the height of the column is measured.<sup>318</sup> The column, in its turn, is also distinguished from the Adhisthana below it and the Uttara that is above it. 'Adhisthana', further, is not found used in the course of the description of the divisions of the column. The three main divisions of a column, as generally understood, are the base, the shaft and the capital. is indicated by the expression 'Mūla,' the middle by 'Madhya,' and the top by 'Agra.'319 The term 'Mūla', in this connection, is rendered as 'base' by Ācārya, and he further gives the root-meaning 'root.' When he renders the term 'Adhisthana' also by the expression 'Base,' the idea intended by the author to be conveyed is blurred and confusion eventually results. Again, by way of bracketed expressions wrong sense appears to have been thrust into the translation. Thus the line ' क्षुद्रमध्यमपुरूयानां हर्म्याणां निर्गमं च तत् ' is thus rendered by Acarya: "The projections of (the bases of columns for) buildings of the smallest, the intermediate, and the largest types should correspond to them (i.e. should be the smallest, the intermediate, and the largest respectively)."320 When the reference here is obviously to the whole structure, where is the necessity to relate it to a part thereof? To a wrong understanding of the terms seems due the presentation of curious types of pillars<sup>321</sup> in the

<sup>316.</sup> Mānasāra Ch. XV.

<sup>317.</sup> Ibid., Ch. XV, line 7; also vide lines 8, 9, 10, 11.

<sup>318.</sup> Ibid., lines 9, 10, 11; also vide Mayamata (T. S. S. Ed.), XV, st. 4; Kāśyapa-śilpa, (Ānandāśrama Series), VIII, 3.

<sup>319.</sup> Mānasāra, XV, (P. K. Ācārya's Ed.) line 23, 24, and 25.

<sup>320.</sup> Mānasāra (Translation), Ch. XIV, line 392.

<sup>321.</sup> Mānasāra (Illustration), Sheets XLIV, XLV, XLVI, XLVII.

section on illustration. The height of the Adhiṣṭhāna which ought to belong to the structure at large is added to that of the pillar which is after all a structural part of as much structural importance as the parts above and below it. The pillars illustrated look completely disproportionate to the temple. Mānasāra clearly states that the height of the Māsuraka (basement) should be proportionate to the height of the building: 'इम्येनुज्ञवास्त्रोक्तं तस्य मासुरकोजतम्'. 322 It is certainly wrong to thrust any idea of part in the expression 'Harmyatunga' which evidently means 'the height of Harmya (i.e.) the height of the temple.' Again in such lines 323 as 'देवभूसरभूपानां हम्योगं तस्यक्ष्येत्' the type of Adhiṣṭhāna that has been described has obvious reference to the whole temple and never to a pillar. The association or relationship of the basement with the structure as a whole is again evidenced in these lines 324:—

" समस्तहम्यादि च धातुसर्वे कृतं विमान (नं) । मसुरेण सह यदि (न) स्थात् .... ।।" " तसान्मसूरेण सहैव सर्वे कृतं विमानेषु च भूषणानि ।"

Are there actual pillars in existing structures which correspond to the illustrations of pillars presented to us by Ācārya in his Illustration Volume of the Mānasāra?

We shall now turn our attention towards Rām Rāz and examine his observations on this much misunderstood topic. Rām Rāz views Indian architecture through the spectacles of Western architectural literature. It deserves to be remembered in this connection that Western architectural terminology does not wholly fit in with or correspond to Hindu nomenclature and a faithful interpreter of our architectural literature should not avoid a thorough understanding of the peculiarities inherent in the systems of art Eastern as well as Western. Rām Rāz observes: "The Hindu orders may be said to consist of four principal parts, namely, the upapīṭha or pedestal, the adhiṣṭhāna or base, the stambha or pillar, and the prastara or entablature." The term "Order" figures prominently in Western architectural literature. What is its architectural meaning as understood in the West? It is a column or pilaster, with its base.

<sup>322.</sup> Mānasāra Text, Chapter XIV, line 8.

<sup>323.</sup> Mānasāra Text, Chapter XIV, line 43, vide also lines 63, 64, 80, 90, 108, 122, 143, 168, 169 etc.

<sup>324.</sup> Ibid, lines 405, 409, 410.

<sup>325.</sup> Ram Raz, Essay on the Architecture of the Hindus, p. 22.

shaft and capital, and the entablature above it (sometimes called 'epistyle'), consisting of architrave, frieze, and cornice considered as a single architectural feature. And the main 'Orders' of the European classical architecture are systematised classifications of five different types, Tuscan, Doric, Ionic, Corinthian and Composite. 326 The 'Order' determines the style of Western architecture and, as Stratton would put it, "the Classic Order is the Classic Style itself".327 In the terminology of Hindu architects, there is no term, so far as we know, which corresponds to what is technically understood as 'Order' in the West. Nor are the column and entablature treated as one architectural unit in India, determining the style of an Indian temple. In Hindu architectural literature, the distinguishing feature of style is what is known as 'Sikhara,' the portion above the neck (Gala) and entablature (Prastara). This Sikhara is admittedly the essential basis for the differentiation of style in Hindu architectural literature, and in its office and situation it differs from the members such as the Stambha and Prastara. The 'Nagara' class of temple is determined by its square Sikhara, the 'Vesara' by its circular Sikhara and the 'Drāvida' by its faceted Sikhara. Entablature, column and basement below the Sikhara are not taken into any consideration of style when a temple is of mixed shape. The body of the temple which comprises these members is mostly, if not always, described as square, and the fundamental basis of differentiation is the shape of the Sikhara otherwise known as Siras (the head) of the structure. Order, representing the column and entablature is therefore outside the province of the consideration of the Hindu style of architecture. Hence it is not proper to speak of Hindu Order in the determination of the Hindu style. There is no such thing as 'Hindu Order' in Hindu architecture in the sense in which 'Order' means in Western architectural literature. The Hindu temple, as we have observed, is a unit complete in itself, and the different constituent elements namely, the Adhisthāna, Pāda, Prastara, Gala, Sikhara and Stūpikā form one organic whole in the same way as the different limbs enter into the organic composition of the human body. Each part here is treated as bearing integral relationship with the whole.

Leaving the technical and architectural sense aside, one might mean by Order 'arrangement' in the general sense of the term, and thus speak of Hindu order as mere classification or arrangement of the parts of a building one above the other. In that case, Hindu order must be said to consist of not four, but six principal parts; for, all Hindu architec-

<sup>326.</sup> Vide Encyclopaedia Britannica under 'Order'.

<sup>327.</sup> Stratton's Orders of Architecture (p. 1),

tural authorities have enumerated Adhisthana, Stambha, Prastara, Gala, Sikhara or Sīrsa, and Stūpikā as the main members of a temple. statement of Raz excludes the last two parts Sikhara and Stūpika from the list of enumeration, as well as Gala, and includes Upapītha, which is after all an optional element. The phrase 'consists of' which Raz employs is delimiting in its connotation and is different from the comprehensive word 'comprise.' If Raz had used the expression 'comprise' in the place of 'consist of', then his statement might have given some room for the inclusion of Sikhara and Stūpikā as understood in the list of enumeration, and the interpretation of the term 'Order' in the sense of 'arrangement' would have been plausible, though with some difficulty. We say 'with some difficulty' because, Sikhara is a part indispensable in the view of Hindu builders. Hindu architects, who conceive of architecture in terms of the human organism, give great prominence to the head part of the structure. In the human form, the head undoubtedly is the most distinguishing feature and a man is recognised only from the features of his face. Rightly did the Hindus hold the head as the prominent part of the organism and call it 'uttamānga,' a synonym often used to denote the head. The Sikhara, otherwise known in architectural literature by its synonyms such as 'siras' and 'sirsa,' forms the head portion of the structure and is naturally considered the distinguishing and prominent feature As such, it cannot go uncounted in the enumeration of of a building. the principal parts of a building. In fact, it occupies a supreme place in the arrangement of the members of the structure. In any case. whether we take the term 'order' in its technical and restricted sense or in its general and original sense, the statement of Raz that "the Hindu orders may be said to consist of four principal parts etc.," is hardly acceptable, as it is far from the Hindu method of approach to the subject of architecture.

"Western architects consider the base, not as a distinct member, but as a constituent part of the column," says Rām Rāz. A column, as it is generally understood in the East and the West, is broadly divisible into three parts, the base, the shaft and the capital. As such, the base mentioned by Rām Rāz in this sentence, refers to the basement of the structure situated beneath the pillar. If we are to understand by base the basement, then the following remarks: "and this is not altogether at variance with the practice of the Hindu architects" are at variance with the usual treatment of Adhiṣṭhāna by Hindu writers. The reason adduced by Rām Rāz in the words "for they likewise include the base

<sup>328.</sup> Rām Rāz. Essay on the Architecture of the Hindus, p. 22. 329. Ibid.

and capital in taking the height of the pillar"330 is not clear. If by 'base' is here meant the basement, then they do not include it in the height of the "However," he continues, "the latter (i.e. the Hindu architects) invariably treat of a pedestal and base as separate bodies, as they are sometimes employed without pillars."331 True, base (in the sense of basement) is separately treated, but this treatment, it must be remarked here, is furnished with a different intention altogether, namely, with a view to asserting the differing functions of the members and expressing their integral and organic relationship with the structure. The individual treatment is perfectly in agreement with the order of enumeration of the main parts of the temple. The Adhisthana described in Chapter XIV of the Mānasāra is a distinct member, the first main and bottommost constituent part of the temple and not the base of a column. The Upapītha described in Chapter XIII is an optional member, built beneath the Adhisthana, if desired, and not the pedestal of any pillar. Dr. Ācārya, while translating the chapters under observation, seems to have based his interpretations on the theorising of Rām Rāz on the so-called orders of Hindu architecture.

#### STANZA 17.

The Marking of the surface of Adhisthana.

The author in this verse speaks of the final stage in the construction of the Adhiṣṭhāna. Here, he requires the architect to fill in the Adhiṣṭhāna with stones and then pave it and thus prepare its surface for the marking of the divisions into Garbhagṛha, Āntarabhitti, Bāhyabhitti, and Madhyanāḍī. Garbhagṛha literally means the womb of the house. It is the innermost sanctuary, the Holy of Holies, in which is installed the image of the deity worshipped. This inner-chamber Garbhagṛha, is enclosed immediately by Āntarabhitti or inner wall. The external wall is called Bāhyabhitti and in the space between the two Bhittis (walls) runs all around the passage known as Madhyanāḍī or Antarāla. The proportions of these main divisions are related in the subsequent verse.

समत्तर्जाञ्च —The levelling of the ground floor of the Adhisthāna may be carried to the extent of Janghā, or Gala, or Prati according to a statement which says:—

# " जङ्घान्ते वा गलान्ते वा प्रत्यन्ते प्रस्थरोचितम्।"

<sup>330.</sup> Ibid.

<sup>331.</sup> Ibid.

In a vernacular text called Silpiratna K. Nīlakaṇṭhan Āśāri<sup>332</sup> observes that in the course of the construction of the door or the Nāḍī, Pāduka should not be broken anywhere and if the basement comes under the Pratibandha class, any cutting of even Prati should be carefully avoided.

The words 'Iha' and 'Anurupa' are significant. The commentator Sankara remarks:—

# " इह इति उक्तप्रकाराणामन्यतमेनापि विधिना।"388

Here the commentator's statement implies that the Adhisthana might be constructed in accordance with the details already furnished in the wake of what in the text or been prescribed elsewhere in the writings of other authors. author affords much room for variation in respect of proportions and ornament, and does not exhaust all the possible types that are described in the works of previous authorities. He accepts and lays down the most commonly treated varieties and with regard to the other possible types he lends his approval and leaves the choice to the option of the architect. The term anurupa suggests the idea that the nature of the part should agree with the nature of the whole. The ornamentation and other features of the basement must correspond to the general and prominent character of the whole edifice. It is an organic principle, approved by all authorities on architecture, whether ancient or modern, Eastern or Western, that every part of a building should form an aliquot part of the whole, that it should bear the impress of the nature of the Adhisthāna, which constitutes an organic part of the temple, should be so constructed that it should express the general aesthetic impression which the different parts produce in their achievement of harmonious relationship with the whole.

#### STANZA 18.

## The breadth of the Garbhagrha.

In this stanza the author prescribes nine alternative measurements for the Garbhagrha. The proportions given are those which refer to Vitati (breadth). Since length is not specifically stated the same prescription applies also to the length, and the Garbhagrha described, it

<sup>332.</sup> Silpiratna, p. 18 (S. T. Reddiar and Sons, V. V. Press, Quilon).

<sup>333.</sup> Tantrasamuccaya with Vimarśini, Part I, p. 57 (T. S. S. Edition).

may be noted, is necessarily a square structure. The nine proportions laid down are  $\frac{2}{3}$ ,  $\frac{3}{5}$ ,  $\frac{4}{7}$ ,  $\frac{5}{9}$ ,  $\frac{6}{11}$ ,  $\frac{7}{13}$ ,  $\frac{8}{15}$ ,  $\frac{1}{2}$  and  $\frac{5}{8}$  of the breadth of the Prāsāda. These proportions are based upon the following lines from the  $\hat{S}aiv\bar{a}gama$  Nibandhana:—

् ज्याद्या पञ्चदशौजांशे व्यासे द्व्याद्यैर्यथाकमम् । पञ्चाष्टांशेऽखिलार्धे वा गर्भे तु नवधा स्मृतम् ॥ 17334

The author of the  $Ma\tilde{n}jar\bar{i}$  also gives similar proportions in the stanza quoted below:—

" गर्भागारस्य वक्ष्यामि विभागं नवधा पुनः । उत्तमाधममध्यानां त्रित्रिभेदैर्यथाकमम् ॥ भागद्वयं त्रिभजिते वसुभिश्च पञ्च मृतैश्च विहरथवा स्वरभेदतोब्धिः । स्द्रैश्च षट्कनवपञ्चतिथिप्रभेदैरष्टत्रयोदशमिदा च मुनिगृहार्धम् ॥" 1835

 $(\frac{2}{3}, \frac{5}{8}, \frac{3}{5}, \frac{4}{7}, \frac{6}{11}, \frac{5}{9}, \frac{8}{15}, \frac{7}{13}, \text{ and } \frac{1}{2})$ .

The Mayamata prescribes nine proportions of which  $\frac{3}{5}$ ,  $\frac{4}{7}$ ,  $\frac{5}{9}$ ,  $\frac{6}{1}$ ,  $\frac{7}{13}$ ,  $\frac{8}{15}$ , and  $\frac{1}{2}$  are in agreement with those quoted above. The difference is in respect of two proportions  $\frac{2}{3}$  and  $\frac{5}{8}$ . The proportions given instead are  $\frac{1}{3}$  and  $\frac{9}{17}$ . Notice the statement of Maya<sup>336</sup>:—

" हर्म्यतारित्रभागैकं मृतांशेषु गुणांशकम् । धातुभागे युगांशः स्याद् बाणांशं नवभागिके ॥ रुद्रांशे रसभागं तु धातुत्रयोदशांशके । तिथ्यंशे वसुभागं तु सप्तदशा नवांशकम् ॥ विस्तारार्धे तु ते सर्वे नालीगृहविशालताः ।"

Kāśyapa<sup>337</sup> also gives nine proportions, and he concludes his statement with the line:—

# '' गर्भगृहस्य विस्तारो नवधा परिकीर्तितः ॥"

<sup>334.</sup> Saivagama Nibandhana, Patala XIII (A. Ms. from the Cochin State).

<sup>335.</sup> Mañjari, Patala VI, (A Ms. from the Adyar Library).

<sup>336.</sup> Mayamata, Ch. XIX, 13, 14, 15 (Ekabhūmividhāna).

<sup>337.</sup> Kāśyapaśilpa, Paṭala XXVII, stanzas 10-12.

The Silparatna<sup>338</sup> quotes this present stanza in Chapter XXI. The variant proportions stated by Kāśyapa are also noted by the author of the Silparatna in the same chapter:—

" प्रासादस्य त्रिभागैकं सप्तभागानलांशकम् । विशेषाद् गर्भगेहस्य विस्तारं प्राह काश्यपः ॥"

Compare also the  $M\bar{a}nas\bar{a}ra^{339}$  where  $\frac{1}{3}$ ,  $\frac{3}{5}$ ,  $\frac{9}{11}$ ,  $\frac{7}{13}$ , and  $\frac{9}{15}$  are stated as the proportions prescribed for the breadth of the Garbhagrha.

#### STANZA 19.

The thickness of the walls of the Sanctum.

The author in this stanza lays down the proportions relating to the other divisions of the Prāsāda, namely, the Bāhya-Bhitti, the Ānta-rabhitti and the Madhyanādā. The thickness of the outer wall is one-eighth of the breadth of the Prāsāda and the thickness of the inner wall is one-eighth of the breadth of the Garbhagrha. The passage that runs all around between the two walls is the Nādā. This passage is used generally for circumambulation. If the structure is too small, the two walls are combined into one thick wall. In this case the Nādā disappears. The proportions of the Bhittis and Nādā are based upon the authority of the Mañjarā, which observes:—

" अह्बिहिताष्टमांशैरेषां बहिः शिष्टमिलन्दमस्य । अष्टांशमानादथ बाह्यभित्तिर्भित्तिर्धना स्यादथवाल्पगेहे ॥"<sup>340</sup>

Compare also the following statement of the Nibandhana: -

" आरूढिमित्तिरष्टांशे बाह्याष्टांशेन वेश्मनः । परिशिष्टमिलन्दं स्याद घना मित्तिगृहेऽल्पके ॥''<sup>341</sup>

Note the Śilparatna, as usual, adopts the stanza.342

- 338. Silparatna, Ch. XXI, Sts. 2, 5 (T. S. S. Ed.).
- 339. Mānasāra, Ch. XIX, lines 113 to 119.
- 340. Mañjari, Paṭala VI (Ms., Adyar Library).
- 341. Saivāgama Nibandhana, Paṭala XIII (Ms. from the Cochin State).
- 342. Silparatna (T. S. S. Edition), XXI, 3.

### STANZA 20.

## An alternative disposition of Garbha etc.

Two further alternative dispositions based on the authority of Gurudeva are described in the present stanza. The direction is given as follows:—In the case of an Alpaprāsāda divide the length and breadth of the Prāsāda each into five equal parts. There will result twenty five Padas or quarters. Mark out the central quarter. It will form the disposition of the Pīṭhikā or pedestal of the seat of the image. The immediate eight quarters that surround the central Pada will make the Garbhagṛha. The sixteen quarters that surround beyond the Garbhagṛha will provide disposition for the thickness of the Ghanabhitti or thick wall. In this disposition, there will be no room for the Nāḍī and there will be no two separate walls of varying thickness such as Āntarabhitti and Bāhyabhitti. There will be one wall enclosing the Garbhagṛha and its thickness will be equal to the breadth of the externmost Paṅkti or row of divisions comprising the sixteen quarters.

In the second alternative mode of division, the length and breadth of the Prāsāda is to be divided into nine parts each. This will give 81 quarters. The inner-most quarter provides for the Pīṭhikā; the eight quarters surrounding will constitute the Garbhagṛha. The third row consisting of 16 quarters will constitute the division for the inner wall, the wall of the Garbhagṛha. The fifth and final row will provide for the external wall which is the wall of the Prāsāda. The fourth row which comes between the internal and the external wall will make for the Vīthikā or Nāḍī. At the centre of the external row will be constructed a door-way.

It deserves to be remembered here that in the case of structures coming under three, four and five cubits measure type, Nāḍī is disposed of and thick wall is considered desirable. But in temples which have larger measure, the introduction of Nāḍī is dictated by the exigencies of interior planning.

The following stanzas from the *Gurudevapaddhati*<sup>343</sup> afford basis for the authority of the two alternative dispositions described above:—

" व्यासेऽभिक्कतिकोष्ठे स्थात् पीठं कोष्ठेन मध्यतः तद्किविसुकोष्ठानां पङ्क्तया गर्भगृहं भवेत्।। कोष्ठपङ्क्तया बहिर्मितिस्तत्र द्वारं तु कोष्ठतः। एकिमत्त्येकतलकं दैवं घामेदमीरितम् ॥
तद्वत् प्रासादविस्तारस्यैकाशीतिपदस्य तु ।
मध्यस्थनवकोष्ठे स्यात् सपीठं गर्भमन्दिरम् ॥
तद्वाह्ये कोष्ठपङ्क्त्या तु भित्तिं द्वारं च कल्पयेत् ।
तद्वाह्यपङ्क्त्या परितः कल्पयेन्मध्यनाडिकाम् ॥
प्रासादभित्तिं तद्वाह्ये पङ्क्त्या द्वारं च योजयेत् ।"
" त्रिहस्ते तु घना भित्तिः पश्चहस्तेऽपि वा तथा॥" अ

### STANZAS 21 AND 22.

The Watercourse (Ambumārga) and the Waterchute (Praṇāla)

The construction of the drain (Ambumārga) and its waterchute (Pranāla) forms the subject-matter of these two stanzas. The subject is considered from the point of view of the disposition, measurement and ornamentation of the Pranala. Pranala, the waterchute, is to be distinguished from Ambumārga, the mere drain. Praņāla is accompanied by the watercourse. Ambumarga, Thus the commentator Sankara re-' जलयात्रामार्गेयुक्तं प्रणालं रचयत् '<sup>345</sup>. Ambumārga, the drain is the channel that is made inside the wall and it runs along the top-surface of the Adhisthana at the end of its Prati or Gala. It may be open or closed. It terminates in the projecting member which is the waterchute, Pranāla. The Pranāla which projects outside starts from where the drain inside the wall ends. Half of it is fixed in the wall and the remaining half is kept projecting outside. It is a spout, open at the extremity and the shooting part serves to throw out water. marga and Pranala serve in carrying and throwing out the waste water that flows when the image and the interior parts of the structure are washed and cleaned.

The author first deals with the position of the water-drain within the enclosure. It is made at the end of Prati or Gala and its facing is directed northwards. Thus it is situated on the left side of the image which ordinarily faces the East. It runs along the Madhyasūtra i.e. near the middle of the north-south line. The right centre of this line is avoided and the Praṇāla is made to move slightly eastwards from the

<sup>344.</sup> T. S. Vimarśini, p. 59.

<sup>345.</sup> Tantrasamuccaya with Vimarśinī (Part I). See Vimarśinī, page 59. (T. S. S. Ed.).

centre of the north-south line. This small deviation from the centre of the line towards the East may cover up a distance which is  $\frac{1}{10}$ ,  $\frac{1}{10}$ , or  $\frac{1}{11}$  etc., of the length between Soma and Isana.

The length of the waterchute is relative to the height of the Adhisthana. The length of the portion that projects outside the wall may be equal to, or three-fourth of, or half of the height of the Adhisthana, while half of this length constitutes the portion that is kept inside the wall. Its breadth is then prescribed with reference to its base and its extremity. That at the base will be one-third, one-fourth, or one-fifth of its length, and that at the extremity will be one-third etc. of that at the base. Half of this breadth, or three-fourth of or equal to the same is its thickness. The shape of the waterchute is not expressly stated. but is implied and the whole description tends fittingly towards a rectangular waterchute tapering at its outer extremity. The consistent use of the terms 'vitati,' 'vistāra,' etc., which strictly and directly mean the 'breadth,' is in favour of this suggestion, and, here as in other contexts, the treatment appropriately refers to square or rectangular forms of construction. Other shapes such as the circular or the many-faceted, it might be presumed from this fundamental fact, are only developments and modifications from the original square or rectangular Instances of round and faceted waterchutes are not, however, found lacking. Whatever might be the shape intended, rectangular or any other, the proportion concerning the length and breadth of the waterchute is relative, and it must, hence, be scrupulously maintained. The breadth of the passage for water is one-third that of the waterchute.

The ornamentation of the Praṇāla (waterchute) is next described. The spout must look springing from the open mouth of a 'Vyāla' (a ferocious fabulous animal) and its extremity must resemble the 'Gomukha' (the face of a cow). Thus the open mouth of a Vyāla decorates the base of the spout while its extremity is carved in the form of a cow's head. Wreathes of pearls, creepers, bangles and other ornamental patterns must encircle it. Suṇḍu or the trunk of an elephant is another ornamental motif that might adorn the spout. Thus from start to finish, the spout is characterised by rich decorative quality and the whole construction of it is integrally bound up with rhythmic flowing ornament, diverse in its modes of expression. It is the unique feature of Indian architecture that it is indistinguishable from sculpture. So synthetically is sculpture knit to structure, that ornament of every kind, though something added on to architecture, appears to grow inevitably out of it.

The following quotations from authorities either confirm or amplify what has already been dealt with in our text on the subject of Pranāla. It is thus observed in a Tantra<sup>346</sup>:—

"धाझः प्रतिप्रीवगसोमसुत्रात् प्राग्दन्तभागं प्रविधाय तेषु । द्वघेकं शिवे द्वित्रि हरौ त्रिपञ्चशेषेष्वतीत्योदकमार्गसूत्रम् ॥ प्रतेः पुरोऽधे वसुनन्दिदिग्भिर्विभज्य भागेष्विखलामराणाम् । एकैकभागं समतीत्य कुर्याद् विचक्षणो गोमुखमध्यमत्र ॥ स्यात् कुट्टिमं गोमुखदीर्घेमानं पादोनितं वा तदथार्धयुक्तम् । व्यालाननं स्यादिह् शुण्डभेदो मणिश्च वल्लीपरिशोभितं च ॥"

Kāśypa speaks of the length of the spout with reference to the Angula measure. Accordingly, it may be 12, 15, 18, 21, or 24 angulas, while its breadth may be 8, 10, 12, 14, or 16 angulas. Ups and downs must be avoided and the watercourse must be even. At its extremity the spout will be slightly sloping downwards. On the base of the spout must be added the carving of the mouth of a lion. The following text of the Kāśyapaśilpa³47 will amplify the topic:—

" भान्वङ्गुलं समारभ्य गुणाङ्गुलविवर्धनात् । चतुर्विशाङ्गुलं यावतावतम्ब्रविधं तथा ॥ भित्तिबाद्यगतं ह्येव तस्यार्धं गर्भगेहके । वेशयित्वाऽथ वा भित्तेर्द्धभ्यन्तरसमं तु वा ॥ वस्त्रङ्गुलं समारभ्य द्विद्वग्रङ्गुलविवर्धनात् । कलाङ्गुलावसानं तु विस्तारं पञ्चधा कमम् ॥ तन्मूलं तारपञ्चाशं त्रयांशं त्वप्रविस्तृतम् । तद्विस्तारसमं पाया(दा)त्त्रिपोदं वाऽथ तद्धनम् ॥ विस्तारस्य त्रिभागैकं च्छिद्रतारोन्नतं तथा । ना(लं)लमध्ये तु कर्तव्यं निम्नोन्नतविवर्जितम् ॥ [मूलादमं नतं किश्चिन्मुलं सिंहास्यबन्धितम् ॥ मुलादमोन्नतं किश्चिन्मुलं हंसस्य चान्वितम् ।

<sup>346.</sup> Quoted in the Vimarśini, vide the Tantrasamuccaya with Vimarśini (T. S. S. Ed.) Part I, pp. 59-60.

<sup>347.</sup> Kāšyapašilpa, Paṭala VII, stanzas 3-9 (Ānandāśrama Series).

गजोष्ठसदशालम्बी यथा सुन्दरमाचरेत्।। व्यालो वा सिंहभृतो वा नालं घृत्वा तु संस्थितः। नालमेवं प्रकर्तव्यं सौम्यं प्रासादमध्यगम्॥"

Compare also the following lines from the Mayamata<sup>348</sup>:—

" द्वादशाङ्गुलमारभ्य त्रिज्यङ्गुलविवर्धनात् । चतुविशाङ्गुलं यावदायामं पञ्चधा भवेत् ॥ अष्टाङ्गुलं समारभ्य द्विद्वग्रङ्गुलविवर्धनात् । तारं षोडशमात्रान्तं पञ्चधा परिकीर्तितम् ॥ समं त्रिपादमर्धं वा घनं छिद्रं तु मध्यमे । त्रिचतुष्पञ्चषण्मात्रं तारं तत्समनिम्नकम् ॥ मूलात् पञ्चत्रिभागं स्यादम्रं धारासमन्वितम् । घटितं सिहवक्त्रेण किञ्चिन्मूलान्नतामकम् ॥ एवं नालं प्रकर्तव्यं वामे प्रासादमध्यमे । अन्तःपीठस्य नालस्य समं वा बहिरिष्यते ॥"

The statement of the *Gurudevapaddhati*<sup>349</sup> given below may also be compared:—

" जगत्यङ्गुलमारभ्य त्रिज्यङ्गुलविवर्धनात् । आसाङ्कृत्यङ्गुलं नालस्यायामः पञ्चधा स्मृतः ॥ मयोऽष्टाङ्गुलमारभ्य द्विद्धघङ्गुलविवर्धनात् । नालं (तारं) षोडशमात्रान्तं पञ्चधेति जगाद ह ॥ समं त्रिपादमधे वा खनच्छिदं तु मध्यमे । त्रिचतुष्पञ्चतन्मात्रं तारं तत्समनिम्नकम् ॥ मूलात् पञ्चत्रिभागं स्यादग्रं धाराभिरन्वितम् । सिंहवक्त्रेण घटितं द्वाङ्नताग्रं तु मूलतः ॥

<sup>348.</sup> Mayamata, Ch. XIX, sts. 25-29 (T. S. S. Ed.).

<sup>349.</sup> Iśāna Gurudevapaddhati, Kriyāpāda, Uttarārdha, Paṭala XXXII, stanzas 91-95 (T. S. S. Ed.).

# पासादस्योत्तरे मध्ये नालमेवं प्रकल्पयेत् । अन्तःस्थपीठनालस्य समं वा बाह्यनालकम् ॥"

The Mānasāra<sup>350</sup> devotes about 9 stanzas to this topic of Praṇāla.

This treatment brings us to the close of the section of Adhiṣṭhāna. The subject that is next dealt with upon is 'Stambhavidhi.'

#### STANZAS 23 TO 25.

#### Pillars.

Now, we pass on to the theme of pillars, one of the most important of architectural subjects. Among the structural divisions of a temple, the columns come above the Prati (the top-most moulding of the basement) and below the Uttara (the lowest portion of the entablature). While the effect produced by the horizontal members Adhiṣṭhāna and Prastara is one of stratified stability, the impression created by the columns is one of height and of manifest ease in sustaining the pressure of the structural parts that are situated above such as the entablature, the rafters and the roof. The pillars are spaced at equal intervals apart so that the weight supported is equally distributed among them. By their vertical feature, they produce the impression of elevation and by their number and disposition at equi-distance and the consequent distribution of the weight sustained, they perform their structural function of carrying the beam and the load above with ease and lightness.

Stambha, Pāda, Jaṅghā, Caraṇa, Aṅghri, Sthāṇu, Sthūṇa, Talipa, Kampa, Skambha, Bhāraka, Dhāraṇa, Araṇi, (S) talī are all synonyms found mentioned in the various architectural treatises such as the Mayamata, Gurudevapaddhati, Mānasāra, etc. Thus the Mayamata states<sup>351</sup>:—

" स्थाणुः स्थूणश्च पादश्च जङ्घा च चरणोऽङ्घ्रिकः स्तम्भश्च तिलपः कम्पः पर्यायवचनानि हि ॥"

And the Gurudevapaddhati gives the following<sup>352</sup>:—

" स्तम्भाः स्थूणास्तथा पादाः कुम्भाः कम्पाङ्घयोऽपि च । स्तम्भपर्यायशब्दाः स्युरथ तल्लक्ष्म कथ्यते ।"

- 350. Mānasāra, vide Chapter XIX, lines 162-180 (P. K. Ācārya's Ed.).
- 351. Mayamata, Ch. XV, St. 2.
- 352. *Īšāna Gurudevapaddhati*, Kriyāpāda, Uttarārdha, Paṭala XXXI, St. 19(2), 20(1) (T. S. S. Ed.).

The Mānasāra<sup>353</sup> enumerates twelve synonyms:—

" जङ्घा च चरणं चैव स्तली स्तम्भमङ्घिकम् ॥
स्थाणु स्थूणं च पादं च क(स्क)म्भमारणि भारकम् ।
धारणं द्वादशं नाम पर्यायोक्तं पुरातनैः ॥"

Here the adoption of such synonyms as Pāda, Janghā, Carana, and Anghri, which in ordinary writings denote the leg and in architectural treatises the pillar, echoes the human organism and confirms the theory of the basic conception of Hindu architecture in terms of the human organism. Weight, pressure and resistance form part of our habitual bodily experience and the same form of activity is also exhibited in the function of horizontal and vertical members of a building. Just as in the human body the weight of the head and the trunk is borne by the legs, so in a structure the crushing pressure of the entablature and the roof is upheld by the pillars. The synonyms Bhāraka and Dhārana also tell us the same thing about the structural activity of the Of the various members of a structure, the main bearing ones (excluding the Upapītha which is an optional element) are the Adhisthana, the Stambha and the Prastara. Uttara (the beam), which sits on the pillars, in its turn, functions as a resting place for the rafters and the whole roof. Stambhas which stand immediately below the Uttara and upon the basement, uphold the horizontal beam (uttara) together with the weight it bears. The pillars being many and erected at intervals, they resist this crushing weight with ease and without effort. This whole accumulated weight stands upon the basement (Adhisthana), the most solidly constructed member of a building. Thus, in the science of Architecture, one might observe enormous operations and balancing of forces involved, and weight, pressure and resistance exhibited in the functions of structural parts.

Dr. Acārya lends too much of importance to the function of pillars. In his thesis on "Indian Architecture" he makes the following remarks while dealing with the chapter on Similarity in Columns:—"This is a crucial point; because the column in a building is stated by authorities to be the regulator of the whole composition; and it is the onc feature of the ancient architecture, which illustrates its rise and progress as well as its perfection and weakness". 354 It is true that this structural element functions in the regulation of the structure, but it is not the only governing factor in a building. Other parts we have observed

<sup>353.</sup> Mānasāra, Ch. XV, lines 4-6 (P. K. Ācārya's Ed.).

<sup>354.</sup> Indian Architecture, page 150.

such as the basement and the entablature serve equally in the regulation of the structure. Only when all these parts discharge their respective functions does the composition become complete. Each member, in the fulfilment of its allotted function, thus gains unmitigated importance and becomes as much the regulator of the composition as any other. Columns, as a feature, appear prominently and in increasing number where the structure is a large hall like the congregational church of the Western architecture. A Hindu temple in contradistinction to a western congregational structure, is an abode for the deity and not a hall for mass prayer. It is not intended to accommodate the The Pūjā that is conducted inside is both large mass of devotees. sacred and secret in character. As for those who assemble for prayer, there is a special hall constructed, known as Arcanāmaṇḍapa, and this is an accessory structure. It is open on all the sides. But the main shrine is enclosed by thick walls and corresponding to the limited and restricted usage of the structure, it is small in extent and short in the span of its roof. It is more closed and less spacious than a congregational structure. In a structure of this restricted kind the role of columns does not appear to acquire so prominent a feature as in a hall of considerable space and size. In all examples of existing sanctums regular pillars are conspicuous by their absence, and their structural function of bearing the beams and the load above is carried out by the element of walls that enter into the composition of the main shrine. In such cases, the wall performs the double function of enclosing the sanctum as well as of carrying the pressure of the beam and the roofing. Here, pillars lose their regular structural function and are reduced to either pilasters joined to the wall presenting a flattened appearance or to mere ornamental motifs decorating the surface of the wall. In such instances of structures the problem of the importance of pillars does not crop up. Pillars, however, retained their original and structural importance before walls stepped into their structural province. An investigation into the origin and development of pillars and walls of an Indian shrine unfolds this interesting feature of Indian temple architecture.

In very early times, when the structure was simple and worship open, the main elements of a religious edifice seem to have been a basement (containing probably an altar or seat of the object of worship), columns, beam and roofing. In such simple beginning, architecture, here as elsewhere, was influenced in its expression by the materials used. In a land of forests like India wood is the chief material readily available and easy of being worked out. So, in its inception, Indian architecture was essentially wooden in character. Tree trunks give to wooden

construction an upright and straight feature and as Prof. H. Kishida<sup>355</sup> observes, 'straight line is the most rational when the material used is Vertical and horizontal elements such as the columns and the '.hoow beam possess a necessarily straight character whose impact is discernible in the regular design of the structure. Straight elements always tend to fashion a building square or rectangular in shape. Thus in Indian architecture, influenced by the first chief material wood that entered into its composition, the original shape was rectangular or square. The tenor of the description of a regular shrine as shown by ancient Indian texts on architecture, also supports this view, namely, the square design of a regular shrine. The progress of architectural growth has always been towards greater stability of structure and greater durability of material. Wood is combustible and easily susceptible to decay. Stone, on the other hand, is more lasting than timber and incombustible as well. So, where greater permanence was required, stone took the place of wood. Though stone came to be substituted for wood, the wooden feature was maintained and was gradually translated in stone works. Some examples<sup>356</sup> of stone work echo wooden character and indicate how wooden frameworks served as prototypes for later constructions in stone. In the case of temple architecture, this progress in the use of materials from wood to stone seems to have been occasioned by the development of the form of worship. The cult of worship, which was probably originally open and simple, in the course of time appears to have become sacred and secret. Rites and ceremonials connected with the conduct of Pūjā became more and more elaborate, more and more gorgeous. Images were carved of gold and other precious metals, and were decorated with rich ornaments studded with most precious jewels. Articles prepared out of the most valuable materials were set to the service of the deity. The whole paraphernalia of such a splendid cult of worship, the incalculable riches that accompanied the elaborate mode of service which under the Tantric aspect gained a secret character necessitated protection and careful screening. In this stage of development of the manner of divine service stone, more stable than wood, appears to have taken the place of wood. Thus the introduction of stone walls in all probability was the outcome of a necessity to protect the riches that the sanctum contained and to screen the secret rites conducted inside. Since the walls were situated, like the pillars, from above the basement to below the uttara they gradually took to themselves the structural function of pillars. The placing of the wall above the Prati and below the Uttara as described by the stanza<sup>357</sup>:---

<sup>355.</sup> Japanese Architecture by H. Kishida, p. 26.

<sup>356.</sup> For instance see the Amaravati slab preserved in the Madras Museum.

<sup>357.</sup> Tantrasamuccaya, Patala II. Stanza 36.

' प्रस्मुचरान्तर्विरचय्य सिचिम् ' is the same as the disposition of the pillars, which is also prescribed in the stanza ' स्तम्साः कोणचतुष्कमध्यविनिवेश्याः' etc. (St. No. 23) as above the Prati and below the Uttara.

#### STANZA 23.

The Number and Disposition of Columns.

Though walls have the same disposition as pillars have, they do not seem originally to have been intended to carry the function of pillars. The tenor of our author's treatment on the subject of pillars and walls indicates this fact. The pillars are described next to Adhisthana. The description of walls (Bhittis) follows the description of columns, and naturally the construction of pillars is implied to take place first before the building of the walls is undertaken. It is explicitly stated in the last quarter of the stanza: 'स्तम्भाः कोणचतुष्कमध्यविनिवेश्याः स्यः प्रतेरूर्वतः ' that upon the pillars should be placed the uttara (एवर्पयेन् चिर्म) In the view of our author, as indicated by the stanza 'स्तम्माः कोणवतन्त-सध्यविनिवेत्रयाः ' etc., walls do not appear to enter into the structural province of pillars. The pillars that are found described in the text are regular structural ones. Their description is applicable to columns of the main shrine and may be extended as well to those of the accessory structures, such as the Arcanamandapa. sition is first dealt with. They stand on the topmost moulding of the basement and carry the Uttara, the beam which is the lowest portion of the entablature. In the case of temples of ordinary measure they are stated to be twelve in number. Four stand at the four corners of the basement, and two on each of the four sides. Their inter-space is said to be equal. Their number rises up to twenty in structures which come under eleven and odd cubits type of measure. They admit of different shapes and ornamentations and on this basis they produce variety which is dealt with in the subsequent stanza. When these twelve or twenty pillars are constructed as described above and made to bear the Uttara, the intervening space that is left between them demands a covering sufficient to protect the riches that are kept in the sanctum and to keep the secret character of the Pūjā performed inside. Thick walls serve both these objects and hence they constitute the next subject of treatment. They are made to cover up the intervening space open between the pillars. In this manner of composition both the elements discharge their respective functions, pillars in bearing the Uttara and walls in enclosing the sanctum.

Walls do not appear here to interfere with the function of pillars, for, even if felled, they would not cause destruction of the structural frame of the temple. At a later stage, however, walls may be said to have entered also into the structural province of pillars and reduced them to the position of being added to the wall either to give it projection or to ornament its surface. Such walls are much in evidence to-day in existing sanctums.358 When walls came in and covered the interspace between pillars, pillars produced the impression of pilasters. Thus the commentator Sankara remarks at the opening commentary on this stanza: 359— ' कुल्यस्तम्मस्यापने नियममाह—स्तम्मा इति '. From the actual details furnished in the text, it is abundantly clear that in the view of the writer of the Tantrasamuccaya walls constituted an element that is added to columns. Embraced on either side by the wall, the pillars look for the most part buried in it, but they are regular and structural in their function as originally conceived. In their role as pilasters. they leave to the gaze of the observer abutments or projections at corners and key points of the wall. In this aspect they stabilise the wall and stand to receive the pressure that falls from above with an air of ease and lightness.

The term 'सामान्येन ' is interpreted by the commentator to mean the general rule of measure as three cubits etc. 'सामान्येन विकरादिषु (सुरविमानेषु)' says³60 he. It is thus taken to qualify 'सुरविमानेषु'. If it is taken to qualify 'समान्तराः' it would yield a different meaning. It would mean that the interspace between pillars need not always be exactly equal. The idea, however, is opposed to what other authorities have laid down. The Nibandhana thus warns us against the unequal interspace which, it is believed, would result in the destruction of the structure. The Mānasāra³61 also prescribes that pillars should be erected at a uniform distance from one another.

With regard to the arrangement of the twelve pillars the Vivara-nakāra offers two suggestions. The first is that four pillars should be erected at the four corners and two on each face (between the two corners on each side). He thus observes: 'चतुर्षु कोणेषु एकेंक, अन्तरा हो इति हार्या.' The second is that there should be four pillars at the four corners,

<sup>358.</sup> In the renovated temple at Tripunittura, it is said that the frame-work is original and built in accordance with the directions of the Tantrasamuccaya.

<sup>359.</sup> Tantrasamuccaya, Part I, page 61 (T.S.S. Ed.).

<sup>360.</sup> Ibid.

<sup>361.</sup> Mānasāra, Ch. XV, lines 363-365.

and on each side three. Here, the central pillar will be split up into two halves, and two such half-pillars would stand on each side of the Ghanadvāra. It is thus said in the Vivaraṇa:

" यद्वा कोणे चतुष्कमन्तरा त्रयस्त्रयस्तम्भाः स्युः । तत्र पक्षे मध्यमस्तम्भं द्विधा कल्पयित्वा घन-द्वारमभितः द्वौ द्वौ अर्धस्तम्भौ भवतः ॥"<sup>362</sup>

It is not known from which source this idea is drawn. The former interpretation meets with general approval. Sankara also tells us the same idea in the words:

# " कोणानां चतुष्के तन्मध्ये द्वौ द्वौ च निवेश्याः ॥"

The following stanzas from the *Nibandhana*<sup>363</sup> deserves to be quoted in this connection, for with regard to number and disposition there is consensus of opinion:—

" द्वादशैव चतुष्कोणमध्यस्थाः कुड्यपादकाः । एकादशकरे स्तम्भा विशतिर्भण्डनान्विताः ॥ समाः स्तम्भान्तराः सर्वे प्रासादे सार्वदेशिके । विषमस्तम्भभागं तु वास्तु वस्तुविनाशनम् ॥"

The combination of pillars and walls has resulted in the pillars being described as Kudyapādas. Thus the Mañjarī observes<sup>364</sup>:—

" गेहो द्वादशकुड्यपादकलितो हस्तैस्त्रिभिर्निर्मितो etc. ।।"

## STANZA 24.

The Shape and Ornamentation of Columns.

We have already observed the rules<sup>365</sup> relating to the height and breadth, the number and disposition of Indian pillars. Now we shall take into account the topic of the shapes of pillars and their ornamen-

<sup>362.</sup> Tantrasamuccayavivarana, Ms. R. No. 1994, Government Oriental Mss. Library, Madras.

<sup>363.</sup> Śaivāgama Nibandhana, Paţala XIII (Ms. from the Cochin State).

<sup>364.</sup> Prayogamañjarī, Paṭala VI (Ms. from the Adyar Library, Madras).

<sup>365.</sup> Tantrasamuccaya, Patala II, Stanzas 8, 9, 10, 23 (T. S. S. Ed.).

tations. The present stanza deals with the shapes of columns. Columns are of many kinds and their variety is based upon their difference in shape and ornamentation. They admit of shapes which are uniform or mixed. Our text prescribes four uniform shapes square, octagonal, sixteen-faced and circular; and two mixed shapes square combined with octagonal and square combined with circular. The column may be made completely four-faced, eight-faced, sixteen-faced or circular; or it may be made square in the lower portion which extends up to three times the vistāra of the pillar and octagonal in the portion above, which is equal to the portion below (i.e., three times the vistāra); or, it may be made square up to the portion in the height of the pillar which measures as much as the diagonal of the pillar, and in the above portion, circular. The mixed types refer to octagonal and circular super-impositions on a square base. The terms 'Vistāra' and 'Karņasūtra', the former meaning 'breadth' and the latter 'diagonal' at the base of the pillar, are suggestive of the square base of the pillars of mixed shape. These terms are employed here in connection with the measurement of the height of the lower and upper portions of the pillar when the 'Vistāra' and 'Karņasūtra' pillar is composed of mixed shapes. (breadth and diagonal), imply a square base as distinct from a circular If the base were circular, the author would have referred to the diameter, and not to the breadth and the diagonal. Vistāra and Karnasūtra, here referred to in connection with the mixed shapes, suggest that, unless explicitly stated, the base of a column of mixed shape will always have a square shape. With respect to the first type of mixed shape, the height of the octagonal portion is said to measure three times the vistāra of the pillar. Nothing has been stated with reference to the portion from above this octagonal super-imposition up to the top, if any portion is so left. In such instances, where the shape is not defined, the shape implied must be taken as square. Concerning the question of ornamentations, the author simply states that the pillars should be adorned with such decorative patterns as the sundodbheda, vrtta etc. 'Sundodbheda' refers to the split bamboo or reed. 'Vicitravitta' probably refers to the different types of Valayas and such other round decorative motifs. Sundodbheda, split bamboo or reed, will be concave in form. The ornamental patterns which are concave and round in design, are characteristic ornaments of circular pillars, and, when applied to them, make the pillars exceedingly handsome to behold. Having thus dealt briefly, but plainly and pointedly, with the theme of shapes and ornamentations, the author in the last quarter of the stanza strikes a general note that reveals the fundamental principle of fine composition. The pillars constructed, says the author, should befit the structure under

construction. When a variety of shapes and ornamentations is presented, it is the primary concern of the architect to select such of those types as would conform to the nature of the structure and express its charac-Thus, if the structure is highly ornate in its character, the ornamentations chosen to adorn the pillar must be of a high quality consistent with the nature of the Prāsāda. More important than ornament is the shape, which constitutes the fundamental basis of classification of the styles of Indian architecture. In the three styles of Indian temple architecture known as Nāgara, Drāvida, and Vesara, differentiation is made from the point of view of shapes and their mixture. . Square characterises the Nagara style, circular the Vesara, and octagonal or hexagonal or many-faceted the Drāvida. Of these the Nāgara is purely square throughout from the basement to the top; but with regard to Drāvida and Vesara, the shapes may be both pure and mixed. it is mixed, the basement is always square. The shape of the Dravida shrine may thus be either purely octagonal or octagonal mixed with square, and the shape of the Vesara temple may be either wholly circular or combined with square. Since in the pure square type and in all mixed types square is uniformly present at the basement, it is generally laid down that the basis of differentiation of a style of temple is the shape In conformity with the principle of composition that of the Sikhara. all parts must agree with the whole, we here observe that the shapes of parts, as implied by the expression 'arabdhagehocitah', must agree with the shape of the whole. The presence of square pillars in a Nagara shrine, of circular or those having a square base and circular superimposition in a Vesara shrine, of octagonal or hexagonal ones or those having a mixed shape of square with octagonal in a Drāvida temple is consistent with the principle of harmony which the qualifying word ' आरम्बरोहोचिता: ' embodies. Variety with respect to shapes of columns was not introduced without any end in view. Its legitimate sourcelies in the fundamental principle of harmony whose note has been struck by the author in more than one context. Variety unfolds, here as elsewhere, types best fitted to emphasise the character of the structure and to mark its particular style of composition.

The treatment by our author of the subject of shapes and ornamentations of columns, when compared with that found in other texts of other writers, is brief, but pointed. Works like the Nibandhana, Mañjarī, Kāśyapaśilpa, Mayamata, Gurudevapaddhati, Mānasāra etc., furnish fuller details and contain the names of the various kinds of pillars. Our author has taken into account a few of the varieties which are more elaborately treated in other works. The types dealt with, though few comparatively, are logically considered and they constitute

the fundamental ones. The names of columns as given in the various treatises, with the exception of a few, are found to vary. The silence of Nārāyana with regard to the nomenclature of the types of columns is particularly significant in view of the latitude enjoyed by all authors. silence has avoided divergence between him writers and on the point of principles on the other found an essential consensus of views. Our author is seen in agreement with other authorities in the matter of fundamentals and in the criteria of classification. He has never failed to take into account what is important from the point of view of the structure. The varieties of columns described in the text, when compared with those described and named in others, bear the following names. That pillar which is wholly square is called 'Brahmakanta' in the Mayamata, Kāśyapaśilpa, Gurudevapaddhati and Mānasāra, while it is called 'Turyaśra' in the Nibandhana and Mañjarī. That which is uniformly octagonal is termed 'Visnukānta' in the Mayamata, Kāśyapaśilpa, Gurudevapaddhati and Mānasāra, whereas in the Nibandhana and Mañjarī it is called 'Sarvāṣṭāśra'. The uniformly sixteen-faced one is called 'Saumya' in the Mayamata, 'Candrakānta' in the Kāśyapaśilpa and Gurudevapaddhati, 'Rudrakānta' in the Mānasāra and 'Şodaśāśra' in the Nibandhana and Mañjarī. The uniformly circular pillar is known as 'Rudrakānta' in the Mayamata, Kāsyapasilpa and Mānasāra, 'Īśakānta' in the Gurudevapaddhati, and 'Vrttapāda' in the Nibandhana and Manjari. With regard to the proportions of mixed shapes, the author is found to closely agree with the authors of the Nibandhana and Mañjarī, and hence the details given in the latter, when quoted, will serve to amplify the statement of our author. In thes column composed of the two shapes square and oc 'Madhyaśra' and square and circular 'mūlāśra.'

# The Mayamata<sup>366</sup> states:—

" कर्णमात्रेण तन्मूले चतुरश्रमितोर्ध्वतः ॥ अष्टाश्रं वा द्विरष्टाश्रवृत्तं पूर्वाश्रमीरितम् । कुम्भमण्डियुतं वापि रुद्रकान्तं सुवृत्तकम् ॥ विस्तारद्विगुणं मध्येऽष्टाश्रयुक्तं युगाश्रकम् । वियुक्तं कुम्भमण्डिभ्यां मध्येऽष्टाश्रं तदुच्यते ॥ चतुरष्टाश्रवृत्तामं रुद्रच्छन्दसमांशतः।"

Gurudeva<sup>367</sup> observes: —

" मूले वेदाश्रकश्चोर्धे षोडशाश्राद्यलङ्कृतः । स्यान्मूलचतुरश्राख्यः पद्मापद्मासनः स्मृतः ॥ मूलान्त्ययोस्तु वेदाश्रो मध्ये अष्टाश्रवलङ्कृतः । वज्रकान्तः स विज्ञेयो मुक्ताखम्भः समौक्तिकः ॥"

Mānasāra is silent with regard to the nomenclature of pillars of mixed shape and he also does not state the proportions of the shaped portions of pillars of mixed shape. He, however, allows that in columns of any shape, pure or hybrid, the base may be square. The seventh variety of pillar described in our text is not purely circular, but round, associated with the broken reed. It is hence treated separately from the point of view of its distinctive decorative motif which enters into the composition of the circular pillar. It is called 'Sundupāda' in the Nibandhana, Mañjarī, Mayamata, Kāśyapaśilpa and Gurudevapaddhati. This type is not found mentioned in the Mānasāra.

From a comparative study of the different nomenclatures adopted by different authors, we observe that the names given in the Mānasāra, Mayamata, Kāśyapaśilpa and Gurudevapaddhati are all adoptions from the mythological literature. The various names thus adopted are indicative of the numerical significance associated with the various names of mythological deities. The names employed by the authors of the Nibandhana and Mañjari, on the other hand, are literally descriptive and convey their primary significance, divorced completely from the whole mythological background. Our writer, in the wake of the authors of the Nibandhana and Mañjarī, is plain and pointed, and in the course of his treatment avoids clash of any kind with the other writers who furnish meticulous details and a host of names which vary often-times in the various treatises. The result of such a line of treatment is that the author becomes one with others in all essentials and fundamentals of the subject. There is clearer apprehension and more lucid definition of form displayed in the treatment of these three authors. In his thesis on 'Indian Architecture' Dr. Acarya compares the Western system with the Indian, and observes that the Indians selected mythological names, because they were "more religious and sentimental than critical in temperament and imagination."368 Truly the Indians were un-

<sup>367.</sup> Isana Gurudevapaddhati, Uttarardha, Patala XXXI, stanzas 27, 28 (T. S. S. Ed.).

<sup>368,</sup> P. K. Ācārya's Thesis on Indian Architecture, page 151.

surpassed in their achievements in the field of religion and mythology. But in their critical and intellectual endowment they never were found lagging behind and suffering in comparison with any other gifted race. Their principles of architecture bear ample testimony to this fact, and in both the theory and practice of the science of architecture there is revealed conscious logical thought, a keen sense of structural propriety and an essential critical judgment. The characteristic mythological bent of the Hindus has not displaced or caused to dwindle the supreme intellectual endowment of the Hindu architects. The line of approach adopted towards the subject of columns by the authors of the Nibandhana and Prayogamañjarī and Tantrasamuccaya is perfectly logical and critical, and the other authorities for the mere reason of their having adopted the mythological names are not found less critical than the western writers in their elucidation of the principles of architecture, born as are these principles out of well-ordered thought.

Other authors like Maya, Kāśyapa, Gurudeva and Mānasāra are more varied and detailed in the classification of columns from the point of view of their different shapes and ornamentations. Thus the Mayamata³69 prescribes the varieties called Brahmakānta, Viṣṇukānta, Indrakānta, Saumya, Rudrakānta, Pūrvāṣṭāśra, Madhyeṣṭāśra—all these from the standpoint of shape; and Padmāsana, Bhadraka, Suṇḍupāda, Piṇḍipāda, Citrakhaṇḍa, Śrīkhaṇḍa, Śrī Vajrastambha and Kṣepaṇastambha—all these on the basis of the dominant ornamental designs which enter into their composition. The following general statement³70 is also laid down in the course of the treatment:—

# " व्यालेभसिंहभूतादिमण्डितं यतु मूरुतः । यथेष्टाकृतिसंयुक्तं तत्तन्नामा समीरितम् ॥''

Gurudeva<sup>371</sup> describes the types known there as Brahmakānta, Viṣṇukānta, Skandakānta or Indrakānta, Bhānukānta, Candrakānta, Īśa-kānta, Rudrakānta, Bhadrakānta, Śuṇḍupāda, Bhiṇḍipāda, Mūla-caturaśra, Padmāsana, Vajrakānta, Muktastambha, Citrakhaṇḍa, Śrī-khaṇḍa, Śrīvajra, Paṭṭakṣepaṇa, Daṇḍapāda, Vajrapāda and Ulūkhala-pāda. Here also a general statement<sup>372</sup> is found:—

" व्यालेभसिंहम्तैस्तु मूले यः परिमण्डितः । इष्टाकारस्तथैवोध्वे तत्तत्कान्ताह्वयो भवेत् ॥ यद्रबश्चित्रितस्तम्भस्तत्तद्वबाह्वयो भवेत ।"

<sup>369.</sup> Mayamata, Ch. XV, stanzas 13-27 (T. S. S. Ed).

<sup>370.</sup> Ibid., St. 20.

<sup>371.</sup> Gurudevapaddhati, Uttarardha, Paṭala XXXI, stanzas 20-32.

<sup>372.</sup> Ibid., 25, 29(1) (T. S. S. Ed.).

Kāśyapa<sup>273</sup> in Paṭala VIII describes the varieties called there by the names Brahmakānta, Viṣṇukānta, Indrakānta, Candrakānta, Rudrakānta, Padmapāduka, Vyālapāduka, Gajapāda, Śuṇḍupāda, Piṇḍipāda, Chatrakhaṇḍa, Śrīvajrastambha, and Kṣepaṇastambha.

In the Mānasāra<sup>374</sup> the columns mentioned according to their shapes are Brahmakānta, Viṣṇukānta, Rudrakānta, Śivakānta, Skandakānta, and according to their ornamentations Citrakaṇṭha, Padmakānta, Citraskambha, Pālikastambha and Kumbhastambha.

In the Matsyapurāṇa<sup>375</sup> and in the Bṛhatsaṃhitā<sup>376</sup> pillars classified according to their shapes are called by a different terminology altogether, the names mentioned being 'Rucaka' for square, 'Vaira' (in Matsya) and 'Vajra' (In BṛhatS) for octagonal, 'Dvivajra' for sixteen-faced, 'Pralīnaka' for thirty-two sided, and 'Vrtta' for circular.

Since it would be extremely tedious to quote here the technical description as supplied by the several authors above mentioned, of the various types in which the several sorts of columns are classified from the points of view of their shapes and adornments, we shall pass them over here, and quote for the purpose of amplification and comparison of details the following lines from the Nibandhana and Mañjarī; for the author's treatment is found closely to agree with the details contained in these two texts:—

The Nibandhana<sup>377</sup> states:—

" पश्चाश्रिजास्त्रयो वृत्तास्तुर्यश्रः पोतिकान्वितः । स्तम्भः साधारणो धाम्नां कुम्भमण्ड्यादिमण्डितः ॥ विस्तारत्रिगुणादूर्ध्वमष्टाश्रस्तावता कृतः । स्तम्भः सपोतिकाकुम्भस्तथा मध्याश्रकः स्मृतः ॥ आमूलतः कृतोऽष्टाश्रः सर्वाष्टाश्रः सपोतिकः । षोडशाश्रिकृतश्चेव वीरकाण्डसमुज्ज्वलः ॥ कुम्भतन्मण्डनैर्युक्तः षोडशाश्रः सपोतिकः ।

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373. Kāśyapaśilpa (Ānandāśrama Series), Paţala VIII.
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Vide A Dictionary of Hindu Architecture, pp. 648-649.

<sup>374.</sup> Mānasāra Chapt. XV, 20-23 (P. K. Ācārya's Ed.).

<sup>375.</sup> Matsyapurāna, Ch. 255, Vs. 1-6.

<sup>376.</sup> Brhatsamhitä, LIII, 27-30.

<sup>377.</sup> Saivāgama Nibandhana, Paṭala XII (Ms. from the Cochin State); vide quotation in the Vimarśinī under St. 24 (Paṭ. 2).

मूले कर्णस्थमानेन चतुरश्रोऽथ वर्तुलः ॥
कुम्भमण्डनसंयुक्तो मूलाश्रश्च सपोतिकः ।
सर्वत्र वर्तुलो युक्तः कलशेन च मण्डनैः ॥
पोतिकासहितो मूर्भि वृत्तपादस्तु कीर्तितः ।
कुम्भमण्डनसंयुक्तो वीरकाण्डस्थपोतिकः ॥
ग्रुण्डभेदसमो वृत्तः ग्रुण्डपाद इति स्मृतः ।"

The Prayogamañjarī<sup>378</sup> makes the following observations:—

<sup>44</sup> पादाः पञ्चकलाश्रजास्मुविहिताः वृत्तास्रयः कीर्तिताः

वक्ष्ये रूक्षणमादरेण विधिवत् प्रत्येकमेषामपि । तुर्यश्रस्त्वथ पोतिकाविनिहितः कुम्भेन मण्डीकृतः

स्तम्भो यलविनिर्मितोऽमृतभुजां साधारणन्धामसु ॥ विस्तारत्रिगुणेन मध्यनिहितं सङ्कल्प्य चाष्टाश्रकं

होनो मुर्फ्सि च पोतिकाविनिहितः कुम्मेन मध्याश्रकः । सर्वाष्टाश्रविनिर्मितस्त्वथ परश्चामूळतः कोमरुः

सर्वाष्टाश्रकपाद एष विहितस्यात् पोतिकापोज्ज्वलः ॥ आमूलाद्य षोडशाश्रविहितः कुम्भेन तन्मण्डनैः

संयुक्तस्वथ वोरकाण्डकितस्यात् षोडशाश्रीकृतः । तुर्यश्रं विनिधाय मूलपिहितं कर्णस्थमानाद(न)तो

वृत्तः कुम्भसमन्वितश्च सकलम्पूलाश्रकः कीर्तितः ॥ सर्वत्र वृत्तः कलशेन युक्तः स्यात् पोतिकाल्यस्त्वथ वृत्तपादः । स्यात् वीरकाण्डेन च ग्रुण्डुमेदसंकाशवृत्तस्त्वथ ग्रुण्डुपादः ॥''

### STANZA 25

# The parts of the Column

The parts of the pillar and their characteristics constitute the subject-matter of this stanza. Five parts are mentioned and they are from the bottom upwards 'Oma,' 'Ghaṭa,' 'Maṇḍi,' 'Vīrakāṇḍa' and 'Potikā.' We shall state here the proportions and features of these parts as des-

cribed in the text. 'Oma' is the pedestal (pītha) of the pillar; its shape is that of the pillar. If the pillar is round, it will also be round; if the pillar is square, it will also be square. It is two Dandas in vistāra and one-fourth of a Danda in height. The Danda here referred to is the top-measure of the pillar.<sup>379</sup> The breadth of the pillar at the summit is employed here as the standard of measure, and this is laid down in a previous statement 'चरणामन्तानोऽन्दण्डः'. The starting unit of measure that is employed in our text is with reference to the breadth of the Uttara. 380 The height of the pillar is determined with reference to this breadth of the Uttara.<sup>381</sup> The breadth of the pillar at the base and at the top is determined with reference to the height of the pillar.<sup>382</sup> The top-measure is employed as a unit or standard of measure to measure the various parts that are described in the present stanza. The part known as 'Ghata' (or Kumbha or Kalaśa) comes above the 'Oma', and it is made in the form of a pot. It is two Dandas in vistāra and one Danda and a quarter in height. The height may also be one and a half or one and three-fourths Dandas. 'Mandi' is a square plank which is placed above the 'Ghata.' It measures four Dandas in vistara and three-fourth of a Danda in thickness. This plank presents a situation for rich carvings such as the floral designs of Padma, wreaths (malya), creature designs like the Nagaphana or serpent-hood. The part known as 'Vīrakāṇḍa' comes above the 'Mandi' and is square in shape. It is one Danda in vistāra, and three-fourth of a Danda in thickness. It is rendered by Rāz by the term 'collerino.' In the Manasara it is termed 'Virakantha' and is called so because it is marked by the neck of a warrior. Above the 'Vīrakānda' and below the 'Uttara' is constructed the known as 'Potikā.' It is three Dandas or five and a half Dandas or four Dandas in length. Its vistāra will be equal to that of the base of the column; and half this vistara will be its height or thickness. From its description it corresponds to what is termed the 'capital' or the crowning member of the column. Of these five parts that have been described above, the first and the last, which constitute the base and the capital, are important from the point of view of their structural function, while the remaining ones are primarily ornamental in their intention. In a Kerala commentary in Ms. form it is stated that the first and the last are indispensable, whereas the remaining ones are optional.

379. See notes under stanza on the breadth of columns:

' चरणाम्रप्रतानोऽत्र दण्डः '

- 380. Tantrasamuccaya, Patala II, Stanza I.
- 381. Tantrasamuccaya, Patala II, Stanza 8.
- 382. Ibid., Stanza 10.

A reference to the description of these parts, as contained in the Nibandhana, Kāśyapaśilpa, Mañjarī, Gurudevapaddhati and others, furnishes ample information on the topic, briefly dealt with in our text.

In the Nibandhana<sup>383</sup> the following lines occur which state the proportions of the various parts of the pillar:—

" स्तम्भमुरुघनाः शैरुा ओमा द्विगुणविस्तराः । तुर्यश्रा मध्यतोगर्ता दण्डपोदेन चोद्गताः ॥ दण्डपादेन तीत्रा च तचतुर्गुणविस्तरा । मण्डिः पद्मविचित्रा च माल्यनागफणाकृतिः ॥ पादोनतीत्रं तुर्यश्रं वीरकाण्डं च दण्डतः । पोतिकास्त्वायता दण्डैः सार्घपञ्चचतुस्त्रिभिः ॥ अर्घत्रिभागपादस्था तिरुः स्याद् दण्दविस्तरा।"

Three kinds of Potikā are found mentioned here known as Citrī, Patrī and Mahārṇavī:—

" पार्श्वयोश्चतुरंशस्थैः तरङ्गैः क्रमशो परैः ।
द्वादशाष्ट्रचतुर्भिश्च समैर्भध्येन चोज्ज्वला ॥
महार्णवीयमाख्याता पत्री चित्री च पोतिका ॥"

Śrīkara, Candrakānta, Manorama, Saumukhya, and Priyadarśana are names of the various types of Ghaṭa described, and these are associated with different shapes such as the circular, octagonal, sixteen-faced, square etc.

In the Manjari<sup>384</sup> it is said:—

" स्तम्भास्तत्र चतुष्करास्सुविहिता .... । ओमां तद्विगुणां तद्र्घंबहलां विस्तारतः स्थापयेत् । .... प्रवदामि भ्यो मण्डेश्च कुम्भस्य च लक्षणानि॥ स्तम्भाम्रमेयो विपुलेन कुम्भस्तस्योच्छ्यस्तद्दलखण्डवृद्धः ।

<sup>383.</sup> Śaivāgama Nibandhana, XIII (Ms. from the Cochin State); these stanzas are quoted in the Vimarśinī of the Tantrasamuccaya, Part I, p. 63 (T. S. S. Ed.).

<sup>384.</sup> Prayōgamañjarī, Paṭala VI (Ms. from the Adyar Library).

स्याच्छ्रीकराख्यस्त्वयमादरेण स्तम्भस्य वृत्तस्य विधीयते हि ॥ अध्यधाँत्सेषघटश्चन्द्रकान्तो मनोरमः । पूर्वाश्रपोखं स्तम्भानां परिकोर्तितः ॥ स्तम्भागविपुरुः कुम्भः पादोनद्विगुणोच्छ्तः । सौमुख्यश्चतुरश्राणामष्टाश्राणां प्रकीर्तितः ॥ द्विगुणोत्सेषकः कुम्भः शस्तोऽयं प्रयदर्शनः । योजयेदतिभारेषु स्तम्भेष्वेनं विचक्षणः ॥ रन्धैर्विभज्य करुशोच्छ्यमंशकेन

कुर्याद्धराश्च कलशं विधिवचतुर्मिः । एकेन कण्ठमपरेण मुखं विद्ध्यात्

शिष्टद्वयेन कमलन्त्वथ हीरको च ॥
स्तम्भस्य नाहः द्विगुणस्तु नाहः कुम्भस्य पादोनकमस्य वक्ते ।
मुक्तवा त्रिभागं कमले तु नाहमष्टांशहीनावथ वृत्तहीरौ ॥
पादायकर्णेन मितस्तु कन्दः कुम्भस्य विस्तारमितास्तु माल्याः ।
मण्डेस्तु तीत्रञ्चतुरंशहीनञ्चतुर्गुणं विस्तरतोऽप्रपादात् ॥
माल्याकृतिर्नागफणाकृतिर्वा पद्मे विचित्रा त्रिविधा प्रशस्ता ।
दण्डप्रमाणन्त्वथ वोरकाण्डं पादोनतीत्रं विदधीत सम्यक् ॥
पञ्चधिदण्डैविहितोत्तमा स्याद दण्डैश्चतुर्भिस्त्वथ मध्यमा स्यात् ।
दण्डैश्चिभिकन्यसपोतिका स्यात् पादाप्रविष्कम्भमुशन्ति दण्डम् ॥
पादं त्रिभागं च तले प्रमाणमधे च पादोपमिवस्तृताः स्युः ।
चित्रो च पत्रो च महार्णवी च ज्ञेयाः त्रिधा श्रेष्ठविमानयुक्ताः ॥
भागे तृतीये रुचिराणि कुर्यात् पार्श्वद्वये स्युः क्रमशोवराणि ।
भूयस्तरङ्गाणि समानि सम्यक् मित्रान्तमम्भोधिजघन्यमेव ॥
विस्तारपादेन मितं विधाय पूर्व तरङ्गे विधिवत्ततोऽपि ।
अष्टांशहीनानि यथाक्रमेण प्रत्येकमेषामवरत्वमेवम् ॥''

Kāśyapa<sup>385</sup> devotes about 37 stanzas to the description of the different parts of the pillars, and the proportions stated there support the author's prescription. Kāśyapa deals with the parts from top down-

wards. The following lines may be noted which treat of  $Bodhik\bar{a}$  or  $Potik\bar{a}$ , the Capital:—

" विस्तारसदृशोत्सेधाः पश्चदण्डायतान्विताः ॥ उत्तमाः पोतिकाः ख्यातास्तारद्विञ्यंशमुत्रताः । चतुर्दण्डायतोपेता मध्यमा सा प्रकीर्तिता ॥ विस्तारस्याधेतुङ्गा तु गुणदण्डायतान्विता । कन्यसा पोतिका ख्याता .... ॥ मूलपादसमञ्यासा श्रेष्ठा मध्ये तु मध्यमा । अग्रपादविशालस्य समा कन्यसपोतिका ॥" 886

Kāśyapa next furnishes ornamental and other details connected with the Bodhikā. About Vīrakāṇḍa the following lines are found stated:—

" बोधिकायास्तथामं तु वीरकण्ठयुगामकम् । अम्रपादसमं तच त्रिपादं तुङ्गमुच्यते ॥ १९ ॥ सर्वेषामपि पादानां वीरकण्ठयुगाश्रकम् । अधस्ताद्वीरकण्ठं स्यात्फिलकालक्षणं शृणु ॥ २० ॥"

Mandiphalakā is described then:-

" अथ वक्ष्ये विशेषेण फिलकानां तु लक्षणम् । त्रिदण्डं फिलकाव्यासं कन्यासार्धाधिकं समम् ॥ २१ ॥ चतुर्दण्डविशालं तु उत्तमा लम्भका भवेत् । अथवा फलकाव्यासं कुम्भकणं समं भवेत् ॥ २२ ॥ सर्वेषां फलकानां तु तुङ्गं पादोनदण्डकम् । तदुत्सेषं त्रिधा भज्य ऊर्ध्वं सो(तत्सं)न्धिरुच्यते ॥ २३ ॥ तथाथो(ऽधों)पेतमेकांशं तस्याधस्त्वम्बुजांशकम् । नगपत्रसमाकारमपेतोपादरूपकम् ॥ २४ ॥"

About Ghata it is observed: —

" फलकमेव कर्तव्यं तस्याधस्तात् घटं कुरु ॥ २५ ॥ द्विदण्डं पादहीनं वा साधदण्डमथापि वा ।

<sup>386.</sup> Quoted from the Vimarśini; with slight differences in readings, this text occurs in the Anandāśrama Edition of the Kāśyapaśilpa, IX, 2(2), 3, 4, 1(2), 2(1).

सपाददण्डतुङ्गं वा घटोचं तु चतुर्विधम् ॥ २६॥ प्रियदर्शनं सौम्यं च चन्द्रकान्तं च श्रीकरम् । यथाक्रमेण नोमानि कलशानां क्रमादितः॥ २७॥"

etc.

etc.

etc.387

The Mayamata<sup>388</sup> mentions four types of Kumbha, called 'Śrī-kara,' 'Candrakānta,' 'Saumukhya' and 'Priyadarśana.' Thus says Maya:—

" सपादं सार्घपादोनद्विगुणं द्विगुणोन्नतम् ॥ २९ ॥ श्रीकरं चन्द्रकान्तं च सौमुख्यं प्रियदर्शनम् । यथाक्रमेण नामानि कल्रशानां मवन्ति हि ॥ ३० ॥"

The proportions of parts that compose the Kumbha are given in stanzas 32 and 33. Vīrakāṇḍa, it is stated there, is square in all pillars:—

सर्वेषामि पादानां वीरकाण्डं युगाश्रकम् ॥ ३७ ॥"

The part Potikā must be present in all pillars:-

" सर्वे पोतिकया युक्ता नानारूपैर्विचित्रिताः॥"

From the topmost part downwards the author of the Mayamata enumerates the parts as follows:—

" पोतिका खण्डमध्यं च कुम्भं स्कन्धं च पद्मकम् । मालास्थानं क्रमेणैव स्तम्भाग्रात् परिकल्पयेत् ॥ ३१ ॥"

According to its dimensions, the  $Potik\bar{a}$  is classified into the best, middling and lowest type:—

" पश्चदण्डसमायामा श्रेष्ठाघोँचा कनिष्ठिका । आयता सा त्रिदण्डेन चतुर्दण्डेन (दिर्थका?) ॥ ४०॥ त्रिमागोना त्रिपादोचा मध्यमा पोतिका भवेत् ।''

<sup>387.</sup> Kāšyapašilpa (Ānandāśrama Series), IX, 19-27.

<sup>388.</sup> Mayamata, Chapter XV, Sts. 29(2), 30 (T. S. S. Ed.).

The three varieties of *Potikā* according to their ornamental features are described as follows:—

"पार्श्वयोः पोतिकामध्ये पट्टं पादिवशास्त्रवत् । नानाचित्रैर्विचित्रा वा सा प्रोक्ता चित्रपोतिका ॥ ४८ ॥ पत्रैर्विचित्रिता पत्रपोतिकेति प्रकीर्तिता । महार्णवतरङ्गाभतरङ्गाभा तरङ्गिणी ॥ ४९ ॥"

Gurudeva<sup>389</sup> also elaborately deals with the various parts of pillars and their ornamentations. With regard to *Kumbha* etc., he observes as follows:—

" कुम्भाः स्यः पादविष्कम्भाश्चतुर्थोशाधिकास्त वा । साध्यर्धाः पोदहीना वा द्विगुणा वा भवन्ति हि ॥ ४९ ॥ श्रीकरश्चन्द्रकान्तश्च सौमुख्यः प्रियदर्शनः । इति कुम्भाश्चतुर्घा स्युर्वतानां श्रीकरो भवेत् ॥ ५० ॥ अष्टाश्राणां चन्द्रकान्तः श्रीकरःस्यात् कलाश्रके । स्तम्भानां चतुरश्राणां सौमुख्यः कुम्भ इप्यते ॥ ५१ ॥ शेषाणां चातिभाराणां कम्भः स्यात प्रियदर्शनः । कम्भभागे नवांशे त धृगेकेन विधीयते॥ ५२॥ चतुर्भिः कुम्भ एव स्यात् कण्ठोऽशेनांशतो मुखम् । शिष्टभागद्वयं त्र्यंशं कृत्वैकेनाम्बजं भवेत् ॥ ५३ ॥ भागेन वृत्तं शिष्टांशादर्धं कण्ठे त भिन्नको । स्तम्भाग्रकर्णमार्गेण स्कन्धः स्यात समविस्ततः ॥ ५४ ॥ कर्ध्वे तद्वीरकाण्डस्य पोतिकां त निवेशयेत । स्तम्भव्यासात् त्रिगुणितं चतुर्गुणमथापि वा ॥ ५५ ॥ मण्ड्यायामः स्मृतोऽङ्घ्रघप्रसमो वेष्विवधभागतः । मण्डग्रत्सेघो भवेत् तावान् वीरकाण्डस्य चोच्छ्यः ॥ ५६ ॥ विस्तारो दण्डमात्रः स्यादथ मण्ड्याः शरांशतः । सार्धेन फलकास्थील्यं तत्समो वेत्रनिर्गमः ॥ ५७ ॥ मण्डघुत्पलदलाकारा पाल्याकाराञ्जपत्रवत् ।

<sup>389.</sup> Išāna Gurudevapaddhati, Kriyāpāda, Stambhālankāra, Paṭala XXXI, Sts. 37-74 (T. S. S. Ed.).

ताम्बूळसमसौन्दर्यं यजमानसुखावहम् ॥ ५८ ॥ विपरीतं विरूपं च वर्ज्यं तदशुमं यतः । अथवा स्यात् प्रकारोऽन्यो धृकण्ठापादिवस्तृतिः ॥ ५९ ॥ पोतिकाखण्डमण्डीनि कुम्भं लशुनमूलकम् । अम्भोजमालास्थानानि स्तम्भाग्ने योजयेत् क्रमात् ॥ ६० ॥ अमहीनं तु लशुनं मूलोचं विपुलं भवेत् । साष्टांशाधिकमधं वा त्रिपादोदयमम्बुजम् ॥ ६१ ॥ मालस्थानविशालोचं दण्डमात्रं नियोजयेत् । मण्ड्यायामो भवेत् पादात् त्रिगुणो वा चतुर्गुणः ॥ ६२ ॥ स्तम्भाग्रतुल्यं मण्डयुचं पञ्चभागोनमेव वा। त्रिभरंशैस्त्रिपादैर्वा वीरकाण्डश्च तत्समः ॥ ६३ ॥ मण्ड्युत्सेधशरांशेन सार्धांशः फलकोच्छ्यः । वेत्रं च तत्समं ज्ञेयं मण्डयुत्सेधोपपादकम् ॥ ६४ ॥ पाल्याकारं तु पद्माभं त्रिधा नागदलोपमम् । तदृध्वं पोतिका स्थाप्या तस्या लक्षणमुच्यते ॥ ६५ ॥ १५ ॥ तदृध्वं पोतिका स्थाप्या तस्या लक्षणमुच्यते ॥ ६५ ॥ १०

The nīca (lowest), madhya (middling) and uttama (best) types of Potikā are then described:—

" सा च स्यात् स्तम्भविस्तारात् त्रिगुणं वा चतुर्गुणम् । दीर्घा पश्चगुणं वापि नीचमध्योत्तमा स्मृता ॥ ६६ ॥ नागवृत्ता पत्रचित्रा समुद्रोर्मिश्च पोतिका । त्रिविधा नामभिर्ज्ञेयास्तासां रुक्षणमुच्यते ॥ ६७ ॥ स्तम्भव्याससमोत्सेधविस्तारा श्रेष्ठपोतिका । शरांशोना मध्यमा स्यादृनद्वश्चंशा कनिष्ठिका ॥ ६८ ॥"

The Potikā, known as 'Citrapotikā,' is so called because it is decorated with figures of demons, crocodiles, fabulous animals such as the Vyāla, foliages, rows of gems and the like. The second decorative type of Potikā, known as 'Patrapotikā,' is ornamented by patterns of leaves and creepers, and the third type, called 'Taranginā, is adorned with tarangas' or wave-like ornaments which terminate by a number of undulating lines.

The following stanzas from Gurudeva describe these three types in clear and distinct terms:—

" भूतेममकरव्यालरलबन्धविचित्रिता । विश्वामित्रापट्टा च सा स्थाता चित्रपोतिका ॥ ६९ ॥ केवलं पत्रवल्लीमिर्विचित्रा पत्रपोतिका । तरक्रमात्रचित्रा या पोतिका स्थात् तरिक्रणो ॥ ७० ॥ तरक्राश्चात्र वेदर्जुवस्वाशादित्यसंस्थ्यया । कार्यास्तूभयतस्तुल्याः पिट्टकाच्छत्रमध्यगाः ॥ ७१ ॥ त्रिभागे पोतिकोत्सेषे सा(ध्यं १ धाँ)शेनामपट्टकम् । तद्धधिन तद्धः क्षेमच्छायान्वितं भवेत् ॥ ७२ ॥ तदुचार्धात् त्रिभिवींशैरंशाभ्यां वात्र कल्पयेत् । स्वव्यासार्धात् त्रिपादाद् वा कुर्यात् तास्वममण्डनम् ॥ ७३ ॥"

A very elaborate and lengthy description of the parts of the pillar, the proportions of the ornaments that enter into the composition of the pillar, is given in the  $M\bar{a}nas\bar{a}ra^{390}$  in the Chapter on 'Pillars.' The description is minute. The texts quoted above, when compared with the  $M\bar{a}nas\bar{a}ra$ , appear more concise, clear and well marked and less tedious to follow. In the manner of treatment they agree more closely with our text than with the  $M\bar{a}nas\bar{a}ra$ .

The five names Śrīkara, Candrakānta, Saumukhya, Priyadarśana and Śubhańkarī which Dr. Acārya quotes in his Dictionary<sup>391</sup> of Hindu Architecture and in his Essay on Indian Architecture<sup>392</sup> are not names of whole pillars as Dr. Ācārya would have us believe, but names of the part known as Kumbha or Ghaṭa. Thus observe the statement of the Suprabhedāgama<sup>393</sup>:—

" श्रोकरं चन्द्रकान्तं च सौमुख्यं प्रियदर्शनम् ॥ ६५ ॥ ग्रुभङ्करी च नामानि कर्तव्यानि विशेषतः । श्रीकरं वृत्तपादानां षोडशास्त्रे तु कान्तकम् ॥ ६६ ॥ सौमुख्यं हि तथाष्टास्रो तुर्यामे प्रियदर्शनम् ।"

<sup>390.</sup> Mānasāra, Chapter XV (P. K. Ācārya's Ed.).

<sup>391.</sup> A Dictionary of Hindu Architecture, vide under 'Stambha.'

<sup>392.</sup> Indian Architecture by Acarya, pages 125, 126, 150.

<sup>393.</sup> Suprabhedāgama, XXXI, 65, 66, 67 (quoted in A Dictionary of Hindu Architecture, pp. 646, 647).

From this description it is obvious that Śrīkara, etc., are prescribed for pillars of different shapes such as the circular etc. These names hence refer to the part of the pillar; they refer to the five different classes of 'Kumbha;' they do not stand to indicate the various classes of pillars. The texts we have quoted above also confirm the fact we have here observed.

### STANZA 26.

## The Disposition of the Doors.

In this stanza, the author describes the location of the main door and the false doors. By the main door we mean the door of the sanctum sanctorum, which, when opened, presents a full view of the deity seated in the Holy of Holies. Having divided the thickness of the wall into twelve parts, a line must be drawn leaving five parts outside and seven parts inside, and the door should be so situated that the middle of the door must coincide with the line drawn in the wall. There should be one front-door, and three doors on the three sides. These doors must come above the Prati, the topmost moulding of the basement. The doors placed must not exactly come in the middle of the facade; their centre must not coincide with the centre of the Garbhagrha. In their situation, they should be slightly shifted from the centre of the Garbhagrha, in order to avoid what is known as 'Marmavedha.' The amount of shifting, as given in some authority, is stated by the commentator Sankara as follows:—The breadth of the front-door having been divided into twenty-one parts, one part thereof may be left to the left side from the middle, and the centre of the door should be brought here and thus the front door must be placed. The remaining three doors are situated in a circumambulatory direction and with regard to the amount of shifting prescribed, the proportion given is  $\frac{1}{3}$ 6,  $\frac{1}{6}$ 4 and  $\frac{1}{8}$ 1 of the breadth of the respective doors in order or in all the three cases, the proportion of shifting may be taken as  $\frac{1}{36}$  or  $\frac{1}{64}$  or  $\frac{1}{81}$  of the breadth of the respective door. Of the four doors, the door proper which serves as the means of entrance is the front door and it is the real door. The other three are false doors, and are called 'Ghanadvāras.' They are described in a subsequent stanza. They do not serve the function which the main door serves and are smaller in their dimension than the main door. They are ornamental in their character, and besides possessing all the ornamental details of the main door, they are additionally decorated with Toranas in their upper parts. Toranas do not figure in the main door, and they thus form the special feature of the Ghanadvāras. The real door, it is stated, must be made of wood, and this is natural, since it is required to be made and situated before the wall is made. In the traditional mode of construction, when wood was the chief material used, all the doors and walls were necessarily made of wood. But in later times, when stone came into vogue, the wall and the false doors also were constructed out of stone. Gurudeva states that Ghanadvāras are wrought on the wall, and that they are made of the same material stone. In their office and situation, they differ from the real door, which is made of wood and made first. They are reduced to decorative elements adorning the three sides of the wall. The author of the Tantrasamuccaya, however, does not state that the Ghanadvāras should be wrought on the wall. He describes them before he starts to describe the wall, and from this tenor of treatment, it would appear that the doors are to be constructed first, before the walls are constructed. In this case, the false doors too, it might be presumed, are required to be made of timber. This line of treatment is in the original and traditional wake, but in actual practice this is not the case; for, when stone came to be employed in the construction of the wall, the false doors also came to be wrought in the wall, and their construction necessarily follows the construction of the wall. A Malayalam commentator on the Tantrasamuccaya<sup>394</sup> thus remarks in the light of the modern practice, that the Ghanadvāras are to be distinguished from the real door in that they are wrought in the wall and made of the material employed in the construction of the wall, whereas the real door is made of timber and situated before the walls are constructed.

By way of comparison, the following lines, which support our author's statement, are found quoted in the commentary by Sankara:—

" योगं तु स्थापयेद् विप्र! शान्तिहोमपुरःसरम् । भित्तिव्यासे तु भान्वंशे बाह्यात् पश्चावसानकम् ॥ अभ्यन्तरात् तु सप्तांशसमं योगस्य मध्यमम् ।" " मुह्नेते स्थापयेद् विद्वान् मध्यान्मध्यं विमुच्य च ।"

Gurudeva<sup>396</sup> says:—

# " सर्वत्र प्रत्युपर्येव द्वारं कुर्याद् विचक्षणः।"

<sup>394.</sup> Ms. R. No. 4, 128, The Government Oriental Mss. Library, Madras.

<sup>395.</sup> These lines with slight changes in reading are found in the Kāśyapaśilpa (Ānandāśrama Series), Paṭala XIV, Sts. 14, 15(1).

<sup>396.</sup> Gurudevapaddhati, Uttarardha, XXXI, 138, 139 (T. S. S. Ed.).

" उत्थाय तल्पं संस्थाप्य भित्तेर्व्यासार्कभागतः ॥ बहिरन्तः शरांशान्तं रामांशान्तं क्रमेण तु । कवाटयोगमध्यं स्थात् तन्मध्यं भित्तिमध्यकम् ॥"

The Mayamata<sup>397</sup> observes:—

" भित्तिन्यासे द्वादशांशे तु बाह्ये
पञ्चांशान्तद्वारयोगस्य मध्यम् ।
तद्वज्ञान्तः स्तम्भमध्यं तयोस्तनमध्यं प्रोक्तं भित्तिमध्यं विधिज्ञैः ॥"

Sankara also quotes the following lines:-

'' स्वव्यासमूर्छाष्ट्रतियुब्बद्धन्द्वेन्दुगजांशकैः । द्वारं प्रदक्षिणश्चाल्यां स्वेष्वेकेनैव वा घनाः (१)<sup>398</sup> ॥''

## STANZA 27.

The Height and Breadth of the Bimbadvara.

The author now proceeds to lay down the rules pertaining to the dimensions of the doorway. The height and breadth prescribed are those of the main door, which is the front door. Different dimensions are prescribed on the basis of difference in the conception of the object worshipped. In the present stanza the author deals with the height and breadth of the doorway of the Garbhagrha which contains a Bimba or image. The conception of Bimba is anthropomorphic in character and this is to be distinguished from the purely symbolic conception of a Linga. When the deity is worshipped in anthropomorphic form, it is called Bimba, and when worshipped in the purely symbolic form it is known as Linga. The height and breadth of the doorway is separately laid down with reference to this differentiation in the form of the object of worship. The height of the main door of a Linga shrine as stated here, is  $\frac{7}{11}$ ,  $\frac{5}{8}$ ,  $\frac{7}{12}$ ,  $\frac{4}{12}$ , or  $\frac{8}{15}$  of the vistāra (breadth) of the Garbhagrha

<sup>397.</sup> Mayamata, Chapter XIX, st. 22 (T. S. S. Ed.).

<sup>398.</sup> Tantrasamuccaya with Vimarsini, Part I, page 64 (T. S. S. Ed.).

while its breadth is  $^{1}\%_{19}$ ,  $^{9}\%_{19}$ ,  $^{9}\%_{13}$  or  $^{4}\%_{9}$  of the height of the door. The breadth of the Garbhagrha referred to here is to be understood as the breadth of the sanctum sanctorum which is marked by the walls, by inner wall (Antarabhitti) if such inner wall exists. The proportions given here are supported by the authoritative statements of Bhāskara, an architectural authority found quoted in the commentary of Saṅkara. The statement runs thus:—

" प्रतिमाद्वारमानं तु गर्भागारेण चोच्यते ।

एकादशात् सप्तोत्सेघमेकविंशाद् दशिवस्तरम् ॥

अष्टांशे पश्चभागोचं नवदशे नविक्तारम् ।

द्वादशांशे सप्तोत्सेघं त्रिपञ्चे सप्तिविस्तरम् ॥

सप्तभागे चतुष्कोचं त्रयोदशे षड्विस्तरम् ।

तिथिभक्तेऽष्टसंख्योचं नवभक्ते चतुर्विस्तरम् अ
॥""

#### STANZA 28.

The Height and Breadth of the Lingadvāra.

If a Linga is to be installed, the height and breadth of the front door will have different proportions altogether. The present stanza deals with such proportions. The height of the front door of a Linga shrine may be  $\frac{2}{3}$ ,  $\frac{3}{5}$ ,  $\frac{5}{9}$  or  $\frac{1}{2}$  of the breadth of the Garbhagrha, while its vistāra (breadth) will be  $\frac{1}{2}$ ,  $\frac{8}{17}$ ,  $\frac{5}{11}$  or  $\frac{3}{7}$  of its height. These proportions are in the line of Bhāskara's statement which is quoted by Sankara as follows:—

" अथ तद् द्वारमानं तु गर्भागारेण चोच्यते । त्रिभागद्वयमुत्सेघमुत्सेघार्षं तु विस्तरम् ॥ पश्चभागत्रिभागोचं सप्तदशाष्ट्रविस्तरम् । नवांशात् पश्चोत्सेघं दशैकांशात् पश्चविस्तरम् ॥ विस्तारार्धं कनिष्ठोचं सप्तभागं त्रिविस्तरम् । गर्भागारप्रमाणेन लिक्कद्वारस्य मानकम् 400 ॥"

<sup>399.</sup> Vide the Tantrasamuccaya with Vimarśini, Part I, page 65 (T. S. S. Ed.). 400. Ibid.

Since the alternatives given in both the cases of height and breadth agree in number and order, it might be presumed that the first alternative in height goes together with the first alternative in breadth. The tenor of Bhāskara's statement lends support to this suggestion, for his first alternative in breadth is found stated along with the first alternative in height, the second alternative in breadth with the second alternative in height and so on in order. The proportions given in the Mañjarī and Nibandhana for the height of the Dvāra are ¾3, ¾5, and ¾ of the breadth of the Garbhagrha, and those prescribed in the Gurudevapaddhati are ½2, ¾3, and ¾5. With regard to the breadth of the door-way, all the three authors prescribe only one proportion and that is half the height of the door-way. This is a very reasonable and a common proportion. Mānasāra does not fail to notice and state this widely and commonly accepted proportion, for says he<sup>401</sup>:—

" सर्वेषां द्वारतुङ्गार्धं ग्रुद्धद्वारविशालकम् ।" " विस्ताराद् द्विगुणोत्सेधं सामान्यमिति कथ्यते ॥"

In the variety of proportions laid down in the Tantrasamuccaya, Gurudevapaddhati, Mañjarī, Bhāskarīya and Mānasāra with respect to the measure of the door, especially with regard to the breadth thereof, there is noticeable a general consensus of opinion.

Compare for instance the Manjari402 which states as follows:-

" भागद्वयं त्रिभजिते पृथगार्भगेहे

मृतैश्च विह्रियवा नविभश्च पश्च ।

द्वारोच्छ्यश्च विद्धीत यथाक्रमेण
विस्तारमर्धपरिमेयमतो विद्ध्यात् ॥"

The Nibandhana similarly observes:-

" त्रिपञ्चनविभागे भङ्क्तवा यैद्धित्रिपञ्चभिः।
कुर्यात्तदर्धेन त विस्तर .... .... <sup>403</sup> ॥"

<sup>401.</sup> Mānasāra, Text, Ch. XXXIX, lines 13, 35 (P. K. Ācārya's Edition).

<sup>402.</sup> Prayōgamañjari, Paṭala VI (Ms. from the Adyar Library).

<sup>403.</sup> Śaiwāgama Nibandhana (Ms. from Tripunittura, Cochin State), Paṭala XIII.

Gurudeva also states similar proportions in the following statement:-

" तद्वन्नान्नीगृहन्यासरामभागैकभागतः । अर्ध नवांशे पश्चांशैः पञ्चांशेवांशकैस्त्रिभिः ॥ द्वारोत्सेधो भवेत् तस्मादर्ध विस्तृतिरिष्यते ॥''etc. 404

The rules that the *Mānasāra* states with regard to the door-measure are first laid down with reference to the Hasta measure and then with reference to the pillar-measure, and lastly in relation to the measure of the structure.

### STANZA 29.

An alternative measure of the door and the characteristics of the Jambs, etc.

In the former half of this verse, the author lays down the measure of the door from the point of view of the pillar, and this measure prescribed refers to the door of the shrine of all gods. The height of the door which is stated here is %, %, or  $\%_{10}$  of the height of the pillar, and its breadth prescribed is half that of its height. Gurudeva, Maya, Kāśyapa, Mānasāra, all these authorities prescribe the height of the door from the point of view of the height of the pillars. Thus Gurudeva observes:—

" स्तम्भायामे तु दिङ्नन्दवसुसप्तांशके क्रमात् ॥ नन्दवस्वृषिषङ्भागैद्वारित्सेघं प्रकल्पयेत् । तदर्घविस्तृतं च स्याद् द्वारं देवाळयेषु वै <sup>405</sup>॥"

These proportions agree with the text of the Tantrasamuccaya. The Mayamata<sup>406</sup> likewise states:—

" पादोत्सेषे पङ्क्तिनन्दाष्टमारे द्वारोत्सेषं तत्तदेकांशहीनम् । विस्तारं स्यात् तत्तदुचार्षमानं द्वारं कुर्याद्धम्यमध्ये नृपाणाम् ॥

<sup>404.</sup> Gurudeva Paddhati (T. S. S. Ed.), Uttarardha, Patala XXXI, sts. 104, etc.

<sup>405.</sup> Ibid., 102, 103.

<sup>406.</sup> Mayamata, (T. S. S. Ed.), Ch. XIX, St. 20; Ch. XXX, St. 10.

स्तम्भायामाष्टमागेन तुङ्गद्वारं सुरारुये । नन्दपङ्त्तयंशहीनं वा विस्तारं स्यात् तदर्धतः ॥''

The Kāśyapaśilpa407 states:—

" पादोचं दशधा भज्य शुद्धद्वारं नवांशकम् ॥ चरणं नवधा भज्य अष्टांशं द्वारमानकम् । अथवाऽङ्घिस्तु तुङ्गं तु वसुभागविभाजिते ॥ सप्तमं द्वारमानं तु .... !"

The Mānasāra408 states:-

'' अथवा द्वारमुख्यानां हर्म्थपादिमहो(वशादु)च्यते ॥ तत्तत्पादोदये वाथ वसुनन्ददशांशकैः । तत्त्वदेकांशहीनं स्याद् द्वारतुङ्गमिति स्मृतम् ॥ तद्धे विस्तृतं प्रोक्तम् .... ॥"

In the previous stanzas the dimensions, as we have noticed already, were prescribed in relation to the breadth of the Garbhagrha. The breadth of the Garbhagrha, as we have seen, is the same as the breadth of the Uttara, which forms the starting-point of measure. The height of the pillar is also determined with reference to the breadth of the Uttara. The dimensions which the author here lays down with reference to the height of the pillar, if further considered, reveal only another variation of the previous and original line of determining the measure with reference to the breadth of the Garbhagrha. A comparison of the proportions set forth in the text with those laid down elsewhere only unfolds the identical mode of treatment which the several authors followed and the consensus of opinion they arrived at with respect to the principles of dimensions.

In the latter half of the stanza the author describes the measure and characteristics of Yogas or door-posts, Bhuvangama or the foot-rest (i.e., the lower horizontal part of the door-frame), and Patanga or the lintel (the upper part of the door-frame). Bhuvangama and Patanga are fixed at the foot and at the top, between the two door-posts (jambs). 'Yogas' as described in the Vivarana are two pieces of timber planted on the

<sup>407.</sup> Kāisyapasilpa (Ānandāśrama Series), XIV, 1(2), 2, 3; Also vide XVII, 1, 2.

<sup>408.</sup> Mānasāra, Ch. XXXIX, lines 14-17. (P. K. Ācārya's Ed.).

two sides, and 'Bhuvangama' is the piece placed at the base, between the two door-posts. Thus it is stated 409:—

"योगो द्वारपार्श्वयोरघ उपरि च स्थाप्यो दण्डो ह्यपूर्वमुक्तः । तत्र भुवङ्गमः कार्यः। अयमधस्ताद्योगयोर्मध्ये शाययितन्यः '.... ।"

The breadth of the door-posts is also laid down with reference to the pillar-measure. The vistāra of the Yogas (door-posts) according to the prescription of the author, is the same as, or one and a quarter or one and a half times that of the vistāra of the pillar, while its thickness will be half of its vistāra. The significance of the latter two alternatives, which give a larger proportion to the breadth of the door-post, is not clear. The proportion, however, is agreed upon by other authorities like Gurudeva, Kāśyapa and Maya.

Thus Gurudeva410 says:—

" सपादपादविस्तारस्तद्भेबहरूो दृढः ॥ कवाटयोगस्तत्पार्श्वे वाजनं पूर्ववद् भवेत् ।"

Kāśyapa<sup>411</sup> observes:—

" पादविष्कम्भमानं वा सपादं सार्धमेव वा ॥ द्वारयोगस्य विस्तारं तस्यार्धे घनमुच्यते।"

Maya<sup>412</sup> states:—

" योगव्यासं पादविष्कम्भमानं पादाधिक्यं वा तदर्धे त्रिपादम् । बाहुल्यं स्यादुच्छ्र्यं वेदभागे बाह्ये साब्जक्षेपणं तित्रभागैः॥ विपादपादविस्तारा साधीं वा योगविस्तरा॥ स्तम्भव्याससमो वापि तदर्थं [धी] वल्रयं [द्वय] द्धनम् (१)। त्रिपादं चोत्तराधस्था .... न्तस्य वाजनम् ॥"

The proportions prescribed in the above stanzas evidently lay emphasis on the strength, stability and importance of the door in a temple,

<sup>409.</sup> Tantrasamuccayavivarana, Ms. R. No. 1994, Government Oriental Mss. Library, Madras.

<sup>410.</sup> Quoted from the Vimarśini (Tantrasamuccaya, Part I, T. S. S. Ed., p. 66).

<sup>411.</sup> Kāśyapaśilpa (Ānandāśrama Series), vide XVII, 6(2), 7(1); Vimarśinī (T. S. S. Ed.) Part I, p. 67.

<sup>412.</sup> Mayamata (T. S. S. Ed.)., XIX, 21; XXX, 11, 12.

for the door plays an important and chief part in the protection of the riches contained inside the sanctum sanctorum. The front side of the door-posts are required to be adorned with such ornaments as the Vājana etc.

#### STANZA 30.

## Bhuvangama and Patanga.

In this stanza the author prescribes the dimensions of the lower plate called Bhuvangama and the upper plate called Patanga, whose location has been described in the previous stanza as at the base and top respectively of the door-posts. The dimension of the Bhuvangama is now first stated in this verse. It is directed as follows: Deduct the height of the door from the height of the pillar and divide the result into five parts. Two parts thereof will constitute the thickness of the Bhuvangama (foot-plate). Or, if the result is divided into nine parts, two and a half parts may be allotted to the thickness of the Bhuvangama. Its breadth will be as much as that of the door-post. This breadth is technical in proportion and it must be understood as exclusive of the projection which is essentially given to the upper and lower Pattika of the door with a view to providing situation for fixing up of the Nala and Sikhā of the door-leaves. The parts that are left, namely \% in the first alternative and 6½/9 in the second alternative, are devoted to the thickness of the upper piece Patanga together with the ornamental plank that is placed over it. Bhuvangama will be devoid of the ornament Vājana. Patanga will be accompanied by the ornamental plank Mangalaphalakā. This plank is so-called because it bears auspicious figures like that of Gaja Laksmī. Gaja Laksmī is the Goddess sitting in a full-blown lotus and laved by two white elephants on either side. The sacred water that is poured over Her head is from a lotus-pond. This figure of Laksmi is depicted and carved on the external door of Indian temples and plays a very prominent part in the rich repertory of India's architectural ornament. This representation is believed to be extremely auspicious and supremely beautiful. The Vivaranakāra remarks that this plank mangalaphalakā is to be situated below the Uttara.

Says he:—

" फलकेति उत्तरादघोऽयमल**क्वा**रः<sup>418</sup>।"

413. Tantrasamuccaya Vivarana, R. No. 1994, G.O.M.L., Madras.

Compare the statement of Gurudeva<sup>414</sup>:—

" द्वारोचरोषे पद्यांरो भवेदंशद्वयं त्वधः ॥

#### STANZA 31.

## The Panels.

In this verse, the author lays down the dimensions of Kavātas (the The thickness of the door-leaf will be one-fourth or onesixth or one-eighth of the Danda (Danda = the breadth of the pillar at the top). Its breadth will be half of the breadth of the door plus It must have two projections, one called Nala at the base, and the other called Sikhā at the top. These projections are made to enter the cavity at the base and top of the Bhuvangama and Patanga respectively. They thus serve to secure the door-plates into the lower and upper Pattikas of the door-frame. Two leaves are to be made of timber which is firm and durable. On the outer side of the left panel should be fixed what is known as 'Sūtraphalakā.' The left leaf is to be determined with reference to the left side of the image. The proportions concerning the thickness and breadth and the ornamentation of the Sūtraphalakā are next described. The thickness of the Sūtraphalakā will be half of the thickness of the Kavāṭa, and its breadth will be twice the thickness (of the Kavāṭa). This Sūtraphalakā when fixed to the left panel, adds to the strength of the door and affords protection to the panel-joint. Hence it is termed the Sandhiphalakā. is adorned with such ornamentations as the bulging breasts. ornamentations like the Vajana come in the interspace between the protruding breast-ornaments. The breast-motif is a common motif, a characteristic door-ornament. Kāśyapa calls Sūtrapaţţikā by the name Dvārapattikā and states its proportions, etc., as follows:-

> " दक्षिणे तु कवाटे तु योजयेद् द्वारपष्टिकाम् । त्रिचतुष्पश्चमात्रं वा द्वारपष्टिकविस्तृतम् ॥ तित्रभागैकभागं तु तस्य तोत्रमुदाहृतम् । तन्त्रीत्राद् द्विगुणं ख्यातं नीत्रं वैतत्कवाटयोः 415 ॥"

<sup>414.</sup> Gurudeva Paddhati, Uttarārdha, Paṭala XXXI, sts. 111(2), 112(1) (T. S. S. Ed.).

<sup>415.</sup> Kāśyapaśilpa, Paṭala XVII, sts. 16, 17 (Ānandāśrama Ed.).

With regard to the breadth and thickness of the Kavāţa, Guru-deva<sup>416</sup> states:—

" दण्डाचतुष्षडष्टांशं कवाटफलकाघनम् । श्रेष्ठमध्याघमं ज्ञेयं ऋमात् सर्वेषु धामसु॥"

The Nibandhana417 observes:-

" स्तम्भाष्टांशघनौ रम्यौ कवाटौ विस्तरेऽधिकौ । तदर्धबहलो दण्डो मध्ये द्विगुणविस्तरः ॥"

### STANZA 32.

# Ornamentations of the Door-panels.

In this verse the author gives a list of the different ornamentations of the door-panels (Kavāṭas). They are both functional as well as decorative elements. They are enumerated as follows: (1) Bhramarakas, (2) Argala, (3) Sandhipāla, (4) Prakṣepaṇīya, (5) Valayas, (6) Patrakas, (7) Pulakas, Ārtavas, and Kudmalas, (8) Śrīmukha, (9) Induśakala, etc. Of these, Bhramarakas are hinges which are fixed at the top and base of the panels. They are means employed for the turning of the door-plates. Argala is the bolt attached to the panel and it serves to close and fasten the door. The bolt which is fixed to the Kavāta on its outer face is known as Praksepaņīya. Sandhipāla is the Sūtraphalakā which serves as the protector of the joint of Kavātas. Valayas are metallic chains round like armlets, fixed to the plates for the pulling of the Kavatas and thus opening the door. Patrakas are metallic bands, usually made of copper or brass or iron, in the form of creepers. These lend additional strength to the doorplates. Other ornamental elements which form a source of increasing beauty to the Kavatas are nails fixed to the plates lengthwise and breadthwise resembling flowers in their varied stages of bloom such as the Kudmalas or buds, Pulakas or semi-blossomed flowers and Artavas or full-blown flowers. The Kavātas are further adorned with the carvings of such figures like the bust of the Goddess Śrī, crescents and the like. All the ornaments and elements of the panels which have been described above with exception apart of Argala are wrought on the outer face of the Kavātas and are consequently open to the full gaze

<sup>416.</sup> Gurudevapaddhati, Uttarardha, Paṭala XXXI, st. 113 (T. S. S. Ed.).

<sup>417.</sup> Śaivāgama Nibandhana (Ms.), Paţala XIII (Tripunittura Ms.).

of the spectator who stands outside in front of the door facing it when it remains completely shut. The ornaments that the author has described are common and characteristic ornaments of the door. The authors of the Nibandhana and Mañjarī give some more, and a comparison of the list presented in our text with that furnished in the Nibandhana and Mañjarī, Mayamata and others, serves to amplify the list set forth above. The same text is found in both the Nibandhana and Mañjarī.

It runs as follows418:-

" श्रीमुखं वामदण्डं च पिञ्जरी पुरुकार्गरौ । क्षेपणं सन्धिपारुं च दण्डकुण्डरुकौ तथा ॥ अन्तर्गतिविषाणौ च फल्गु(गुरुफ)भ्रमरकौ तथा । बरुाहः परिघश्चैव भूषणानि कवाटयोः ॥"

Parāśara419 enumerates the following:—

" श्रीमुखसन्धिपारुपत्रह्रखदण्डकुण्डरुश्वज्ञगुरुफान्तर्गरुकविषाणवरुग्हकपिञ्जरीगुच्छ-कवनकार्धचन्द्राद्यवयवानि मुख्यरुगेहैरयसा वा दृढतरं कुर्यात् " इति ॥

The Mayamata420 takes note of the following: -

" श्रीमुखैर्वामदण्डैश्च पिञ्जरीगलकागेलैः । क्षेपणैः सर्वपत्रैश्च गुच्छगैर्वनकैस्तथा ॥ गुल्फैरन्तर्गतैर्ग्राम्यैर्वालाभैर्मध्यकुण्डलैः । विषाणपरिघाक्षुद्रदण्डैर्युक्तं कवाटकम् ॥ इन्द्रनीलसमोपेतं सर्विचत्रमनोहरम् । अधवासान्यलोहैश्च युक्तया तत्र दृढीकृतम् ॥ गुल्फैः सार्धेर्ललाटैश्च युक्तयोमयपत्रकैः । बधीयात् सर्वयत्नेन यथाशोमं यथाबलम् ॥"

<sup>418.</sup> Prayogamanjari, Pat. VI, (Adyar Mss. Library); Nibandhana, Pat. XIII (Ms. from Tripunittura).

<sup>419.</sup> Parāšara as referred to by Gurudeva, Gurudevapaddhati, Part IV, p. 317 (T. S. S. Ed.).

<sup>420.</sup> Mayamata (T. S. S. Ed.), Ch. XXX, sts. 26-29.

# Kāśyapa<sup>421</sup> observes:—

" नीव्रभायां च मध्ये तु द्वारपिट्टकपार्श्वयोः । होहजं वह्योपेतं एतानिकोह्यन्धनम् ॥ होहजं दारुजं वाऽथ बाह्याभ्यन्तरगं तथा। तासां त्रिमङ्गरूं नीवं तारार्धघनसंयुतम् ॥ बद्ध्वा कवाटे योगौ द्वौ दारुहोहैईढीकृतम् । अर्गहादिसमोपेतं घटनोद्धाटनक्षमम् ॥ परेषां घटयन्तत्रमप्यसत्त विमाचरेत् । प्रासादे मण्डपे चैव गोपुरे चैवमाचरेत् ॥"

## STANZA 33.

# Sopāna.

In this stanza the author prescribes the rules pertaining to the construction of the Sopānas or Steps which lead from the foot-rest of the door down to the ground-floor. Their disposition is first described. In their spread out, they start from the Bhuvangama or foot-rest of the main door and descend gradually downwards till they reach the level of the tala or ground-floor. Since their extremity proceeds from either side of door, their length will be equal to the breadth of the doorway. Their breadth will be one and a half or two Dandas (Danda =the breadth of the pillar at the top). They will be symmetrical, of equal dimensions and even in number. This number of steps will be determined with reference to the height of the Adhisthana and the distance that these steps cover up. In the determination of their number, the governing condition that they should be even in number should be remembered. The height of steps is conditioned by the number of steps and all the steps should possess equal height. They should be made of hard stone like granite. Both the sides of the steps at the extremity are required to be flanked by granite slabs whose ornamental features are described in the last quarter of this stanza. On the two sides of slabs which in their situation start from the extremity of the two door-posts should be carved two 'makaras.' Their head is depicted as turning backwards. From the open mouth of each Makara on each side springs forth creeper-like carving that flows in a gentle curve and

<sup>421.</sup> Vide Kāśyapaśilpa, Patala XVII, sts. 18-22 (Anandaśrama Series).

ends in a scroll at the base. Two slabs ornamented as described are to be made to flank the two sides of the steps at their extremity.

Gurudeva<sup>422</sup> states that the steps should be gradual and symmetrical, equal in dimensions and even in number and one and a half or two Dandas in breadth. Thus says he:—

" समखण्डानि कुर्वीत सोपानानि यथाक्रमम् । द्विदण्डं वाध्यर्धदण्डं भवेद्धस्तिबरुं ततः ॥" (भवेत्तद्बहरुं ततः ॥) [Silparatna]

#### STANZA 34.

#### The Ghanadvāras.

After having dealt with the details connected with the construction of the real door in front of the sanctum, the author proceeds, in this stanza, to describe the Ghanadvāras. They are three, on the three We call them false, because they are not intended to serve the Their breadth (i.e. the breadth between the posts) is function of door. smaller in proportion than the breadth of the real door. It is \square of the breadth of the front-door. Their height is twice or two and a half times their breadth. The thickness of the posts is not given and it should therefore be presumed that it is the same as the thickness of the posts of the real door. The thickness of the posts compared with the breadth of the false door being of considerably larger proportion, these three doors are called 'Ghanadvāras' or thick doors. From the trend of the author's treatment it appears that these Ghanadvāras should be constructed before the walls are set up. From this it is possible to presume that they are to be made of wood according to the view of the author. The author seems to follow the old traditional method of construction in which wood plays a very prominent part. In later day structures, however, Ghanadvāras are found built on the wall in which case, they are wrought of the same material as that which entered into the composition of the wall. Toranas which adorn the portion above the Ghanadvaras and which are specially associated with the Ghanadvāras are thus required by Gurudeva to be made in the wall of the same material as that which makes the wall.423 This transformation of the ornamental doors in material of construction

<sup>422.</sup> Gurudevapaddhati (T. S. S. Ed.), Paṭala XXXII, st. 80 (Uttarārdha).

<sup>423.</sup> Ibid., Uttarārdha, Patala XXXII.

as well as in method thereof seems to be the result of the gradual influence of the wall with which the Ghanadvāras are found closely associated.

The Ghanadvāras also will have the same decorative parts which the real door is said to possess. In support of the text, Sankara<sup>424</sup> cites the following lines from an authority whose name is not however found mentioned.

" पुरोद्वारस्य विस्तारे त्वष्टभक्तेऽत्र पश्चभिः । घनद्वारस्य विस्तारं ततो द्विगुणदैर्घ्यकम् । द्विगुणार्धे तु वा दैर्घ्यं घनद्वारगतं शुभम् ॥"

#### STANZA 35.

## Toranas

Three kinds of Toranas or arches which adorn the Ghanadvāras are next described. The three are called Patratorana, Makaratorana and Citratorana. These names are coined on the basis of the dominant ornamental features which characterise the composition of each of the Toranas. The upper element of the Torana is a curvature which should be made in the form of a fish. The size of the fish may have any one of the proportions  $\frac{3}{10}$ ,  $\frac{1}{3}$ ,  $\frac{3}{8}$  of the height of the pillar. The rest, viz.,  $\frac{7}{10}$ ,  $\frac{2}{3}$  or 5% will constitute the height of the legs (i.e. pillars of the Toranas). The breadth of the Torana may be either half the height of the pillar or 4, 5, or 6 Dandas (Danda=breadth of the pillar at the top). When it is given the shape of a crescent associated with the ornamentations of the leaf and creeper motifs, it is called Patra Torana. When it is marked by Makarasyas (i.e. mouths of Makaras) and five bends, it is termed Makara Torana. When it is decked with varied motifs of sportive birds, crocodile heads etc., it is called Citra-Torana. Kāśyapa, in this connection, mentions in addition Bhūtas (goblins), Vidyādharas (semi-divine beings), lions, elephants, swans, vyālas, pearl-lace, jewellery, fishes and other decorative patterns among the ornaments of the Citra Torana. The following extract from the Kāśyapaśilpa will serve to confirm and amplify the author's description of the Toranas: -

# " अथ वक्ष्ये विशेषेण तोरणानां तु रूक्षणम्। पादोदयदशांशेषु सप्तांशं चरणोदयम्॥

शेषांशं गुणमानं तु श्रषमानमुदाहृतम् । नवांशे पादत्रके त षडंशं चरणोदयम् ॥ शेषं झषोद्यं ख्यातमष्टांशे चाङ्घितुक्कके । पञ्चांशं चरणोत्तक्तं झषोत्सेधं गुणांशकम् ॥ तुङ्गार्धविपुलो वाथ वेदभूतरसाङ्घि वा । तोरणस्य त तहाह्ये व्यासमेवं चत्रविधम् ॥ प्रासादमण्डपादीनां मध्यभागे त तोरणम । अनेन विधिना विप्र! कर्तव्यं कुड्यबाह्यके ॥ पत्राख्यतोरणं चादौ द्वितीयं मकरतोरणम् । ततीयं चित्रसंज्ञं च त्रिविधं तोरणाकृति ॥ अधचन्द्रमिवाकारपत्रराजिविराजितम् । पत्रतोरणमाख्यातं ततो मकरमुच्यते ॥ पञ्चवक्रसमायुक्तं पार्श्वयोर्मकरान्वितम् । मध्ये पुरिसमायुक्तं नानाविधलतान्वितम् ॥ नानालङ्कारसंयुक्तं यत्तन्मकरतोरणम् । तदेव पार्श्वयोर्मध्ये पुरि मत्स्यद्वयोरपि ॥ नकतण्डं प्रकर्तव्यं भूतविद्याधराङ्गकम् । सिंहेभव्यालहंसाधैर्वालसङ्मुक्तदामकैः ॥ भत्तयेश्च विविधेश्चित्रे रत्नवन्धेश्च मुपितम । चित्रतोरणमेतत् स्थात् [सर्वेषु सुरसद्मस्] 425 ॥"

### STANZA 36.

# The Construction of the Wall.

After having described the pillars and doors, the author treats of the wall and its decorations. In this stanza, the writer Nārāyaṇa tells us that the wall should be constructed above the Prati (the topmost moulding of the basement) and below the Uttara (the beam). It should be made of firm and permanent material like stone, bricks etc. It must be embel-

Ibid., pp. 70-71;
 Also, Vide Kāśyapaśilpa (Anandāśrama Series), Paţ. XII, sts. 1-11.

lished with Vedikā, Pañjaras and other ornamentations which are described in the subsequent stanzas. An unnamed authority is cited by Sankara in support of the disposition of the wall as stated in the text. It states:—

# " प्रत्युत्तरान्तरे भित्तिर्जालेष्टकशिलामयी <sup>426</sup>॥"

With regard to the materials to be used, Śańkara cites Gurudeva, who enumerates different materials such as stone, bricks, wooden planks decked with lattice-work and clay.

Gurudeva observes as follows:-

" कुड्येषु तोरणानि स्युस्तत् कुड्यं पश्चधा स्मृतम् । शिलामयं चैष्टकं च जालकामयमित्यपि ॥ फलकामयमित्यन्यन्मृण्मयं चापरं कमात्<sup>427</sup>॥"

#### STANZA 37.

# The Characteristics of the Vedikā.

The portion of the wall at its foot known as Vedikā is formed of several mouldings. The author, in the former half of this verse (37), states the alternatives regarding the height of the Vedikā and in the latter half describes the mouldings which constitute the Vedikā. Seven alternative proportions are given from the point of view of the height of the Prati, the height of the pillar and the breadth of the pillar. They are (1) as much as the height of the Prati; (2) 1/8 of the pillar; (3) 1/7 of the pillar; (4) 1/6 of the pillar; (5) 11/2 times the breadth of the pillar; (6) 2 times the breadth of the pillar; (7) 3 times the breadth of the pillar. Any one of these heights having been fixed for the 'Vedika', this height must then be divided into several parts. It may be divided into two equal parts, of which the upper must be given to the making of 'Gunaraśanā' (three-fold band), and the lower half to 'Antari'. Or, the height of the Vedikā may be divided into parts eight, seven or six, in which case, one part, two parts and one part thereof will be given to the mouldings Kampa, Abja and Kampa respectively and the remain-

<sup>426.</sup> Tantrasamuccaya with Vimarśini (T. S. S. Ed.), Part I, p. 71.

<sup>427.</sup> Išānagurudevapaddhati, Uttarārdha XXXII, 9, 10; and Tantrasamuacaya with Vimaršinī, Part I, p. 72.

ing ones left to the Gala below. Statements from different authorities support the observation made in the text. With regard to the disposition of the Vedikā, the following line is found quoted by Sankara:—

" प्रतेरुपरि वेदिः स्यात् प्रत्युत्सेधेन सम्मिता<sup>428</sup>।"

Maya says the following concerning the disposition and height of the Vedikā:—

" प्रतेरुपरि वेदिः स्यात् सार्धद्वित्र्यङ्घ्रिणोदिता<sup>429</sup>॥"

Kāśyapa gives three proportions,  $\frac{1}{6}$ ,  $\frac{1}{7}$ ,  $\frac{1}{8}$  the height of the pillar, and regards them as belonging to the best, the middling and the lowest types. The text of the  $K\bar{a}\acute{s}yapa\acute{s}ilpa^{430}$  runs as follows:—

" स्तम्भोदये तु षट्सप्तवसुभागविभाजिते । एकांशं वेदिकामानं क्रमाच्छ्रेष्ठान्तराधमम्॥"

With regard to the mouldings of the Vedikā, Kāśyapa<sup>431</sup> continuing observes:—

" अष्टांशे वेदिकोत्सेषे वेदाङ्गं गलमानकम् । गलोर्ध्वकम्पमेकांशं द्वघंशेनाब्जं प्रकल्पयेत् ॥ तदूर्ध्वकम्पमेकांशं कर्तव्यं द्विजसत्तम ! । खरषंडशे वेद्युचे त्रिद्वघंशं च कमाद् गलम् ॥ कम्पं पद्मं च कम्पं च प्रागिवैवं प्रकल्पयेत्॥"

According to the following line of Murāri, the Vedikā is to be ornamented with three-fold band and Antari:—

" मेखळात्रयसंयुक्ता वेदिकान्तरिभूषिता<sup>432</sup>॥"

This authority is found quoted in the commentary of Śańkara.

<sup>428.</sup> Tantrasamuccaya with Vimarśinī (T. S. S. Ed.), Part I, p. 72.

<sup>429.</sup> Mayamata, XVI, 51 (T. S. S. Ed.).

<sup>430.</sup> Kāšyapašilpa, X, 4 (Ānandāšrama Series); Vimaršinī (T. S. S. Ed.),

p. 72. We have adopted Śankara's reading of Kāśyapa.

<sup>431.</sup> Kāśyapa X, 8, 9, 10; also vide Tantrasamuccaya (T. S. S. Ed.); Part I, p. 73 [Śankara's reading].

<sup>432.</sup> Tantrasamuccaya (T. S. S. Ed.), Part I, p. 72.

### STANZA 38.

#### The Wall Ornamentations.

In this verse, the author refers to the wall-ornamentations. ornamentations, depend upon the size of the structure. All Prāsādas, of whatever class, will have Anghris (pillars), Toranas (arches), and four Dvāras (doors). In the smallest type of structures that have a measure less than 5 cubits, these three elements will be found. But proportionate to the increase of measure additional items are enumerated. Thus in Prāsādas which have 5 cubits etc. of measure, pillars will be additionally ornamented, and between the ornate pillars there will be introduced ornamentation in the shape of Panjaras adorned with Jalas. Panjara is a nest and Jāla a perforated screen. Panjara and Jāla are not found treated here as separate and individual motifs. They are considered as a com-The whole will mean window-motif accompaposite ornamentation. nied by a perforated screen-motif. In larger measure type (such as the 7 cubits type etc.) there will be at the base of the wall and in its four corner positions Kūtas, which are miniature structures employed as ornamental motifs. In still larger measure type (viz., 9, 11 cubits etc.) there will be included in addition to Jālapañjaras and Kūtas, Nāsikās and Nāsikā is an ornamentation designed after the shape of the Sālās are elongated sacrificial halls and their replicas in small measure are used as ornamental patterns on the Prāsādas. course of the enumeration of ornamentations of the wall, it will be noted that the bigger the structure is the greater are the details of its decoration and this view of the builders is based on the sound aesthetic principles of proportion and harmony. A keen sense of decoration does not allow the presence of large blank space in the area of the various members of a building.

The following lines<sup>433</sup> from the *Nibandhana* collected and put together confirm and amplify the author's enumeration of the various decorative patterns with reference to the size of the structure:—

" त्रिहस्ते दण्डविस्तीर्णास्तद्धेबह्लाः शुभाः । द्वादशैव चतुष्कोणमध्यस्थाः कुट्यपादकाः ॥ पार्श्वयोः पृष्ठतो युक्तास्तोरणैरुज्ज्वलैस्निभिः । तोरणत्रयसंयुक्ते पञ्चहस्तेऽष्टपञ्जरे ॥

# 433. Ibid., p. 74;

These stanzas are found in different places in Patala XIII of the Saivagamanibandhana (Ms. from Tripunittura).

जालकानि त्रिभिर्दण्डैर्नन्यावर्तादिकानि च।
तुर्याश्राणि गवाक्षाणि गजेन्द्रनयनानि च॥
लताश्र विविधासत्र कारयेत् खिस्तकानि वा।
कुट्यस्तम्भांस्तथा कुर्यान्म्लाश्रान् कुम्भमण्डितान्॥
सप्तहस्ते च चित्राढघं तोरणं मकरोज्ज्वलम्।
पत्रैश्चित्रीकृतं कुर्यान्मध्ये रत्नादिमण्डितम्॥
मण्डितान् कुट्यपादांश्च द्वादशैवात्र पूर्ववत्।
कर्णकूटांश्च परितः शालापज्ञरकोष्टकम्॥
पूर्ववन्मण्डितान् स्तम्भान्नवहस्ते तु मन्दिरे।
कर्णकूटेश्च संयुक्ते शालापज्ञरतोरणैः॥
एकादशकरे स्तम्भा विश्वतिमण्डितान्वताः।
दिश्च चत्वारि चत्वारि पज्जराणि शुमानि च॥
नास्योऽत्र षोडशोर्ध्वं च शिखरे हारकास्तथा।
त्रयोदशकरे स्तम्भा विश्वतिमण्डितास्तथा॥"

### STANZA 39.

The Dimension and location of Śālās etc.

In this stanza, the author deals with the divisions known as Kūṭas, Śālās etc. The vistāra of the Bhitti being divided into parts 10, 9, or 8, with one part thereof for its vistāra and the same (i.e. one part) for its length, make Kūṭas at the four corners; with two parts for its length and one part for its vistāra make Śālās on the four main sides such as the East etc.; with three-fourth of a part for its length and the same for its vistāra make Nāsikā between the Śālās and Kūṭas. On either side of the Nāsikās, make Pañjaras with Jālas with three-fourth of a part for the length and vistāra. The disposition of these several decorative designs is based upon the statement of Gurudeva which runs as follows<sup>434</sup>:—

" कर्णमध्येऽन्तरे भित्तेरथवा मानसूत्रतः । निर्गतैरुक्तमानेन कूटकोष्ठकपञ्जरैः ॥ गजपृष्ठादिभिश्चोक्तैः कुर्यादवयवैर्युतम् ॥"

<sup>434.</sup> Gurudevapaddhati, Uttarārdha, Paṭala XXVIII, 33(2), 34 (T. S. S. Ed.); Gurudeva as quoted in the Vimarśini, page 75.

#### STANZA 40.

## Kūţas and Śālās.

The characteristic features of  $K\bar{u}t$ as and  $S\bar{a}l\bar{a}s$  are given in this verse. Kūta is a replica of the Prāsāda; it will have the same shape which the Prāsāda has, and it will possess all the essential parts which enter into the composition of the Prāsāda except the Adhisthāna. These parts which make a Kūta begin from above the 'Prati' the topmost element of Adhisthana and end with Stupika, the finial, the final element of the Pra-It has a beautiful Nāsikā adorning its centre. With regard to its proportion, it will be noted, that it is 1/8 of the Prāsāda (i.e. the Sanctum sanctorum). The length and breadth are equal and hence it will be square in plan like the Prāsāda itself. The term 'Dhāman' employed here is a synonym of Prāsāda. Concerning 'Śālā,' as has been already observed in the previous verse, the length is double the breadth. In the latter half of this stanza, the author states the parts which adorn a Śālā. Śālā has the same projection as the Kūţa Peculiar to itself, it has a Mukhapatti or band running round in Among other ornamentations of Sālā, mention must be made front. of 'Sakti,' Dhvaja' and 'Nāsa.' It will have, by virtue of its elongated shape, three stūpikās (or finials).

The following text of Gurudeva<sup>435</sup> supports the author's description of the Kūṭa and Śālā:—

"कूटोऽष्टांशेन सद्मनः।

शाला च तावती रम्या विस्तारद्विगुणायता।
कर्णाश्रितं मध्यमैकनासिकं स्तूपिकान्वितम्॥

प्रासादावयवं प्राज्ञाः कूटं नाम प्रचक्षते।
सायतं समुखपट्टिकमर्धस्पष्टकोटियुतमध्यमनासम्।
शक्तिमद्ध्वजमपि त्रिशिखं तत् पार्श्वयोबेहुशिखं खळु कोष्ठम्॥
शिखाशब्देन स्तूपिकोच्यते कोष्ठमिति शाला च॥"

## STANZA 41.

## Pañjara and Jālaka.

The Pañjara will have equal length and breadth, which may be 2, 3 or 4 Daṇḍas. It will be decorated with Nāsa. The ornamentation known as Jālaka will have a breadth which may be 2, 3, or 4 Daṇḍas and length which is 1 Daṇḍa more than the vistāra; or, increasing by one Daṇḍa, it may lead up to twice the vistāra. It will be ornamented by holes or perforation designed after the zig-zag fashion resembling the Gomūtraka. Its position is above the Vedikā. Parāśara<sup>436</sup> observes:—

" द्वाभ्यां त्रिभिश्चतुर्भिर्वा कुट्यस्तम्भेऽस्तु पञ्चरम् । मुखे शालामुखे चैकस्तूपिकं हस्तिपृष्ठवत् ॥ पञ्चरं नाम तत्प्रोक्तम् .... ॥"

Kāśyapa437 lays down the proportions in the following lines:-

" द्विदण्डं कन्यसच्यासं त्रिदण्डं मध्यमं भवेत् । चतुर्दण्डविशालं तु उत्तमं परिकीर्तितम् ॥ विस्तारसदृशोलसेथादेकदण्डविवर्धनात् । विस्तारद्विगुणं यावत तावद् वै जोलकोन्नतम् ॥"

#### STANZA 42.

Kumbhalatā: The Pot-and-Creeper ornament.

This ornamentation called Kumbhalatā or Pot-and-creeper ornament, which is specially prescribed in connection with the beautification of a Mahāprāsāda or temple of the Big Class of Structures, is described in the present stanza. It is wrought between the pillars. Its lower part is a Padma or Lotus. The height of the Padma in which the Kumbha or vase sits is as much as the vistāra of the pillar and its breadth is one

<sup>436.</sup> Quotation from the *Tantrasamuccaya* with Vimarśinī, (T. S. S. Ed.), Part I, p. 75.

<sup>.437.</sup> Kāśyapaśilpa (Ānandāśrama Series), XI, 4(2), 5, 6(1). Also vide the Tantrasamuccaya (T. S. S. Ed.), Part I, page 76. [We have adopted Sankara's reading].

and a quarter of the breadth. According to Kāśyapa, the height of the Padma should be divided into 8 parts and one part should be given to the moulding called Kampa, three parts to the lower Padma, one part to the Gala, two parts to the Ūrdhvapadma and one part to the Kampa above. The Kumbha which comes above will have the same height as the height of the Padma. The creeper springs forth from the mouth of the Kumbha. According to the Mañjarī the height of the Kumbhalatā may be equal to the measure between the Prati and the Uttara or even one and a quarter times this measure.

# Kāśyapa<sup>438</sup> states:—

" स्तम्भमूले तु वेद्यूर्ध्वे पद्मासनं प्रकल्पयेत् । पादव्याससमुत्तुङ्गं सपादं पद्मविस्तरम् ॥ पद्मोचं वसुधा भज्य कम्पमेकांशमुच्यते । अधः पद्मं गुणांशं तु एकांशं गलमुच्यते ॥ कर्ध्वपद्मं द्विभागं तु कम्पमेकेन कल्पयेत् । तद्र्ध्वे कुम्भतुङ्गं तु पद्मस्योचसमं भवेत् ॥"

The Manjari439 states as follows:—

" प्रत्युत्तरान्तरसमां विद्धीत सम्यक् पादाधिकामपि च कुम्भलतामतोऽपि ॥"

#### STANZA 43.

The ornamental features of an Alpaprāsāda.

Ornamentation which is special to the Alpaprāsāda is described here. In stanza 38, it was observed that Alpageha, because of the small space that it admits, permits limited ornamentation. In the subsequent stanzas, those ornamentations which enter into the composition of the Mahāprāsādas have been described. Now, in this stanza (No. 43), the author deals with the ornamentation that is peculiar to the Alpagehas. Divide

<sup>438.</sup> Kāšyapašilpa (Ānandāśrama Series), XV, 1-3. For quotation, also vide the Tantrasamuccaya, Part I, p. 76 (T. S. S. Ed.).

<sup>439.</sup> Prayogamañjari, Patala VI (Ms. Adyar Mss. Library, Madras); also vide the Tantrasamuccaya Vimarśini, Part I, p. 77 (T. S. S. Ed.).

the height of the structure between the Prati and the Uttara into 8 parts and from bottom upwards construct mouldings as stated below:—

Vedi: -1 part.

Pādas (or miniature ornate pillars): -4 parts.

Valabhyuttara:—1 part. (This is a composite moulding composed of Valabhi and Uttara).

Valabhi has half a part for its height and projection equal to the height. It comes above the Uttara. Uttara is made of half a part and it is the beam which runs on all the sides of the wall sitting above the ornate pillars (Pādas) situated beneath it.

Kapota:—1 part. It is made in the form of a pigeon's beak. It corresponds to what is known as 'Cornice'.

Grhapindi:—1 part. This is the finishing moulding of the wall. It is ornamented with its own pillar-ornamentations. Above this, there is no more ornamentation. Uttara, the beam of the structure, is situated above it.

This brings us to the end of the section on the wall, and the parts that are dealt with hereafter relate to the beam (Uttara), ceiling (Prastara), roofing (Sikhara) etc.

#### STANZA 44.

# The Characteristics of the Uttara.

In the six-fold division of an Indian temple, Prastara is the third from bottom upwards and it is situated above the Stambha and below the Gala. The various mouldings major and minor which enter into its composition are referred to by the author in stanza 53. Among the divisions of Prastara, Uttara the beam constitutes the most important structural member. It is a horizontal structural division, rectangular in shape. It sits on the walls if walls are present, or on columns, and in the latter instance it extends from column to column. It is treated as a bearing member upholding the load of the roof and the synonyms found mentioned in the Mānasāra point towards this essential function of beam ('Uttara'). Says the Mānasāra<sup>440</sup>:—

# " उत्तरं वाजनमाधारमाधेयं शयनं तथा ॥ उद्घृतं च मूर्धकं चैव महातौलि खवंशकम् । प्रच्छादनस्य चाधारमेतत्पर्यायमीरितम् ॥"

In the view of the author of the *Tantrasamuccaya* which is set forth in the opening stanza of this Paṭala, Uttara is the starting point of measure with reference to which the general measure of the structure is spoken of. Hence it forms one of the most important of architectural divisions.

The present stanze deals with the three types of Uttara, differentiated on the basis of their relative breadth and thickness. are called Khandottara, Patrottara and Rūpottara and they are characterised in order as the best, the middling and the lowest types. The first, known as Khandottara, which belongs to the best variety, has thickness and breadth equal to the vistara of the pillar at the base. It has thickness which is as much as its breadth and this breadth is the same as the breadth of the pillar. Patrottara which comes under the middling type has thickness which is three-fourths of this breadth of the Khandottara. The last class of Uttara, namely, the Rupottara possesses as much breadth as has been prescribed for the Khandottara. Its difference lies in its thickness which is half of the breadth. From what has been stated above, it is clear that the breadth prescribed for all the three types of Uttara is common having reference to the breadth of the pillar at the base as it is described as equal to the same of the pillar at the base. The difference therefore lies in the proportion laid down for the thickness, which in the first instance is as much as the breadth, in the second one-fourth less than the breadth, and in the last half less.

With regard to the situation of the last type, namely, the Rupottara, it is said that the position can be reversed as one pleases. That is to say, the Uttara whose thickness is less than its breadth may be so placed that the breadth is made the depth. This reversed position is termed 'Cūlī' by the author of the Manuṣyālayacandrikā. Says he:—

" उत्तरविस्तारघने व्यत्यस्यापि प्रकल्पयेत् कापि । तत्र तु चूलीति मता तस्यामेवार्पयेत छुपाः 441 ॥'' The three classes of Uttara described above are referred to by other authors in the same way, and the quotations given below will serve to support the classification given in our text.

Thus Gurudeva<sup>442</sup> observes:—

" उत्तरं विन्यसेदूर्ध्वे तच्चापि त्रिविधं मतम् । खण्डोत्तरं पत्रबन्धं ततो रूपोत्तरं भवेत् ॥ स्तम्भविस्तारविस्तीर्णमुन्नतं चाङ्घ्रिजातिजम् । खण्डोत्तरं स्यादेतस्मात् पादोनं पत्रबन्धकम् ॥ स्तम्भव्याससमोत्सेधमुत्सेधार्धेन विस्तृतम् । विपरीतं तु वा नीचं रूपोत्तरमिदं भवेत् ॥"

The Mayamata<sup>443</sup> mentions three types of Uttara in the 'Prastara-prakaraṇa':—

" उत्तरादिवृतेरन्तं प्रस्तारावयवं क्रमात् । वक्ष्ये संक्षिप्य सर्वेषां हम्याणामथ योग्यकम् ॥ उत्तरं त्रिविधं पादिवस्तारं तत्समोद्गमम् । त्रिपादोदयमध्योच्चं विस्तारं पादतः समम् ॥ खण्डोत्तरं पत्रबन्धं रूपोत्तरमिति त्रिधा ॥"

Patrottara in the above text is called 'Patrabandha,' and it is so called because of the ornamental pattern 'Patra' which enters into its composition.

For similar classification of Uttara refer to the Mañjarī<sup>444</sup> which states:—

" विस्तारतीत्रेण समानि पादैर्भूयोत्तराणि प्रविधाय सम्यक् । स्रण्डोत्तरं पत्रविभूषितं च रूपोत्तरं च त्रिविधं भवेतत् ॥"

<sup>442.</sup> İsanagurudevapaddhati, Uttarardha, Paṭala XXXI, 75, 76, 77 (T. S. S. Ed.); also, vide the Vimarsinī, pp. 77, 78.

<sup>443.</sup> Mayamata (T. S. S. Ed.), Ch. XVI, sts. 1, 2, 3.

<sup>444.</sup> Prayogamañjari, Paţ. VI (Ms. from the Adyar Mss. Library, Madras).

The Nibandhana445 thus states: -

# " खण्डोत्तरं च पत्राढ्यं रूपोत्तरमिति त्रिधा । उत्तरं चतुरश्रं च स्तम्भाष्टांशेन विस्तृतम् ॥"

#### STANZA 45

# Ornamentation of Rupottara.

In this stanza the author deals with the ornamentation called ' $V\bar{a}jana$ ' which is wrought on the Rūpottara. The Rūpottara may be associated with one  $V\bar{a}jana$  or two  $V\bar{a}janas$ . In the former case the thickness is divided into five parts and two parts are given to the  $V\bar{a}jana$ . In the latter case, the thickness is divided into six parts, and one part is set to the construction of an  $Alpav\bar{a}jana$  (small  $V\bar{a}jana$ ) and two parts above it to the moulding of the  $Mah\bar{a}v\bar{a}jana$ . The projection of the  $V\bar{a}janas$  will be as much as their own thickness. This rule with regard to the projection is also the one approved by the author of the  $K\bar{a}\acute{s}yapa\acute{s}ilpa$ , who says:—

# " वाजनोच्चसमं प्रोक्तं वाजनस्य तु निर्गमम् 446 ।।"

In support of the proportions of the Vājanas described above, the commentator Sankara quotes the following lines which are ascribed to Gurudeva<sup>447</sup>:—

# " उत्तरोच्छ्रयषड्भागत्रिभागं घनमानकम् । एकांशं वाजनोत्सेधं द्वधंशं चैवार्धवाजनम् ॥"

In the last quarter of the stanza, the author states the proportion of the Paṭṭikā which is to be placed above the Uttara. The depth of the Paṭṭikā will be equal to the thickness of the 'Uttara' and its breadth will be half of this depth. Such a Paṭṭikā is fixed on the Uttara a little extended outwards and runs all around the Uttara. In the Manuṣyālaya-candrikā it is called 'Kṣudrottara' or small Uttara. The Uttarapaṭṭikā

<sup>445.</sup> Saivāgamanibandhana, Pat. XIII, (Ms. from Tripunittura).

<sup>446.</sup> Kāśyapaśilpa, Patala XIX, 13. (Ānandāśrama Series).

<sup>447.</sup> Gurudevapaddhati, stanza quoted in the Vimaršini. Vide T. S., Part I, page 78.

forms the resting place for the rafters. This is stated in the stanza448:—
" कुर्यादुत्तरपट्टिकोपरि छुपा: etc.॥"

The following lines from the Manuṣyālayacandrikā, which describe in close succession the process in the construction of the Uttara and the proportions of the parts of the Uttara, are noteworthy:—

" स्तम्भाधस्तारभेदप्रकथनविधिनैवोत्तराणां च तारं स्वाभीष्टं कल्पयेद् वा वसुवसुयुगलाकोर्मिसङ्ख्याङ्गलैर्वा । श्रेष्ठं खण्डोत्तरं तद्विततिसमघनं मध्यमं पत्रसंज्ञं पादोनोचं कनिष्ठं विततिदलघनं तत्त रूपोत्तराख्यम् ॥ उत्तरविस्तारघने व्यत्यस्यापि प्रकल्पयेत कापि । तत्र त चूळीति मता तस्यामेवार्पयेत छुपाः ॥ एक एव यदि वाजनं भवत्यत्तरस्य शरभाजिते घने । उच्चमंशयगलेन निष्कमोऽप्यस्य पट्टमवशिष्टभागतः ॥ अल्पवाजनयतोत्तरे घने नागभागिनि महत त्रिभागतः । एकतोऽल्पमुभयोश्च निष्क्रमः खोचतो भवति पट्टमव्धिभिः ॥ बाणांशिन्यखिलोत्तरस्य तु घने द्वाभ्यां महद् वाजनं चैकेनाल्पमथातनोत् महितं पट्टं च शिष्टांशतः । अब्ध्यादीश्वरपश्चिमांशिनि घने सर्वोत्तरस्यैकतो युक्तया वाजनयोश्च निष्क्रममथान्यत्रापि चैवं विधिः॥ स्तम्भमूर्धनि निधाय पोतिकामुत्तरं तद्दपरि प्रकल्पयेत् । पोतिकाविवरतः समुद्रतस्तम्भमस्तकशिखाहितावटम् ॥

अथोत्तरोच्चोचतदर्धतारां श्रद्धोत्तराख्योत्तरपट्टिकां च।

सङ्क्रीलयेदत्तरबाह्यपश्चादध्वे दृढैः स्रोचितदारुकीलैः 449॥"

<sup>448.</sup> Tantrasamuccaya, Patala II, st. 48.

<sup>449.</sup> Manuşyālayacandrikā (T. S. S. Ed.), Ch. V, stanzas 31-37.

#### STANZA 46.

## The Wooden Ceiling.

The construction of the ceiling with wooden beams and planks forms the subject-matter of this verse. To fix up the ceiling, an 'Uttara' called 'Vajanottara' must be made and placed on the regular Uttara It will be one Danda, or three-fourth of a Danda, or half a Danda in height. The maximum height prescribed for the Vājana is one Danda, and the term 'ādi' indicates other alternative proportions 34, ½, and ¼. A deduction one-fourth is first mentioned and extending this principle, the other alternatives of half and a quarter result. Place on the Vajanottara the cross-beams called Tulās breadthwise to the structure (i.e.) in the direction of the East-West line if the structure faces the East. The height (i.e. the thickness) of the Tulas will be one Danda and their breadth three-fourth of a Danda. Above the Tulas, in the direction of the Uttara place 'Jayantis' with a thickness half cut into the 'Tulas.' Jayantis must be made like Tulas and placed cross-wise to the Tulas. 'Vamsa' means the 'Uttara' and 'Anuvamsa' consequently means in the direction of the Uttara which is the North-South line in the case of a structure which faces the East. 'Tulas' in this instance, occupy the East-West direction and Javanti the North-South line. Javanti is described as 'Khandadāru,' or a piece of wood, in the Vivarana. In temple architecture Jayantis are given the same dimensions as the Tulas, but in secular structures, as in the case of an ordinary human dwelling, they possess lesser proportion. The author directs the architect to secure an even surface for the beams of the ceiling and determine the 'Anumārgas' or interspaces between the cross-beams. After having fixed up the 'Anumārgas' planks which have suitable thickness should be spread out and the upper portion should be completely covered up, leaving no hole anywhere.

In support and amplification of the above description, the following lines from allied literature may be cited.

Gurudeva450 thus observes :-

" उत्तरोपरि कुर्योत्तु वाजनं तस्य कथ्यते । त्रिचतुष्पञ्चदण्डानामोयामस्तस्य सम्मतः ॥ स्तम्भविस्तारपादं वा त्रिपादं वोच्छ्तं भवेत् । [दण्डोचं वा त्रिपादं वा वाजनं पूर्ववत् स्मृतम् ॥] वाजनस्योपरिष्टात् तु कुर्याद भारतुलावलिम् ॥ स्तम्भविस्ताररामांशमुच्लितार्थेन विस्तृता । तुलावली स्थात् तासामप्यूर्ध्वे कुर्याज्जयन्तिकाः ॥ तुलाविस्तारमानोचा यथालामं सुविस्तृताः । जयन्त्यश्चानुमार्गः स्थाद् दण्डार्धवह्लश्चितः ॥ अध्यर्धसममुच्चः स्थाद्य पार्श्वानुगोत्तरम् । वाजनं च तुलाद्वारानुगताः स्युस्ततोऽपि च ॥ वंशानुगा जयन्त्यः स्युस्तुलावदनुमार्गकाः ।"

The Nibandhana<sup>451</sup> observes:—

" स्तम्भित्रभागबहरूां पद्दिकासमिनिष्क्रमाम् । उत्तरोपरि विन्यस्य छुपास्तस्या नियोजयेत् ॥"

The  $Ma\tilde{n}jar\bar{i}^{452}$  states:—

" उत्सेघतो दण्डविनिर्मितां च तत्पादहीनां बहलेन भ्यः । कुर्यात्तथा भारतुलां जयन्तीमुत्सेघविस्तारसमां तथैव ॥ दण्डार्घतुल्यो बहलेन तस्सादुत्सेघतोऽप्यर्धमितोऽनुमार्गम् । उत्सेघतो दण्डसमं विदध्यात् तस्योर्ध्वतः प्रस्तरमत्युदारम् ॥ पार्धानुगास्तूत्तरपट्टिकाः स्युर्द्वारानुगाः भारतुलाः भवेयुः । वंशानुगास्तत्र जयन्तयोऽपि प्रवेशमार्गानुगतोऽनुमार्गः ॥ स्तम्भाः धरेयुस्त्वथ चोत्तराणि तान्येव ताः भारतुलाः धरेयुः । तामिर्प्रियन्तेऽथ जयन्तयो हि तोमिर्प्रियन्ते च तथानुमार्गाः ॥"

The Mayamata<sup>453</sup> states as follows:—

" वाजनोध्वें वलीकोध्वें तुलां सम्यङ्निवेशयेत् । दण्डोचं वा त्रिपादोच्चमर्धतारसमन्वितम् ॥

<sup>.451.</sup> Saivāgamanibandhana, Paţ. XIII (Ms. from Tripunittura).

<sup>452.</sup> Prayogamañjari, Paṭala VI, (Ms. from the Adyar Mss. Library).

<sup>453.</sup> Mayamata, (T. S. S. Ed.), XVI, 36, 40-46.

तुलाविस्तारतारोचा जयन्ती स्यात् तुलोपि ।

अर्धदण्डेन तत्रोचा जयन्त्यूर्ध्वेऽनुमार्गकम् ॥

तद्र्ध्वे फलका पादपादषड्मागतीत्रकाः ।

इष्टकाचूर्णसङ्घातप्रस्तरस्तम्भविस्तरम् ॥

करालमुद्गिगुल्मासकल्कचिक्रणकर्मवान् ।

उत्तरं वाजनं चैव तत्पार्धानुगतं भवेत् ॥

तुला द्वारानुयाता हि जयन्ती तिर्थगागता ।

अनुमार्गे तद्र्ध्वे तु द्वारस्यानुगतं ग्रुमम् ॥

द्वारतिर्थगता वाथ तुला देवनृपेशयोः ।

त्रिदण्डं वा द्विदण्डं वा स्याद वलीकतुलान्तरम् ॥

द्विदण्डं सार्धमध्यर्धं जयन्त्यन्तरिमण्यते ।

दण्डान्तरमनुमार्गे निश्चिद्धं स्यात् तद्र्ध्वतः ॥

अथ चित्रविकल्पाङ्गा विभेया प्रस्तरिक्रया ॥"

### STANZA 47.

# The Stone Ceiling.

This stanza describes the mode of construction of a ceiling with such material as stone or brick. In this alternative method of construction the direction is given as follows: From above half the height of the door construct from the four corners walls in the Garbha with stones, or bricks according to the Kadalikākaraņa process and thus close up gradually. This process is explained by the commentator thus 454:—

# <sup>4</sup> उपर्युपर्यन्तरन्तः प्रवेशनं कदिलकाकरणम् ॥"

That is to say, Kadalikākaraṇa is the laying of stones one over the other and drawing of each layer above inwards. When each layer above is drawn more and more inside the area above becomes less and less and when the same process is continued up to the summit, the top area admits of being capped by one stone-cap. This process begins with the four main sides from half of the altitude of the door and continues up-to the

top of the door. The upper portion from this summit of the door, obtains the octagonal form, and, when the same is rounded off, it (i.e., the portion above the door and below the stone-cap which is octagonal) presents a handsome wavy appearance. This portion above the door and below the final stone-cap will have a height which is half of the Garbhagrha. The closing up must be made gradual, like the closing of the lotus. The whole ceiling in this peculiar mode of construction with its wavy view and gradual closing at the top like that of a lotus will undoubtedly present to our sight beauty in which the human mind deeply delights. The following authority, quoted in the Vimarśinī, supports the author's view:—

" द्वारार्घात् कदलीकारं द्वारसीमान्तमर्घपुटम् । गर्मार्धे कदलिकोत्सेधमथ पूर्णेष्टकं भवेत्<sup>455</sup>॥"

#### STANZA 48.

## The Roof

In this stanza, the author prescribes rules which determine the construction and disposition of the rafters (Lupās). The commentator Sankara opens his commentary on this verse with the introductory 'शिखरनिर्माणविधिमाह—कुर्यादिति' thereby suggesting that the Śikhara corresponds to the roof of a building. are to be so placed that their lower end must rest Uttarapattikā, while their upper extremity must be in what is known as the Kūṭa. The Kūṭa here referred to is the topelement of the roofing, which functions in keeping the upper extremity of the rafters and in holding together the whole assemblage of the rafters that enter into the making of the roof. The Sikhā at the top of the rafters constitutes the basis for the Kūta and hence in its situation the bottom of the Kūţa is said to turn downwards. In its shape the Kūţa resembles the flower known as 'Dhurdhūra.' It is made octagonal, or sixteen-faced or circular; or, it may look like a blossomed lotus. Half of its height below is described as round. The above description of the Kūţa is found in the Manuşyālayacandrikā. The dimensions of the Kūţa are also prescribed there. The following stanzas457 which describe the Kūṭa may be noted in this connection:—

<sup>455.</sup> Ibid., p. 79.

<sup>456.</sup> Ibid., p. 80.

<sup>457.</sup> Manuşyālayacandrikā (T. S. S. Ed.), Ch. VI, stanzas 9, 10, 11, 16.

"क्टः कोटिल्लपामकिष्यतिश्वासम्प्राप्तपार्श्वावटः
पार्श्वाकान्तल्लपामरन्ध्रनिहितायःकील्सङ्कीलितः ।
आधारोऽस्य ल्लपामकिष्यतिश्वाला तस्माद्धो मूल एबोक्तोऽसौ विकृता ल्लपाश्च सकला गेहे समाब्ध्यश्रके ॥
धुर्धूरमसवोपमोऽष्टनृपकोणो वा तथा वर्तुलः
सम्फुल्लाब्जयुतोऽथवाथ गुलिकारूपः खमध्याद्धः ।
विस्तारद्विगुणायतस्तदुरगाद्यशोनदीघोऽथवा
क्रूटोऽब्ध्यादियवोत्थपत्रविलसन्मध्यप्रदेशो भवेत् ॥
प्रायः सर्वल्लपाधनोन्मितपरीणाहं करोतूत्तरव्यासपायततं तथाङ्गलकृतैर्योन्यादिभिः संयुतम् ।
पृं कोटिल्लपावितानसदृशायामं ल्लपासङ्गमस्थानं पत्रपदोर्ध्वमित्थमुदितं कृटखरूपादिकम् ॥
सर्वत्रेष्टाब्ध्यश्रे तिर्थगधः किष्पतात्र रेखा या ।
सा हि भुजाथोध्वांग्रा कोटिः स्यात् कोणगामिनीकर्णः॥"

The Silparatna describes the Kūṭa in Chapter XXXIII, Stanzas 51 to 56.

After having described where and how the rafters are to be fixed, the author in the remaining quarters of the stanza deals with the method of determining the length of the rafters. The length of the rafters from the centre to the corner will be as much as the measure of the diagonal (Karnasūtra) connecting the Kūta with the Uttara. The two sides consisting of the distance from the Uttara to the centre of the Prastara and from the centre of the Prastara to the summit of the Kūţa being known, the measure of the third side which forms the hypotenuse as it were of a right-angled triangle can be easily fixed. The length of the line which connects the point in the Uttara (where the lower end of the rafter rests) with the top of the Kūţa constitutes the length of the rafter from the Uttara to the Kūţa. There will be as many triangles formed from the Kūţasūtra (centre of the Grha) as there are rafters and in each case, the hypotenuse forms the length of the rafter. The whole length of the rafter does not end with the Uttara, but extends further below the Uttara. The proportion of the 'Avalambana' or the part of the rafter which projects downwards below the uttara is next stated. Four alternatives are furnished 3, 3, 4 or half of the height of the pillar. The total length of the rafter accordingly will be the length of the Karnasūtra

(diagonal or hypotenuse i.e., the line which connects the point in the uttara with the top of the Kūṭa) together with any one of the proportions which measure  $\frac{9}{10}$ ,  $\frac{3}{10}$ , or half of the height of the pillar.

With regard to the measurement of Lupā, the following<sup>458</sup> statement is found in the *Nibandhana* and *Mañjarī* which agrees with the measurement laid down in our text:—

" मध्यादारभ्य कर्णान्तमनन्तरल्लपाकमात् ।
स्वैः स्वैः कर्णस्थितैः सूत्रैर्ल्लपानां मानमादिशेत् ॥"
" पञ्च द्विभागमथ सप्तमिदि त्रिभागं पादस्य चार्धमिति
(तत् ) त्रिविधं ल्लपान्तम् ॥"

#### STANZA 49.

## The Nipraphalakā and Valayas

In this stanza the author prescribes the proportions of what are known as the Nipraphalakā and Valayas. Nipraphalakā is the plank of wood placed on the lower end of the rafters and when fixed to the rafters. and hold together the different rafters. it serves to fasten The Vivaranakāra<sup>459</sup> describes it as 'लपामखलमा फलका' or the plank fixed to the face of the rafters (i.e., to the lower extremity). The breadth of the Nipraphalakā will be one-eighth, one-sixth, or one-seventh less than that of the Uttara, while its thickness will be one-third of its breadth. Valayas are square bands run through the hole bored in the middle of the rafters. They cut their way through the rafters and build them together. The breadth of the Valayas is stated to be two, three angulas etc., according as it befits the rafter and their shape is described as square. The Manjari gives three alternatives—three angulas, two angulas, and one and a half angulas. Any one of these which agrees most with the size of the rafter is intended to be selected. The Nīpraphalakā and Valayas are important inasmuch as they lend strength and cohesion to the rafters and bind them integrally together.

<sup>458.</sup> Nibandhana, XIII, Mañjari, VI; quoted in the Vimarśini, p. 80 (T. S. Edition).

<sup>459.</sup> Tantrasamuccayavivarana (Ms. R. No. 1994, G.O.M.L., Madras).

The following statement<sup>460</sup> of the *Mañjarī*, which prescribes the proportions of Valayas, might be noted in this connection for purpose of comparison:—

" स्याद्कुलत्रयमितं वलयं द्रघङ्कुलं चाध्यर्धमङ्कलमिति त्रिविधं छपानाम् ॥"

### STANZA 50.

Cover over the rafters and the making of Stūpikā

This stanza deals with the final stage in the construction of the Sikhara. From the trend of the text as well as from the commentator's observation we are led to suppose that the Sikhara corresponds to the roof of the shrine. We are instructed by this stanza that rafters should be covered all around with planks, prepared out of good timber such as the Saka (tectona grandis). As regards the top it is stated that it must be covered by the last 'Avayava' of the Sikhara, viz., the Pidhānaphalakā or the final coping slab or plank. When the material employed in the construction of the Sikhara is stone or brick, it is called 'Mūrdhestakā.' This element Pidhānaphalakā or Mūrdhestakā functions in a variety of ways. First of all, it serves to close up the top of the Sikhara. In this capacity it may be described as a coping-slab or coping-stone of the Sikhara. Secondly, it functions as a support to the final element of the structure, viz., Stūpikā. Stūpikā is the finial, the topmost crowning part of the structure, especially of a religious character. It bears, according to our author, distinct proportion to the height of the temple, and, as generally laid down, its height is as much as the height of the basement. It is composed of four traditional parts—Padma (full-blown Lotus), Kumbha (Pot), Nāla (Lotus stalk) and Kudmala (Lotus-bud). These parts of the Stūpikā, situated one above the other, are found accepted as the four traditional parts of the Stupika which adorns the roof of shrines met with in Kerala. Havell remarks: "The water-pot or Kalaśa, containing a lotus-bud, placed above the Mahāpadma or the āmalaka as a finial was a most appropriate symbol of the creative element and of life itself".461

<sup>460.</sup> Prayogamañjari (Ms. from the Adyar Mss. Library), Paṭala VI, quoted in the Vimarsini, p. 81 (T.S.S. Ed.) of the Tantrasamuccaya, Part I.

<sup>461.</sup> Havell's Indian Architecture, page 99.

The fixing of the Stūpikā to the accompaniment of the ceremonials connected with the act of fixing has been elaborately dealt with in texts like the *Mayamata* and *Gurudevapaddhati*. We shall quote below the relevant extracts from the said texts which indicate the ceremonial importance of the fixing of the Stūpikā.

The Mayamata462 states:—

" छुपोर्ध्वे फलकं वोर्ध्वे तस्याः कम्पं निधाय च ॥ ६५ ॥ इष्टकास्प्रथया वापि प्रच्छादनमलङ्कियात् । स्थपिकाकिलदीर्घ चैवोक्तोत्सेधसमं मतम् ॥ ६६॥ देवानां द्विजभूमीशवैश्यानां भवनेऽधना ॥ ११६ ॥ मुर्धेष्टका विधातव्याश्चतस्रो लक्षणान्विताः । सुस्निम्धाः समदम्धाश्च सुखनास्ताः सुशोभनाः ॥ ११७ ॥ स्नीलिकाश्चापि पश्चिँगा भिन्नच्छिद्रादिवर्जिताः । विस्तारायामतीबैस्त प्रथमेष्टकया समाः ॥ ११८ ॥ शिलामये शिला प्रोक्ता सर्वदोषविवर्जिता । जन्माद्याशिखरान्तं च यैर्द्वव्येश्च विनिर्मितम् ॥ ११९॥ तैरेवादौ तथान्ते च न्यस्तव्याश्चेष्टकाः शुभाः । मिश्रद्रव्येश्च सङ्कीर्णे येर्द्रव्येरुपरि स्थितम् ॥ १२०॥ तैरेव मुर्झि विन्यासं रहस्यमिदमीरितम् । लोहजं दारुजं वापि स्थपिकाकीलमिष्यते ॥ १२१ ॥ विप्रस्वाध्यायघोषेश्च शङ्कभेर्यादिनिःस्वनैः॥ स्थापयेदिष्टकाः सम्यक् पूर्वदक्षिणतः ऋमात् । शिखरार्धे विमानस्य गम्रपत्रान्तरेऽपि वा ॥ १४५ ॥ शिखरत्रिचतुर्भागावसाने वाम्बुजाद्धः। तदाद्यात् स्थूपिकायामात् कीलदैर्घ्यं प्रगृह्यताम् ॥ १४६ ॥ पूर्वमेवेष्टकास्थानं निश्छदं तु हढीकृतम् । तन्मध्ये नवरत्नानि विन्यसेच यथाक्रमम् ॥ १४७ ॥ तद्रधें स्थ्रपिकाकीलं स्थापयेदचलं समम् ।

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup>62. Mayamata, Ch. XVIII, sts. 65, 66, 116 to 121, 144, 145, 146, 147, 151, 194, 195 (T. S. S. Ed.).

.... ... ... ... ॥ १५१॥
स्थूपिकुम्भं सुवर्णेन ताम्रेण रजतेन वा ।
उपलेष्टक(या ?)सौधैर्वा क्र(त्वा? त्वे)ष्टं कोळवत्(सु? स्मृ)तम् ॥ १९४॥
सुसंस्थाप्याचळं यावत् प्रोक्षयेत् गन्धवारिणा ।
विमानादवरुद्याथ गर्भगेहं च मण्डपम् ॥ १९५॥
प्रोक्षयित्वा मुखे स्थित्वा नत्वा देवं वदेदिदम् ॥"
etc. etc. etc.

Gurudeva<sup>463</sup> deals with this topic in the sections known as 'Stūpivinyāsa' and 'Kumbhavinyāsa'. He thus describes:—

> " विमानस्य कृतस्याग्रे स्तुपीकुम्भौ च विन्यसेत् । चतस्र इष्टकाः प्राग्वदधिवास्य विधानतः ॥ ५ ॥ शिखरायस्य मध्ये तु कृत्वा पञ्चावटानथ । सर्वरत्नौषधीबीजलोहधातुरसानपि ॥ ६ ॥ ततो वरस्रगन्धांश्च मुलेशानास्त्रमन्त्रितान् । पदक्षिणक्रमेणैव मध्यश्वम्रे निधाय त् ॥ ७ ॥ पृथिव्यादिचतुस्तत्त्वैः सद्याचैहृद्यादिभिः। आग्नेयादिषु कोणेषु चतस्रोऽपीष्टका न्यसेत् ॥ ८ ॥ निष्पाद्य स्तपिकाकीलं लौहं दारवमेव वा। लिक्नामं सचिकाग्रं वा शिखराकारमेव वा ॥ ९ ॥ ऊर्ध्वभूस्तम्भदीर्घे तद् विस्तृतं पादमानतः । आनुपूर्व्यात् ऋशं कुर्यादमे चाङ्गलिविस्तृतम् ॥ १० ॥ आयामे त त्रिधा भक्ते चतरश्रं त मूलतः । भवेच वृत्तो मध्यांशश्चान्त्यांशः शिखिपादवत् ॥ ११ ॥ पुण्याहवाद्यघोषाद्यैर्लग्ने कीलं तु विन्यसेत्। प्रागुक्ते मध्यमे गर्ते स्तुप्ययामे शरांशके ॥ १२ ॥ अंशत्रयमदृश्यं स्याद् दृश्यात्रध्वीशकौ यथा । शिलामिरिष्टकामिर्वा बधीयात् परितो दृढम् ॥ १३ ॥

<sup>463.</sup> Iśānagurudevapaddhati, Uttarārdha, Paṭala XXXIV, sts. 5-15, 20-23, 25 (T. S. S. Ed.).

एकद्वित्रिद्रव्ययुते तेन ताभ्यां च तैरिप ।
द्रव्यैराच्छादनं मूर्झि स्तूप्यास्तु परितः स्मृतम् ॥ १४ ॥
स्रुधयाथ दृढीकृत्य सवल्लीकं सलक्षणम् ।
पद्ममष्टदलं कृत्वा स्तूपिकां भूषयेत्ततः ॥ १५ ॥
अथ कुम्मं तु सौवर्ण राजतं शौल्यमेव वा ॥ २० ॥
सौधं वा मार्तिकं वापि गृहीत्वा लक्षणान्वितम् ।
सुदिनक्षमुहूर्तादौ स्नात्वाथ स्थपितः सुधीः ॥ २१ ॥
मूषितो वस्नहेमाद्यैः पाङ्मुलोदङ्मुलोऽपि वा ।
सुम्भाधारे तु विन्यस्य हेमरत्नौषधीरसान् ॥ २२ ॥
स्तूपिकाच्छादकं कुम्मं स्तूप्याकारिशलं न्यसेत् ।
यथा दृढं सुनिश्छदं कुम्ममूलं समन्ततः ॥ २५ ॥
सुधालोहादिबन्धेन बध्नीयाच्छ्लक्ष्णकुट्टिमम् ॥""

The text of the *Mānasāra* on this subject as presented in P. K. Acārya's edition leaves much to be desired. The defective nature of the text and the still more defective translation of it have been exposed in the Article on Stūpi in the Journal of "Indian Culture."

### **SIKHARA AND STŪPIKĀ**

Much confusion prevails in the writings of several authors due to the imperfect understanding or gross misunderstanding of the significance of the terms 'Sikhara' and 'Stūpikā.' In the course of his articles<sup>465</sup> on 'Sikhara' and 'Stūpi,' Prof. Pisharoti has attempted to point out the difficulties that confront one in going through the several writings on the subject of Indian temple architecture because of the defective character of the rendering of these technical terms 'Sikhara' and 'Stūpikā.' We shall not enter here into the details of the discussion, but shall investigate the origin and significance of these two terms. We shall try to understand them in the sense in which they were understood and employed in the original literature on the subject of temple architecture.

Sikhara. The term 'Sikhara' is derived from the word 'Sikhā.' Its derivation466 may be stated as follows:— 'शिखास्यास्थेति । शिखा + र:-

<sup>464. &#</sup>x27;Stūpi' by K. R. Pisharoti, Indian Culture, Vol. III, No. 2, pp. 353-358.

<sup>465.</sup> Annamalai University Journal 1935; Indian Culture, Vol. III, No. 2.

<sup>466.</sup> Vide Śabdakalpadruma, under the word 'Sikhara.'

'इसम्'-शिखरः ।'. This is the derivation given in the Sabdakalpadruma. The synonym of Sikhara that is found given there is ' शिरस'. Amara and the author of the Sabdaratnāvali take note of the synonym "Siras.' The Vācaspatya467 observes: 'शिखा अस्यस्य 'चर्च ' आलोप: '. It is clear from the derivation explained in the above quoted lexicons that the term 'Sikhara' is derived from the word 'Sikhā.' Sikhā means 'top-knot' (शिरोमध्यस्थकेश: or the tuft of hair on the middle of the head). That which has the tuft of hair is the head and hence 'Sikhara' came to denote the 'head.' The suffix '-; in fing +; is used in the sense of 'Matup' which indicates 'possession.' The synonyms 'Siras' and 'Sīrsa' are found freely and extensively employed by the architectural authorities in their writings on architecture. The authors of the "Three Main Styles of Indian Temple Architecture 468" have also accepted the derivational meaning 'head.' This portion called Sikhara or Siras, corresponds to the roof of the structure, and is the determining feature of the style of architecture. As the features of the human face serve to distinguish one man from another, so does the shape of the Sikhara help to distinguish one style of temple from another. The final element of Sikhara is the 'Pidhānaphalakā,' the coping-slab which covers or closes up the 'Kūṭa,' the part at the upper extremity of the roof in which is secured the extremity of the rafters. This Kūta, it may be remembered, corresponds to the bone of the forehead, for the term 'Kūṭa' means that (i.e., the bone of the forehead with its projection or prominence).469

Stūpikā. The origin of this term may be sought in the word 'Stūpa!.' We do not find in the term 'Stūpikā' any corrupt derivation. The word 'Stūpā' is found used in the most ancient literary record extant, viz., the Rgveda. In the Rgveda it occurs in the following passages:—(1)470 उप स्पन्न दिव्यं सात स्त्ये: (2)471 अनुष्ते राजा वर्गो वनस्योधे स्त्ये ददते.

In later Vedic literature also, as for instance in the Vājasanēyi Samhitā,<sup>472</sup> Satapatha Brāhmaṇa,<sup>473</sup> Taittirīya Samhitā,<sup>474</sup> Pañcaviṃśa

<sup>467.</sup> Vide Vācaspatya under the word 'Sikhara.'

<sup>468.</sup> Bulletin of the Government Museum, Madras (Gravely and Rāmachandran), page 2.

<sup>469.</sup> Monier William's Dictionary, Sanskrit to English.

<sup>470.</sup> Rg Veda, vii, 2, 1.

<sup>471.</sup> Rg Veda, i.24, 7.

<sup>472.</sup> Vājasaneyi Samhitā, ii.2; xxv.2. [Stupa='tuft of hair'].

<sup>473. \$.</sup>B., i, 3, 3, 5; iii, 5, 3, 4. [Stupa='tuft of hair'].

<sup>474.</sup> Taittirīya Samhitā, iii.3, 6, 5. [Stūpa='top-knot'].

Brāhmaṇa475 etc., the word 'Stūpa' is used to denote the tuft of hair or top-knot. Macdonell476 and Keith observe: "Stūpa in the Rgveda and later denotes the 'top-knot' of hair as designating the upper part of the head." Roth also gives this meaning with reference to the word Stūpa or stupa477— स्तप schopf, says he. The word 'Stupa' therefore as the ancient Indian literary records indicate, has to be understood in the original sense of 'top-knot' or the 'tuft of hair' and not in the sense of a Buddhist mound as far as the derivational side of the word is concerned. It was in the sense of top-knot or tuft of hair that Stūpikā was originally and derivationally understood by architectural authorites who conceived of the temple in terms of the human organism. The other synonym found employed in the same sense is the term 'Sikhā.' Gurudeva<sup>478</sup> clearly expresses this view of the Hindu builders in the line The authors of the 'Three Main Styles of 'शिखाशब्देन स्त्रपिकोच्यते '. Indian Temple Architecture' are right when they render the term 'Sikhā' by the expression 'upright tuft,' but they seem to go wrong when they interpret the same word in the sense of 'flame' in the same context, as such a rendering is not called forth by the context.<sup>479</sup> The meaning 'flame' does not fit in with the interpretation of Sikhara in the sense of 'head' which they give in the sentence.

Hair on the head is a sign of beauty and it is an aesthetic necessity in that it makes the human form look perfect. It forms synthetically a part of the human figure and grows inevitably from it. It lends to the form a sense of conclusion which is not sudden, but in accord with the principles of 'punctuation' and 'inflection.' Is not a head without hair, a head which looks bald and dry looked upon as something incomplete and offensive to a keen sense of beauty? In the same way as the human figure is considered imperfect without the mark of hair on the head, is the form of a building viewed when shorn of 'Sikhā or Stūpikā,' the aesthetic element which punctuates the upper part of the structure. The presence of this crowning and adorning element is emphasised in accord with the laws of punctuation and inflection which hold good in a really fine building. Hence was Stūpikā or Sikhā held as an indispensable member of a structure by Indian builders, who include it in their six-fold classification of an Indian temple. Being the final and

<sup>475.</sup> Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa, xiii. 4, 4.

<sup>476.</sup> Vedic Index of Names and Subjects (Vol. II, p. 483). .

<sup>477.</sup> Sanskrit-Wörterbuch (Böhtlingk und Roth), VII, columns 1268 and 1269.

<sup>478.</sup> Gurudevapaddhati, Uttarārdha, Pat. 28 after st. 36.

<sup>479.</sup> Three Main Styles of Indian Temple Architecture by Gravely and Ramachandran, Bulletin of the Government Museum, Madras, page 2.

top-most element, it can be rendered by no better corresponding expression than by the term 'finial.' Other terms, such as dome, pinnacle etc., either imperfectly bring out its significance or totally convey sense other than what the term actually stands for. Dr. P. K. Ācārya renders the term by such expressions as "a dome, a cupola, a spherical roof rising like an inverted cup over a circular, square or multangular building, a pinnacle, a steeple-tower."480 In another place,481 the same scholar remarks: - "Above the dome (stūpi) are built in order Sikhara, Sikhā, Sikhānta, and Sikhāmani." In his Translation of the Mānasāra, Ācārva translates the term 'Stūpikā' as 'dome', and 'Sikhā' as 'pinnacle'.482 None of these varied renderings can be taken to point out the significance of the term 'Stūpikā.' "The dome is an obvious type of covering for the primitive circular hut in countries where building materials are only in small units, such as bricks, and where timber is lacking."483 The term 'dome' is elsewhere 484 described as "rounded vault forming the roof of a building or chief part of it, and having a circular, elliptical or polygonal base; a cupola." Stūpikā, being not a roof, but the top-most part of a building adorning the roof itself, cannot be said to correspond to a dome. Moreover, the term 'dome' is used only with respect to any structure of circular design, whereas Stūpikā figures in buildings of any shape, circular or square, hexagonal or octagonal. The second statement, where Ācārya speaks of Śikhara etc., being built above the 'Stūpi', conveys no meaning. In the third instance of translation, where Acarya strives to mark a line of distinction between Stūpikā and Śikhā, no such distinction can be detected, as the term 'Śikhā ' obviously used by Sanskrit writers as a Stūpikā (शिखाशन्देन स्त्रिपिकोच्यते —Gurudeva). Even the 'pinnacle' is only loosely applied to denote 'Stūpikā', because the word 'pinnacle' though employed to refer to the decorative motif serving as the upper termination of a building, is yet distinguished from the term 'finial' which is the topmost decorative element. Finial is situated above the pinnacle. The word (pinnacle) "is distinguished from finial as signifying a larger motive, sometimes of considerable complexity, whereas a finial is a single ornament, and from tower or turret by the fact that a pinnacle is always a strictly subsidiary motive. Thus a Gothic tower and spire may be decorated with pinnacles, each one of which is capped by a finial."485

<sup>480.</sup> A Dictionary of Hindu Architecture, p. 707.

<sup>481.</sup> A Dictionary of Hindu Architecture, p. 588.

<sup>482.</sup> Vide, Translation of lines 92, 101, 102, Ch. XVIII.

<sup>483.</sup> Encyclopaedia Britannica, 14th Edition, Vol. VII, p. 511.

<sup>484.</sup> A New English Dictionary, Vol. III, p. 593 (Oxford).

<sup>485.</sup> Encyclopaedia Britannica, under "Pinnacle" (14th Ed.), Vol. XVII, p. 942.

From the above description it will be obvious that the terms dome, pinnacle etc., cannot, in any appropriate sense, be applied to denote the final element of structure 'Stūpikā'. Being the top-most element, it may, however, be described by the expression 'finial.' It is treated as an independent unit by Indian authorities, unit distinct and different from the parts below such as Śikhara, Gala etc. It expresses its relationship with the whole structure and consistent with its importance as a unit, it admits of parts in its turn.

In the division of the Stūpikā into parts and in its proportion with reference to the total height of the structure, there may be noticed some amount of variation, but such a variation is inevitable in the very nature of its development. Kāśyapa<sup>486</sup> in the course of the enumeration of the several principal parts of a temple, in a variety of proportions, assigns for the Stūpikā proportions  $\frac{1}{6}$ ,  $\frac{1}{7}$ ,  $\frac{1}{8}$ ,  $\frac{1}{9}$ ,  $\frac{1}{10}$ , and  $\frac{1}{11}$  of the total height of the temple. In actual practice too, variation is discernible in the proportion that the Stūpikā bears to the height of the building in the different parts of India. In many of the North Indian shrines finial appears with pot-shape as its pronounced feature and is called therefore 'pot-shaped finial' by some modern scholars.<sup>487</sup>

Modern writers are not unanimous in their opinion in respect of the origin and function of 'Stūpi.' Jouveau Dubreuil<sup>488</sup> thinks that Stūpis had their origin undoubtedly in the pots of baked earth, placed on wooden roofing with a view to protecting them from rain. A. H. Longhurst,<sup>489</sup> on the other hand, believes that Stūpi serves no useful purpose. Whether it serves any useful purpose or not, it is considered by architectural authorities in India as an essential element of an Indian temple, an element that adorns the Śikhara and lends the structure an air of completeness and perfection. It is born of the law of punctuation which reigns supreme in the realm of art. It perfectly accords with the interpretation of Indian Temple Architecture in terms of the human organism. The terms 'Sikhā' and 'Stūpikā' which originally denote a 'top-knot' serve in their significatory capacity to lend support to such an interpretation. With regard to its shape, the artist seems to have followed originally the patterns of Padma and Kumuda. Gangoly<sup>490</sup> suggests

<sup>486.</sup> Kāśyapaśilpa, (Anandāśrama Series), Patala XXVII.

<sup>487.</sup> Vide for instance the History of Indian and Indonesian Art, page 115.

<sup>488.</sup> Dravidian Architecture, p. 32.

<sup>489.</sup> Annual Report of the Archaeological Department, 1915-16, Southern Circle, Madras, page 31.

<sup>490.</sup> Indian Architecture by Manomohan Gangoly, Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Vol. XII, Pt. III, page 420.

that the shape of the vase or Kumbha was probably the result of the gradual conversion of two full-blown lotuses prompted by a sense of symmetry to repeat the base. Havell would have us believe that Kalaśa or sacrificial pot was moulded after the shape of Kumuda. "It was the jar," says he, "which contained the amrita or elixir of immortality, the nectar of the gods; and thus its form was adapted not only to sacrificial vessels, but to the ordinary Indian domestic water-pot, the lota".491 This view is further strengthened by the identification which the Vivaranakāra observes in the shape of Kumuda and Kumbha the statement "कुमुदं कुम्भवद्श्चम् <sup>492</sup>". In its full-blown form Stūpikā is not a mere pot, but an architectural element composed of various parts which from bottom upwards are (1) Eight-petalled lotus or Mahāpadma, (2) Kumbha or pot, (3) Nāla or lotus stalk, and (4) Kudmala or lotus bud. All the constituents of a lotus plant—the stalk, the bud and the blossomed flower—are referred to here and, as regards Kumbha, it may be assumed that it is either the result of two full-blown lotuses placed one facing the other and gradually converted to one shape or an adaptation from the shape of the Kumuda, the white water-lily. In any case, the origin of the various parts which compose the Stūpikā is to be traced in the forms of the beautiful products of Nature. These forms are certainly very artistic and enchanting and in the imagination of Indian artists they are important because they are spiritual in their associa-The lotus for instance is the flower associated with the God Viṣṇu or Sūrya and with the Goddess Lakṣmī. The whole lotus plant, inclusive of all the parts, symbolises most beautifully the springing of creative life from the ocean of eternity.

#### STANZA 51.

## The Covering of Sikhara.

In this stanza, the author refers to the materials that may be employed in the covering and protection of the roof. In places where meteorological conditions strongly prevail, the roof needs protection and hence copper sheets, bricks and such other strong materials as are capable of resisting the inclemencies of weather are prescribed for the covering of the roof. An architect must gauge the forces of Nature and so arrange the defending members of the building that they should stand firm against Nature's furious moods and protect the dwellers inside. He must make the roof in such a manner that it must resist the scorch-

<sup>491.</sup> A Study of Indo-Aryan Civilisation, page 60.

<sup>492.</sup> Tantrasamuccaya Vivarana, Ms. R. No. 1994, G.O.M.L., Madras.

ing heat of the summer sun and keep out the beating waters of a heavy rain-fall. The foundation of his building should be so deeply laid and the basement so firmly constructed that his structure must stand unmoved before any sweeping storm. While it is true that architects, here as elsewhere, offered grim resistance to the furious forces of Nature, it must not be supposed that they aimed at conquering Nature in a vein of pride or triumph. For they were ever ready to listen to Her sweeter They felt delighted in the manifestations of the healing and the soothing phenomena of Nature. They gloried in the light of the rising and the setting Sun and gave to their basement mouldings, the lightcatching and the shadow-throwing devices. They gloried in the beauty of creation, which is summed up in the lotus and the lily. They adopted Nature's patterns in the repertory of their architectural ornament. It must be remembered in this connection, that the Indian artist is not one who copied Nature simply and for its own sake, or for a merely ornamental purpose. For it was never in his strain to cry 'art for art's sake.' Spirituality, rooted in his soul, endowed him with a vision which is different from the ordinary angle of vision. Contemplative by nature that he is, he visioned with the mind's eye and discovered in the lotus and the lily fair symbols of a creative element and the peaceful serenity cf a fundamental and spiritual existence. Thus the relationship of artist with Nature was not one of conflict between man and Nature, but of identification with the inner consciousness of a creative Nature. There was complete association of artist with Nature in all Her restorative office. Though he defended against the destructive energies of Nature with a view to self-protection through the defending members of his building, the artist in India, was on the whole moving in harmony with the rhythmic activity of Nature, and the result he achieved finally was vitally creative and emotionally responsive.

## VIMĀNASIKHARA.

The compound expression 'Vimānasikhara' demands some explanation in view of the fact that the two words 'Vimāna' and 'Sikhara' have been imperfectly interpreted and very loosely employed by some modern exponents of the subject of Indian architecture. The authors of the "Three Main Styles of Indian Temple Architecture," for instance, call a tower 'Vimāna.' "The tower itself is a Vimāna "493—they say. In the "Outline of Indian Temple Architecture," Dr. Gravely

<sup>. 493.</sup> Bulletin of the Government Museum, Madras, 1934 (New Series, Gen. Sect. III, Pt. I), page 2.

observes: 494 "The term Sikhara relates to a structure forming part of the tower (Vimana) in all the three styles of temple-Nagara, Vesara and Drāvida-recognised by the Silpaśāstras." He further speaks of "Vimāna of temple,"495 Charu-Chandra Das Gupta also states referring to a temple, that it originally "consisted of the Vimāna,496 the Sikhara and the Mantapa." Banerji in the "History of Orissa" similarly refers to the 'Vimāna and Sikhara of a temple.'497 In the wake of S. K. Iyyangar, Gurudas Sarkar observes: 498 "the name Vimāna thus came to be applied to "the tower of inner shrine or sancta of the temples." Dr. Venkata Ramanayya<sup>499</sup> identifies Vimāna with a tower over a shrine, with 'stūpi' as he calls a tower and so on; in other words, he takes it in the sense of a part of the temple. While the term 'Vimāna' is thus interpreted by some in the sense of a part, it is understood in the sense of the whole by others. Thus Masson<sup>500</sup> and others, the authors of "Ancient India and Indian Civilisation" identify Vimana with the sanctuary. J. Dubreuil<sup>501</sup> says: "In the early Chola period, it is the sanctuary of the temple, which one calls the Vimana, that assumes all of a sudden gigantic proportions etc. . . . . " Dr. Ānanda K. Coomāraswāmy<sup>502</sup> applies the term 'Vimāna' to refer to 'Dravidian temples.' In the view of the authors of the Silpaśāstras the term 'Vimāna' denotes the whole structure from the basement to the finial. It refers to the central shrine in which is enshrined the image. It is not found used with reference to any part of the temple.

The compound ' विमानशिवास् ' is a Ṣaṣṭītatpuruṣa and is to be spilt as 'विमानस्य शिवास् ' where 'Vimāna' is the whole of which 'Sikhara' is a part. Śaṅkara<sup>503</sup> explains the compound expression in the phrase 'प्रासादोपरिप्रदेशम्' which means the above portion of the Prāsāda. Here Vimāna is interpreted to mean Prāsāda, (i.e.) the temple as a whole, inclusive of all its main parts beginning with the

<sup>494.</sup> Bulletin of the Government Museum, Madras, Vol. III, Pt. II, 1936, page 2, foot-note 4.

<sup>495.</sup> Ibid., page 4.

<sup>496.</sup> Journal of the Department of Letters (Calcutta), Vol. XXIX, 1937, article, page 1.

<sup>497.</sup> History of Orissa, II, p. 343.

<sup>498,</sup> Rūpam, 1922, p. 55; also, vide p. 42, 'Vimāna of the temple.'

<sup>499.</sup> Origin of South Indian Temple, pp. 78, 37, 38, etc.

<sup>500.</sup> Ancient India, p. 355.

<sup>501.</sup> Dravidian Architecture, p. 37.

<sup>502.</sup> Asts and Crafts of India and Ceylon, p. 118.

<sup>503.</sup> Tantrasamuccaya with Vimarśini (T. S. S. Ed.), Part I, p. 81.

basement and ending with the finial. Gurudeva<sup>504</sup> speaks of the Adhişthāna as part of the Vimāna. Thus he states:—

" विमानानामधिष्ठानं सोपपीठं निगद्यते।"

The definition<sup>505</sup> of Vimāna as given by Gurudeva is significant and it runs as follows:—

" नानामानविधानत्वाद् विमानं शास्त्रतः कृतम् ।"

In the term 'Vimāna,' as defined by Gurudeva, it is interesting to note the component word 'māna' (measure) and the preposition 'Vi' (varied). According to this definition Vimāna must be taken to mean the structure which admits of a variety of measures. Temple or palace is given so many wide and varied measures that it came to be classified under various measure types. Variety of measures thus became the distinguishing feature of a temple or palace. Gurudeva devotes one Paṭala to the measures of structure and he calls it 'Nānāvimānalakṣaṇādhikāra.'506 Whatever may be the derivation of the term 'Vimāna,' it deserves to be noticed that the term was consistently and uniformly applied by all Sanskritic writers with reference to the temple, the sanctum sanctorum, and it is found employed in architectural literature as a synonym of terms like 'Prāsāda,' 'Bhavana,' 'Harmya,' etc. Thus the Mayamata<sup>507</sup> states:—

" विमानं भवनं हर्म्यं सौघं घाम निकेतनम् । प्रासादं सदनं सद्म गेहमावासकं गृहम् ॥ आल्यं निल्यं वासमास्पदं वस्तु वास्तुकम् । क्षेत्रमायतनं वेश्म मन्दिरं धिष्ण्यकं पदम् ॥ ल्यं क्षयमगारं च तथोदवसितं पुनः । स्थानमित्येवमुक्ताश्च पर्यायाख्या हि पण्डितैः ॥"

The Kāśyapaśilpa<sup>508</sup> thus enumerates the synonyms:—

" प्रासादः सदनं सद्म हर्म्य धाम निकेतनम् ॥ मन्दिरं भवनं वासो गेहं दिव्यविमानकम् ।

<sup>504.</sup> Isana Gurudevapaddhati, Uttarardha, Paţ. XXX, st. 65 (T. S. S. Ed.).

<sup>505.</sup> Ibid., Paṭala XVIII, st. 2.

<sup>506.</sup> Ibid., Paṭala XXVIII, st. 2.

<sup>507.</sup> Mayamata, Ch. XIX, 10, 11, 12 (T. S. S. Edition).

<sup>508.</sup> Kāšyapašilpa (Ānandāšrama Series), XXIII, 1, 2, 3.

## आश्रयं चाऽऽस्पदं चैव आधारं च क्रमेण तु ॥ आधारप्रतिधिष्ण्यं च हर्म्यपर्यायवाचकाः ।''

The Mānasāra<sup>509</sup> likewise says:—

" विमानं सम [ल]यं हम्यं चालयं वा चाधिष्ण्यकम् ॥ प्रासादं भवनं क्षेत्रं मन्दिरा(रमा)यतनं तदा । वेश्म च गृहमावासं क्षयं धाम सनातनम् ॥ वासं गेहमागारं वा सदनं विसतं गृहम् । निलयं तल(लं)कोष्ठं च स्थानं पर्यायवाचकम् ॥"

The author of the *Nibandhana* refers to octagonal, circular, square and other shaped Sikharas of the Vimāna, thereby indicating that Sikhara forms a part of the Vimāna (i.e., the temple). Thus the *Nibandhana*<sup>510</sup> states:—

' अष्टाश्रं मण्डलमयं चतुरश्रं च शालिका । कुर्याचतुर्विधान्येवं विमानशिखराणि तु ॥'

The  $Ma\tilde{n}jar\bar{\imath}$  refers to Vimāna with one Tala in the sense of Ekatalaprāsāda. Thus it observes<sup>511</sup>:—

" मूलाप्रयोरेकतले विमाने ।"

Instances may thus be multiplied to show that the term 'Vimāna' is used by architectural authorities in ancient India in the sense of not a part, but the whole structure.

## THE CAR THEORY.

Dr. Coomāraswāmy presumes that the forms of temples were derived from cars of gods on the ground that in the Rāmāyaṇa, Ayodhya is compared to a celestial car, and that it was described as full of shrines which gave it the impression of the home of the cars of Gods. The ritual of carrying of images in processional car is cited as an instance in point. Continuing he remarks: "The resemblance of the Āryāvarta Śikhara

<sup>509.</sup> Mānasāra, Text (P. K. Ācārya's Edition), XIX, lines 108-112.

<sup>510.</sup> Śaivāgamanibandhana, Paṭala XIII (a Ms. from Tripunittura).

<sup>511.</sup> Prayogamañjari, Patala VI (Ms. Adyar Mss. Library, Madras).

to the bamboo scaffolding of a processional car is too striking to be accidental. More than that, we actually find stone temples of great size provided with enormous stone wheels (Konārak, Vijayanagar): and the monolithic temples at Māmallapuram (7th century) are actually called rathas, that is cars, while the term Vimana, applied to later Dravidian temples, has originally the same sense, of vehicle or moving palace. Something of the sense of life belonging to the older vehicles remains associated with the later buildings."512 The supposition that cars formed the prototypes of temples does not seem to us tenable, because it presumes that there were no permanent temples before. Seasonal festivals and processions are essentially conditions of an established system of worship and they demand a permanent abode of the deity that is taken out on ceremonial occasions in processional cars. Kings, who are believed, according to the theory of Divine Right, to represent God on earth are carried in state cars or couches in procession on certain ceremonial occasions, but this does not mean that they are always so carried. They have a permanent palace which constitutes their permanent abode. In like manner the ritual of procession presupposes the existence of a permanent shrine, and cars which happen to be temporary and moving things, would have in all likelihood derived their form from the shape of a structure which is already permanent and settled. Otherwise it presents, as Havell remarks, 'a case of putting the cart before the horse.' The shape of the Sikhara or roof, as it is found described in architectural texts, admits of so many varied forms, such as the square, octagonal, hexagonal and the like, and all these could not be said to have had their origin in the circular bamboo scaffolding of a processional car. Again, there is no historical basis for the view that temples were fashioned after the cars. Havell appears to us right in holding that the Rathas of Māmallapuram and the Sūrya temples at Koṇārak are instances of attempts made by medieval builders to give literary imagination concrete form by placing stone wheels on the side of the Vimāna. Havell "The temple car on which the sacred image was carried in procession could not have been introduced into the temple ritual before the image itself became part of it i.e. before the first centuries and after the Christian era—and all the constructive types, as well as the symbolism connected with them, if Indian temple building had been developed before that time. There is no instance of Vimānas being made like rathas, or cars, before the tenth century."513

<sup>. 512.</sup> Arts and Crafts of India and Ceylon, pp. 118, 119.

<sup>513.</sup> A Study of Indo-Aryan Civilisation, p. 44.

#### STANZA 52.

Six main parts and their Proportion.

The author, in this stanza, treats of the proportion of the various parts of a temple coming under the Alpaprāsāda class. Six main parts are mentioned beginning with the Adhisthana and ending with the Stupika and in the matter of the enumeration of these six parts there is perfect agreement between all the authorities on Indian temple architecture. From bottom upwards the six parts are Adhisthana (basement), Pāda (pillar), Prastara (entablature), Gala (neck), Śikhara (head), and Stūpikā (finial). With regard to their height, these parts bear fixed and relative proportion to one another. Our author, in this verse, prescribes the simplest and most commonly accepted proportions. The height of the building, which is twice its breadth, having been divided into eight parts, one part thereof will be given to the Māsūraka (basement), two parts to the Stambha (pillar, wall also), one part to the Prastara (entablature), one part to the Gala (neck), two parts to the Sikhara (head), and one part to the Stūpikā (finial). That there is consensus of opinion among the various authorities with regard to the proportion prescribed in our text is made clear by the references given below from allied literature.

The Kāśyapaśilpa<sup>514</sup> thus observes:—

" हम्योंचं वसुधा भज्य एकांशं हि तलोन्नतम् । द्विभागं चरणायामं प्रस्तरस्यैकभागता ॥ गलोचं त्वेकभागेन द्विभागं शिखरोदयम् । एकांशं स्तूपितुङ्गं तु कल्प्यैवं शान्तिकं भवेत ॥"

The Gurudevapaddhati<sup>515</sup> states:—

" एवं चाल्पविमानानि विज्ञेयानि यथारुचि । एकभौमानि वा कुर्याद् द्वितलान्तानि शक्तितः ॥ एतेषामात्तविस्ताराद् द्विगुणः स्यादिहोच्ळ्यः । उच्ळ्ये चाष्टधा भक्ते स्यादिषष्ठानमंशतः ॥ स्तम्भोत्सेषस्तु भागाभ्यां प्रस्तरश्चैकभागिकः । कण्ठश्चांशेन शिखरं द्वाभ्यां स्थूपिस्तथांशतः ॥ एवं धामैकतलकं द्वितलं च समृहयेत् ।"

514. Kāšyapašilpa, XXVII, 14, 15 (Ānandāśrama Series). 515. Gurudevapaddhati, Uttarārdha, XXX, 59-62 (T. S. S. Ed.).

The Mānasāra<sup>516</sup> similary states:-

" उत्सेधे चाष्टभागे तु चैकांशेन मसूरकम् । द्विभागं चाङ्घिकोत्तुङ्गं मश्चमेकेन कारयेत् ॥ कन्धरं तत्समं कुर्यात्तदद्वयं शिखरोदयम् (यः) । तद्धं स्तूपिकोत्तुङ्गं .... .... ॥"

The Śilparatna<sup>517</sup> refers to the present stanza in the Chapter on Śāntikādiniyama and adds other alternative proportions given in the Kāśyapaśilpa.

The commentator Sankara calls this prescription an alternative rule. Thus he remarks: 518 <sup>५</sup> पक्षान्तरेण कचिदल्पप्रासादे नियममाह ... This remark contains the suggestion that there are other alternatives. In stanza 7 the author has already laid down four alternative heights relative to the breadth of the structure but the relative proportions of parts are not stated. Here the author states the most commonly accepted rule regarding the height of the building and refers to the most commonly accepted distribution of height among the members of the structure. The denomination given to this proportion of height (Ht—2B) by Maya is 'Sarvakāmika'. The text of Kāśyapa, 519 which deals with four more alternative proportions of the parts of the temple under the technical names Paustika, Jayada, Adbhuta and Sarvakāmika, amplifies the topic under consideration. The proportions stated in our text, here, are stated there under the variety of Prāsāda called 'Sāntika.' The Silparatna refers to the lines of Kāśyapa in the Chapter styled 'Śāntikādiniyama.'520 In the matter of the division of the whole height of the temple into a certain number of equal parts and the proportionate distribution of the same among the main six members of the structure, the Mānasāra is massive in details. It devotes a large part of the Chapter Ekatalavidhāna<sup>521</sup> towards the treatment of this subject. The proportions laid down in the present stanza of our text, according to Gurudeva, may apply to both Ekatalavidhāna and Dvitalavidhāna.

<sup>516.</sup> Mānasāra Text, XIX, lines 21-24 (P. K. Ācārya's Ed.).

<sup>517.</sup> Silparatna, Ch. XXXVII (T. S. S. Ed.).

<sup>518.</sup> Tantrasamuccaya with Vimarśini, Part I, p. 81 (T. S. S. Ed.).

<sup>519.</sup> Kāśyapaśilpa (Anandâśrama Series), XXVII, 15-24.

<sup>520.</sup> Vide stanzas 4-12.

<sup>521.</sup> Vide lines 20-107.

#### STANZA 53.

## Divisions of the Prastara.

In this stanza, the author describes the Prastara referred to in the previous verse. The proportions of the various mouldings that form the Prastara are stated here with reference to the height of the Prastara. The height of the Prastara will be half the height of the Stambha or equal to the height of the Adhisthana. 522 The height of the Prastara is here required to be divided into either 21 or 19 equal parts. In the first case, from bottom upwards, Uttara ('Mṛṇmayottara' i.e. Uttara made of baked mud as Sankara describes it, or 'Kalluttara' (i.e.) Uttara made of stone as the vernacular commentators would have it) will be allotted 3 parts and its Vājana 1 part: Bhūtāli (in the Kāsyapasilpa described as 'Bhūtamālā') 3 parts and its Vājana 1 part; Kapota 7 parts; Ālingapatti 1 part; Antari 1 part; Prati 3 parts and its Vajana 1 part. In the latter case of the division of the Prastara into 19 parts, Kapota will be given 6 parts and Prati 2 parts and the remaining mouldings will be given the parts as described in the previous instance. From the nature of the description two sets of mouldings are considered, major and secondary. The major mouldings are mentioned once only. Thus Bhūtāli, Kapota and Prati come under the class of major mouldings. Vājana, which is found repeated, and associated with the major mouldings, eventually belongs to the secondary class. The mouldings called Alingapattikā and Antari also come under the secondary variety. Bhūtāli is so termed because of its conspicuous presentation in the element of its decoration of such mythological objects as the Bhūtas or These motifs of ornamentation may be included under the class of the representation of fanciful objects. The moulding called 'Kapota,' as its name suggests, takes its form from the figure of a pigeon's head. It projects like the beak of the pigeon. Rām Rāz describes it as "a crowning member of cornices, pedestals, and entablatures. When employed in the latter, it often connects utility with beauty, in as much as the beak of the bird is so placed as to serve the purpose of a spout to throw off the water falling on the cornice."523 It is included in the circular class of mouldings by Rām Rāz.524

<sup>522.</sup> Vide the alternative proportions laid down in verse 52.

<sup>523.</sup> Essay on the Architecture of the Hindus by Raz, p. 24.

<sup>524.</sup> Ibid., page 23.

The following stanzas,<sup>525</sup> found stated in the Kāśyapaśilpa, give support to the proportions of the various parts of the Prastara dealt with in our text:—

" अथ वक्ष्मे विशेषेण प्रस्तरस्य तु रुक्षणम् । स्तम्भार्धमुच्चमानं वा आत्तोत्सेघांशमेव वा ॥ तदुच्चमेकविंशांशं कृत्वा गुणांशमुत्तरम् । वाजनं त्वेकभागेन भूतमालोन्नता त्रिभिः ॥ भूतमालोपरिष्टात् तु वाजनं त्वेकभागया । सप्तांशं तु कपोतोच्चमोलिङ्गं त्वेकभागया ॥ अंशेनान्तरिकां कुर्यात् प्रत्युत्सेधं गुणांशकम् । वाजनं त्वेकभागेन अथवान्यप्रकारतः ॥ तुङ्गमेकोनविंशांशं कृत्वोत्तरं त्रिभागया । भागेन वाजनं कुर्यादग्न्यंशैर्वलभी भवेत् ॥ वाजनं त्वेकभागेन कपोतोच्चं रसांशकम् । आलिङ्गमानमंशेन अन्तरिं तु प्रकल्पयेत् ॥ प्रत्युत्सेधं द्विभागेन वाजनं त्वेकभागया ॥"

The Silparatna<sup>526</sup> under the Chapter termed 'Prastaravidhāna', refers to this stanza of our author. He starts defining the position of the Prastara and its height, which, as stated there, is as follows:—

" स्तम्भोत्सेघार्घमानं वा मासूरोत्सेघमात्रकम् । प्रस्तरस्योच्छ्यं कुर्यात् पादस्योर्ध्वे विशेषतः ॥"

Then follows the stanza we have considered viz.— स्तम्माधीद etc. Śrīkumāra furnishes other alternative modes of division and distribution of the height of the Prastara from the standpoint of Daṇḍa measure. In the list of alternatives stated there<sup>527</sup> an extract is given which, as a result of comparison with the text of Gurudeva, is found to be taken from Gurudeva's 'Prastarādyadhikāra'<sup>528</sup> with some slight changes in the

<sup>525.</sup> Kāšyapašilpa, XIX, 1-7 (Anandāśrama Series); quoted in the Vimaršinī of the Tantrasamuccaya, Part I, pp. 82-83 (T. S. S. Ed.).

<sup>526.</sup> Silparatna, Chapter XXX (T. S. S. Ed.).

<sup>527.</sup> Silparatna, Ch. XXX, sts. 19-30 (T. S. S. Ed.).

<sup>528.</sup> Gurudevapaddhati, Uttarārdha, XXX, sts. 83-97 (T. S. S. Ed.).

order of a few lines. The Mānasāra, in the chapter on 'Prastara-vidhāna',<sup>529</sup> after having prescribed the different varieties of the height of the entablature relative to the measure of the basement and the pillar, devotes the greater portion of the chapter to the enumeration of the various mouldings and the proportion of each of the mouldings. On the basis of its division into parts, and distribution of these parts among the various mouldings, entablature is described under seven varieties.<sup>530</sup>

## STANZA 54.

## The Conclusion of Ekatala.

In this stanza, the author tells us that, after having concluded the subject of Ekatalaprāsāda, he proposes to speak of temples coming under Dvitalaprāsāda, etc., Jāti Prāsāda etc., and Vrtta Prāsāda etc. Temples are classified from different standpoints such as their size, the number of floors they possess and their regular shape in design. According to their size they are broadly treated under two heads, known as Alpaprāsādas and Mahāprāsādas. In the latter class of Mahāprāsādas come the varieties Jāti, Chandas, Vikalpa and Ābhāsa. From the point of view of their number of storeys they are known as Ekatala, Dvitala etc., and on the basis of their shape and design they are classified as 'Caturaśra' (square), 'Vrtta' (circular), 'Caturaśradirgha' (rectangular), 'Hastiprstha' (apsidal), 'Vrttāyata' (elliptical), 'Sadkona' (hexagonal), and 'Astāśra' (octagonal). So far the author has been dealing with the construction of that type of temple which is characterised by one tala and the square shape. It is a simple structure and, compared with the rest, it is small in size and hence is called Alpaprasada. In design, size and proportion this class differentiates itself from other types of structures which are more elaborate and are dealt with in the section that follows. From the tenor of his statement with regard to the classes of structure, it would appear that the author is giving comparatively fuller details pertaining to the subject of Alpaprāsādas. He does not fail, however, to lay down the essential features and outline of the other classes. The emphasis that is laid is found laid on the Alpaprasada class, and this is in keeping with the practice of Kerala; for rarely do we there come across temples coming under the Mahaprasada class.

<sup>529.</sup> Mānasāra (P. K. Ācārya's Ed.), Text, Ch. XVI.

<sup>530.</sup> Ibtd., XVI, lines 21-120.

## SQUARE, THE FUNDAMENTAL SHAPE.

With regard to shape, it deserves to be noticed that whether in Kerala or outside, the dominating shape is the square one. fundamental shape known to man and appreciated by him since the "The utilisation of rectangular networks must dawn of civilisation. go back at least as far as primitive architectural design": thus observes George Birkhoff in a famous work called "Aesthetic Measure." This shape again is found prevailing in the design of all ancient remains and huts of primitive hill tribes. R. L. Mitra suggests that the earliest structures in India and outside, e.g., Egypt, Assyria and Babylon, were square The material remains of Mohenjo-Daro, which give or rectangular. evidence of the large use of brick and timber, afford proof clear enough of the large prevalence of rectangular design since the remotest period of civilisation revealed to us by ancient monumental records. Material remains coming down from the most distant times, such as the 3rd millennium B.C., thus serve to strengthen the view that rectangular shape is a primary and probably the earliest shape, though circular is not unknown, for, as Sir John Marshall tells us, wells of circular design have been unearthed from Mohenjo-Daro. If we accept the view that wood preceded stone as structural material, as some of the stone works and reliefs in stone belonging to the Buddhist times indicate, we must concede that square or rectangular form forms the original and earliest shape, from which other shapes were derived or modified. point of view all other shapes may be described as deviations from or modifications or transformations of the fundamental square shape. Literary evidence is not wanting in support of this suggestion; for the following quotations from a work called Sārāvalī<sup>531</sup> or Sārasaṅgraha tend to support the view set forth. The verses run thus:—

> " तुर्यश्रमेव सकलप्रकृतिस्थितं तत् क्षेत्रप्रमाणं विकृतान्यपराणि सप्त ॥ तुर्यश्रं प्रथमं कुर्यात् सर्वप्रकृतितं गतम् । तद्विकाराणि चान्यानि वर्तयेद्वर्तनापतः ॥"

531. Sārāvalī is an unpublished work on Tantra. As in every other Agamic treatise, a section of it is devoted to architectural subjects. In Ms. form it is in the possession of traditional Tantris of Malabar and a copy of it is under preparation for the Cochin Maharaja's Manuscript Library at Tripunittura. The stanzas quoted above are brought to my notice by Prof. K. R. Pisharoti. My thanks are due to Prof. Pisharoti for the valuable piece of information he has furnished on the topic under observation.

These verses, interesting and instructive, throw much light on the subject of our studies in respect of the design and shape as originally conceived by the ancient architects of our land. The aesthetic merit of this square or rectangular design is discussed by Birkhoff in his "Aesthetic Measure", and this modern writer too expresses the same view which was set forth in the ancient text. According to Birkhoff square is the best shape, because it produces the most satisfactory impression of symmetry. Says he: "Corresponding to the degree of symmetry involved, we should expect to find the square to be the best in form, the rectangle excellent, and both superior in aesthetic quality to the symmetrical trapezoid. Such a relative rating coincides, I believe, with the facts."532 In comparative appreciation of the square, he observes: "On the score of symmetry alone, the square holds higher rank."533

## EKATALA, DVITALA ETC.

The rendering of the Sanskrit terms 'Ekatala', 'Dvitala,' etc., by such expressions as 'One-storeyed,' 'Two-storeyed' buildings etc., as given by Acarya, evidently subjects itself to a critical consideration. The Sanskrit word 'tala' refers merely to the lower horizontal surface of the structure. It may be called 'floor,' if by the expression 'floor' we do not imply any technical sense associated with the phrase first In English, the expression 'floor,' however, is used almost interchangeably with 'storey,' and this usage has brought into currency, the phrase 'first floor' meaning thereby the first storey. To differentiate the lower surface from the upper level, the lower plane or surface came to be called the ground-floor. When the numerative such as the 'first' etc. is added to the expression 'floor,' it acquires the technical sense which is delimiting in its connotation, for it excludes the ground-floor. Enumeration begins with the level of the first storey. language, however, such distinction is not found made as is made by the expressions 'Ground-floor' and 'first-floor.' As far as we know, there is no particular expression used to signify the ground-floor. The term 'tala' conveys the idea of ground-floor. The numerative 'Eka' when added to the expression 'tala' refers only to the ground-floor and not storey, because, in their enumeration of the horizontal section of the building, the Indian builders start with the ground-floor. English style of enumeration the ground-floor is not inclusive but ex-

<sup>532.</sup> Aesthetic Measure by Birkhoff, page 24.

<sup>533.</sup> Ibid., page 25.

clusive. From the description of Ekatalaprāsāda, it is clear that enumeration starts from the ground-floor. In view of such an obvious difference in the method of approach adopted by Indian and Western writers towards the enumeration of the horizontal surface of the structure, the rendering of Sanskrit terms by English expressions must be accompanied by some explanatory remarks making clear in what exact sense the expressions are employed. Acārya's interpretation<sup>534</sup> of the term 'Ekatala' as One-storeyed, 'Dvitala' as Two-storeyed and so on needs to be revised.

## STHĀNAKA, ĀSANA AND ŚAYANA.

The Mānasāra<sup>535</sup> refers to a further type of classification from the point of view of the dominating or pronounced feature of measurement. Three classes of buildings are thus referred to called Sthanaka (standing), Asana (sitting) and Sayana (Reclining). This classification is given with a view to keeping the structural features the characteristics of the three harmony with as Sthānaka, Āsana The known and Śavana. is fitted for classification implies that the Sthanaka structure housing that image which is in the standing posture, the Asana for that image which is in its sitting posture and the Sayana for that image which is in its reclining posture. Temple architecture conceived in terms of the human organism must echo the activities of the human body and mind. Practical and structural considerations should inextricably be bound up with psychological operations. Man's mind is essentially contemplative in character and, as such, seeks to project itself in the object The Indian artist sought to fulfil his mental aspiration of meditation. by turning to the art of architecture, as the fitting means of expressing his mental attitude, which is spiritual in its substance. enshrined in a temple is the representation or embodiment of a state of feeling and of consciously directed thought. A temple, the abode of the deity, fulfils its higher function when its construction also suggests the mood or feeling which the image that it contains tends to represent. Those who desire to appreciate the value of Indian art of architecture and sculpture must above all divine its meaning. They should base their observations on two sets of considerations, constructive and psychologi-

<sup>534.</sup> Ācārya's Translation of the Mānasāra; Essay on Indian Architecture, p. 50.

<sup>535.</sup> Vide Ācārya's Edition of the Mānasāra, Text, Ch. XIX, lines 7-9.

cal, for, as we have already observed, nothing did the Indian artist seek to build or carve whose significance he could not imagine. The classification of structure into Sthānaka, Asana and Sayana types is significant in that it is suggestive of the moods which the three classes of image serve to express in their three different postures of standing, sitting and reclining. This psychological implication or consideration, it will be noted here, is in tune with our interpretation of architecture in terms of the human being and further strengthens the *subjective* side of the viewpoint we have so far attempted to set forth.

# The Nayaks of Tanjore

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Edited with Introduction and Notes  $\cdot$ 

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#### CHAPTER VII.

## GÖVINDA DĪKSHITA

Neither the rule of the Tanjore Nayaks in general, nor the reign of Raghunātha Nayaka in particular, would be complete and full without a reference being made to Govinda Dikshita, the illustrious Brahman minister of the kingdom. Gövinda Dikshita was minister to both Achyutappa Nayaka and his son Raghunātha, and it was to him that these two Nayaks owed a large measure of their successful and glorious rule. The Dikshita played a very prominent part in the good administration of the country, and it may be said that his fame even eclipsed that of the Navaks. If Raghunātha Navaka could be compared to the great Krishnadēva Raya of Vijayanagar, Gövinda Dīkshita may well be ranked with the latter's minister, Sāluva Timma. Gōvinda Dīkshita's name is still green in the memory of the people of the Choladesa and the generation that is fast disappearing, speaks of his greatness and fame as an administrator, as an erudite scholar and as an able minister besides, his high sense of justice and fairness which were all brought to bear upon his high office of minister. His meritorious services with which he enriched the people and the land as well, are held in much esteem even at the present day.

The existence of numerous villages and streets besides other memorials, named after him, stand testimony to his greatness and to the regard which the people and the rulers had for him and his personality. The villages of Gövindapuram, Gövindakudi, Ayyampēt and the streets known as Ayyankadai street in Tanjore, Yagasalai street in Kumbakonam and tanks such as Ayyankulam, all these are monuments that go to commemorate his name. In spite of all these remembrances, it is really an irony of fate that very little should be known authentically of such a great person, who lived and played a considerable part in maintaining the prestige of the Nayak rule. In the temple of the village called Pattīswaram in the Kumbakonam Taluk, there stands 'in oriental majesty and grandeur, a statue of this great minister dressed in the state garb with the long robe and with the curious head-dress of the day.' Besides him stands in like manner the magnificient statue of his wife. And Lingas called Dikshitalingas, are still worshipped in the temples of Kumbeswara at Kumbakonam and Panchanadiswara at Tiruvādi (Tiruvaiyar). Whether these Lingas are consecrated by the Dīkshita himself or established in his name, are questions that remain

to be settled. But all the same, nothing definite is known about him and his early life, beyond the traditional accounts which though interesting, are so varied as not to admit of easy verification. Pattīswaram and Tirunāgēswaram in the Kumbakonam Taluk and Tiruppalatturai in the Pāpanasam Taluk, are held by the people as places, where he lived and spent his life. The statement that he lived at Pattīswaram and went to Tanjore daily in his palanquin to discharge his duties as minister, looks not only improbable but incredible considering the distance of the place and the importance of his high office. However, the historical remains of a statue and the ruined site shown as the place where his house once stood, as well as epigraphs and the present custom of a section of the community called Pattunūlkārar going to Pattīswaram to settle their minor differences before the shrine of Gövinda Dīkshita even now.--all these support the statement that in all probability he might have lived and spent his last days at Pattīswaram or it might have been a favourite place of residence of his.

The literary evidence of this period contains only casual references and from them a good account cannot be made of him. Even Yagñanārāyana Dīkshita, the son of this famous minister and the biographer of Raghunātha Nayaka, does not give a full account of his father, though he shows in many places that his father was associated with the government of the Nayaks, during the reigns of Achyutappa and Raghunātha. But as regards the minister's early life, it is not possible to derive any knowledge from his son's references. Tradition has it that Gövinda Dīkshita was a Kannada Brahman belonging to the Vasishta gotra and Aśvalayanasūtra and that he migrated to the Chola Country about the middle of the 16th century. Even of this, there are two versions. One version says that Govinda Dīkshita, a Kannada Brahman, was noted even as a young man, for his remarkable knowledge of Hindu Sāstras and Astrology. He is said to have been born of very poor parents; and so to find employment he made his way to Vijayanagara at the early age of seventeen. There, he soon became a favourite of Achyutarāya, (A.D. 1529 to A.D. 1542). Gövinda Dīkshita's first meeting with the Rāya is said to have taken place about A.D. 1532, when he went to the royal palace along with several astrologers who had been summoned by the Raya, to cast the horoscope of a child that had just then born to Achyutarāya was very much impressed by the Dīkshita's deep him.

<sup>1.</sup> An account of Gövinda Dīkshita embodying all the traditions and stories is given in an article entitled Gövinda Dīkshita by Mr. N. K. Venkatesam Pantulu, in the Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society, Vol. II, pp. 220-241.

knowledge of astrology, showered on him his favours and employed him in his service. When Achyutarāya gave Sevappa Nayaka, the principality of Tanjore and appointed him to be its governor, the latter is said to have taken along with him, his former master and friend, Govinda Dikshita.2 It is even claimed that the Nayaka requested Govinda Dikshita to accept the governorship of the province, but the latter excused himself by saying that he, being a Brahman, should not encroach upon the right or dharma of a Kshatriya, whose duty it was to wield the sceptre. And so he helped Sevappa to become the ruler and himself became his minister. It is said that he continued to be minister of the state for more than the duration of the rule of Sevappa and Achyutappa and even unto the reign of Raghunātha.3 Another version, says that he was a Kannada Brahman and was born of poor parents in Mysore, and he migrated to Vellore, where he took service under his uncle, who was the rāyasam (secretary) of the Arni Nayaka. Later he was transferred to the Tanjore Samasthanam, when a daughter of this poligar was married to a prince of the Tanjore line. Here, in Tanjore, he rose to prominence and became the minister of state. Neither of these accounts is supported by the literary evidence nor by the epigraphic testimony, but the fact that he was a Kannada Brahman and a great scholar is beyond doubt.4 The rest of the tradition of his rise to power cannot withstand internal criticism; for one thing, the epigraphs prove the impossibility of Sevappa being a servant of Govinda Dikshita and the former's rise to prominence through him.5 Apart from this it is also

- 2. An account of this traditional story is given in Chapter II. Also Sāhitya-ratnākara, Introduction by Dr. T. R. Chintamani.
- 3. An apt parallelism may be traced between the long ministerial career of the Dīkshita at Tanjore leading to the consolidation of the State and to an increase in its prestige and the remarkable services of Ariyanātha Mudaliar, the co-adjutor and Daļavāy of Visvanatha Nayak, the founder of the Madura Nayak kingdom. He was for over 50 years the "second in power" in the State. Ariyanātha was especially responsible for the organisation of the Pālaiyam system in the Southern Tamil country, and the poligars were specially attached to Ariyanātha and his memory. In one grant his name is associated along with that of the Nayak himself (of 1560 A.D.). Ariyanātha was the Daļavay and Pradhāni of the State; and his equestrian statue in the Pudumantapam at Madura and the thousand-pillared hall in its great temple are "substantial relics of his importance". Both Ariyanātha and Gōvinda Dīkshita were roughly contemporaries and engaged in work of the same character and both were responsible for the consolidation of the two great Nayak States of the south.—[Ed.].
- 4. The Kannada origin of Gövinda Dīkshita is established by the fact that His Holiness Srī Sankarāchārya of Kāmakōti Pītha in his purvāsrama belonged to this family and he is of Kannada origin.
  - 5. See Chapter II.

obvious from a study of the records that Gövinda Dīkshita could not have been minister to Sevappa, the first Nayaka. Gövinda Dīkshita is mentioned only once in the records of Achyutappa and Raghunātha and the earliest inscription mentioning him by name, is dated A.D. 1588.6 This record registers a gift made by the Nayaka for the merit of Gövinda Dīkshita. The literary evidences of Raghunāthābhyudayam and the Sāhityaratnākara also speak of Gövinda Dīkshita only during the reign of Achyutappa and Raghunātha and not before. If Gövinda Dīkshita had any association with Sevappa, at least his son Yagñanārāyana would have made mention of it. Moreover, Gövinda Dīkshita's migration from Vellore is not also supported by internal evidence, since there is nothing to prove the marital alliance of the Tanjore Nayaks with the house of Ārni. Hence these traditional accounts are of no material help to the historian.

Mr. N. K. Venkatesam Pantulu<sup>7</sup> says that Govinda Dikshita began his career as minister under the first Navak Sevappa and continued in office through the reign of Achvutappa; and he also was of help to Raghunātha in the early years of his reign. He does not support the statement contained in the Tanjore District Manual which says that Gövinda Dīkshita also lived during the time of Vijayarāghava Nayaka, the last ruler; on the ground that this supposition was consequent on the writer of the Manual identifying Achyutappa Nayaka, the second ruler, with the last king, called Vijayaraghava and Achyuta Vijayarāghava in the records. He further adds that this view is incredible when between Sevappa and Vijayarāghava, there was an interval of a century and there was no possibility of his having lived for such a long time. The literary evidence also proves the impossibility of Govinda Dikshita having continued as minister under Vijayarāghava. The Chaturdandi prakāsika distinctly says that Vēnkatēswara Dīkshita, one of the sons of Gövinda Dīkshita, was Vijayarāghava's minister and so the father was evidently dead by that time. Therefore the question of Govinda Dikshita's early association with Sevappa alone remains to be settled. Mr. Venkatesam Pantulu says that his early association with Sevappa is established and quotes two inscriptions in support of his statement.8 He takes the word 'Sevappa Nāyakkarayyan' occuring in

<sup>6. 119</sup> of 1930.

<sup>7.</sup> The Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society, Vol. II, 1928, p. 223.

<sup>8.</sup> Ibid., p. 224.

one of them9 to mean both Sevappa Nayaka and his minister Gövinda Dikshita on the ground, that the latter was called Ayyan out of respect. Ayyan, he further adds, is derived from the Sanskrit word Arya which means 'worshipful.' This argument is not only inconclusive, but also untenable. Unfortunately, one of the epigraphs produced by him for our consideration, does not contain either the name of Sevappa or his minister; while the second inscription which was issued by Achyutappa records that he was the son of Sevappa; (Sevappa Nāyakkarayyan Achyutappa Nāyakkarayyan Tanjāvūr taṭṭārukku kodutta dharma sāśanam) and that he made a gift to the goldsmiths of Tanjore. reference to Sevappa Nāyakkarayyan must be taken to refer to Sevappa Nayaka alone and not to mean himself and his minister. Govinda Dīkshita is also called in his epigraphs as Dīkshitarayyan and the Tanjore records give the rulers the appellation of Ayyan added to their names. Mr. Venkatesam Pantulu, who reads the word Sevappa Nayakkarayyan as referring to two distinct individuals, viz., the Nayak and the Ayyan, in order to prove the association of Govinda Dikshita with Sevappa, is not inclined to read and interpret in the same manner the epigraphs of Vijayarāghava Nayaka, which contain references as Vijayarāghava Nāyakkarayyan.<sup>10</sup> In that case, it must be said that Gōvinda Dīkshita also lived during the reign of the last Navaka Vijayārāghava; but Mr. Pantulu says that he could not have been minister to Vijayarāghava; and hence his view of Govinda Dīkshita's association with Sevappa from the epigraphs, remains to be proved. The argument that Gövinda Dīkshita was not associated with Vijayarāghava, on the ground that the former could not have lived for more than a century, applies equally to the statement that he was associated with Sevappa very early. Because, Govinda Dikshita's latest epigraph is dated A.D. 1634 and if he should have come to Vijayanagar in his 17th year corresponding to A.D. 1532, before the rule of the Nayaks began at Tanjore, then it would give him a very long life of more than a century; and this is also extremely impossible. There is also no literary evidence to establish Govinda Dikshita's early association with the administration of Sevappa. The Sangita Sudhā alone contains a reference to prove that

<sup>9.</sup> The epigraphs referred to are, Achyutadēva Raya's inscription recording a gift of land by Tattappa Nayaka, son of Mallappa Nayaka to Toppāram Kētta Pillaiyar and 22 of 1897 dated Saka 1499 and issued by Achyutappa Nayaka in favour of goldsmiths. Mr. Venkatesam Pantulu basing his conclusion on the traditional evidence, works out the epigraphs to suit his conclusion.

<sup>10. 543</sup> of 1918 and 709 of 1904.

<sup>11.</sup> According to tradition he came to Vijayanagar in his 17th year and his first meeting with Achyutarāya took place about A.D. 1532 when a son was born to him. Gōvinda Dīkshita had then Sevappa as his servant.

Gövinda Dīkshita was in the court of Sevappa and here, this fact is given out by Gövinda Dīkshita himself, when he praised Raghunātha and brought to his notice that even his grandfather had predicted in open court that he (Raghunātha) would appreciative reference is great ruler. This said been made by Sevappa, when Raghunātha was a tender child This statement interested in play.12 would only prove that the Dikshita was present in Sevappa's court only from the latter part of his reign, since Raghunātha, his grandson is mentioned as having been a child then. 13 Even Yagnanārāyana Dīkshita speaks of his father's association only with Achyutappa Nayaka and his son, and not with his predecessor. From the Sāhityaratnākara it is known for certain that Gövinda Dikshita was minister to Achyutappa; and the latter took his advice on all matters relating to the internal and foreign policies of the state. Gövinda Dīkshita attended the war council held by Achyutappa on the eve of the great Karnataka civil war of succession, and it was he, who helped in the coronation of Raghunatha Nayaka and the abdication of Achyutappa. Gövinda Dīkshita is said to have also crowned Raghunātha and performed his Pattābhishēka ceremony. He taught Raghunātha the science of politics and other śāstras and claimed him as his pupil. Raghunātha Nayaka's march upon Śōlaga and other enemies was the result of Gövinda Dīkshita's wise counsel. When Raghunātha started on his expedition, he is said to have left the administration in the hands of Gövinda Dīkshita. Raghunātha Nayaka's confidence in his minister and the great regard which he had for his learning and experience in administration, are fully borne out by Yagnanārāyana Dīkshita in his references in the Sāhityaratnākara as well as in several places in the Raghunātha Vilāsa Nātukam. According to the evidence contained in the latter work, it appears that when a drama was enacted in the palace theatre both Raghunātha Navaka and Gövinda Dīkshita were seated together on the same seat. Yagñanārāyana Dīkshita also speaks in glowing terms of the victories won by the Nayak and of the high reputation enjoyed by his father, Govinda Dikshita. These references go to show that Govinda Dikshita continued to live during the reign of Raghunātha; and the same internal evidence proves that he did not survive in

12. Sangīta Sudhā, Sl. 48.

पूर्व समेता वयमत्रयुष्मित्पतामहं चेव्वमहीमहेन्द्रम् । आशीमिरानन्द्यितुं तदमे त्वय्याद्द्वानेखुरलीषु केलिम् ॥ तदामवन्तं सिवलोक्यहर्षादस्मान्युदावाचिममामवोचत् । अस्माकमेतेन मवेत् प्रतिष्टा घर्थुसमर्थञ्च स एव राज्यम् ॥

13. Sangīta Sudhā, Sl. 49.

the time of Vijayarāghaya Nayaka. Venkatamakhī, another son of Gövinda Dīkshita and the author of the Chaturdandi prakāsika, says that he wrote the work at the instance of Vijayarāghava, when he was minister to him for some time. If Govinda Dikshita continued to live then, Venkatamakhi would have mentioned him. Since the latest epigraph<sup>14</sup> of Govinda Dikshita is dated in A.D. 1634, it is certain that he lived till then. His earliest record is dated in A.D. 1588<sup>15</sup> and so, his association with the government of the Nayaks will have to be mainly based on the evidence of the epigraphs, between A.D. 1588 and A.D. 1634. period does not include the years which he spent in the court of Sevappa, whose death had taken place about A.D. 1580. Sevappa is said to have seen his grandson, Raghunatha, playing as a boy, Raghunātha's birth may be placed in or about A.D. 1575. As Gövinda Dīkshita bears witness to Sevappa's blessing the child Raghunātha, it is probable that Govinda Dīkshita had then already settled at Tanjore. Since he says that he was one of those, who were assembled at the durbar hall when Sevappa expressed his high expectations of Raghunātha, it is possible to surmise that he had not then become the minister of state, but was probably employed in the palace as the royal purōhita.16 Hence under the present circumstances, Gōvinda Dīkshito's association with the administration of Tanjore may be broadly held to have lasted from A.D. 1575 to A.D. 1634, and in this period of nearly six decades, he was serving the Navaks in a double capacity both as their 'Kulakūtastha purohita' (family priest) and 'Kula mantri.'

From the foregoing account it is evident that Gövinda Dīkshita, a Kannada Brahman hailing from the Mysore country made his way to the court of the Tanjore Nayak during the last years of Sevappa, the first ruler; and he was well received and respectfully treated on account of his profound scholarship and deep learning. Soon the Dīkshita made his mark there and rose to be the royal purōhita, then to that of a tutor to the prince and lastly to the high office of minister solely by dint of merit. Achyutappa Nayaka's great regard for this minister is best seen in his records referring to the gifts made by him for the merit of Gōvinda Dikshita. Raghunātha Nayaka's veneration for and gratitude to his minister were something extraordinary, since Gōvinda Dīkshita was also

<sup>14. 257</sup> of 1927.

<sup>15. 119</sup> of 1930.

<sup>16.</sup> The Sāhityaratnākara refers to Achyutappa's request made to Gōvinda Dīkshita to fix an auspicious day for the celebration of Raghunātha's coronation. Sāhityaratnākara, Canto X, Sl. 103. Also Canto XII, Sl. 46. Here Gōvinda Dīkshita is called Guru.

<sup>17.</sup> Sāhityaratnākara: Colophon.

his teacher. And in the later years of Raghunātha's reign which witnessed the revival of literary activities, Gōvinda Dīkshita must have also played a prominent part; but of this we have no direct evidence.

Gövinda Dīkshita was an orthodox Brahman and he is said to have performed numerous sacrifices. Tradition says that he never neglected to perform Agnihōtra (daily fire worship) and was never wanting in the strict performance of dharma as enjoined in the Vedas and Sastras. Yagñanārāyana Dīkshita speaks of his performing the Vājapēna and the Sarvatōmukha sacrifices and citua. the sacrifice he assisthe performance of the Vājapēya Raghunatha, who it said, held ted by the Navaka. is umbrella over his head. The Yāgasāla street and the Yāgamantapa at Kumbakonam are even now pointed out as marking the places, where Govinda Dikshita performed these sacrifices. It is also said that he made large gifts and benefactions on the occasion of the completion of these sacrifices; and his great gifts numbering sixteen (Sodaśa mahādanas) and his gift of a village in the name of each tithi (15 days of a paksha) are also well known. The modern village called Echchangudi alias Ekādasī Agrahāram and the village called Mahādhānapuram, Mulliakkudi alias Dīkshita Samudra and important streets called Mahadhāna streets, in the towns of Mayavaram, Tiruvidaimarudur and Tiruvaiyar besides others, are all pointed out as great gifts made to the Brahmans on such occasions. Gövinda Dīkshita's name is even now associated with the repair and construction of the sixteen mantapas on the bunds of the Mahāmakham tank at Kumbakonam.<sup>18</sup> It is said that the Nayak, who was pleased with the Dikshita for his charitable endowments, gifted to him a quantity of gold equal to his own weight for further repairs. Gövinda Dikshita is also spoken of as the builder of several Pushyamantapas at different places such as Tiruvaiyar, Kumbakonam, Tiruvidaimarudur, Tiruvalanjuli and Vriddhāchalam. As Achyutappa Nayaka also is mentioned by the Dikshita as the builder of these mantapas at these places, 19 it is possible that these works were carried out at the instance of Gövinda Dīkshita. The Rāmaswāmi temples at Kumbakonam, Vijayarāghavapuram and Srirangam were erected during his time.20 The temple at Pattīswaram is said to have received large gifts as well as additions made to its precincts. He is mentioned as the builder of the Āchāravāśal, and the Anantakalyāna mantapa of the Sārangaswāmi matha at Kumbakonam in A.D. 163121 and also the Turaikkāttuvār

<sup>18.</sup> A.R.E., 1926-27, p. 117.

<sup>19.</sup> Sanaīta Sudhā.

<sup>20.</sup> A.R.E. 1926-27.

<sup>21. 270</sup> of 1927.

mantapa in the Vilanagar temple situated in the Mayavaram Taluk.<sup>22</sup> Apart from these magnificent charities and public works, tradition has it that he also devoted much attention to the cause of education. The Rājā Pātasala at Kumbakonam traces its origin to the bounty of Gōvinda Dīkshita; and several institutions for the teaching and propagation of the Hindu Sāstras and Vēdas were also maintained by him. Even though Sanskrit learning enjoyed special favour, yet the growth of and fostering of the Tamil literature and culture do not seem to have suffered at all for want of patronage either royal or otherwise. Gōvinda Dīkshita himself was responsible for the translation of the *Tiruvaiyār Mahātmyam* into Tamil about A.D. 1605.<sup>23</sup>

In addition to being a good administrator, Govinda Dīkshita was also a renowned author. He is said to have written commentaries on the Jaimini Sūtras and Kaumārila Darsana besides the Sangīta Sudhā. He is called Advaita Vidyācharya; and Yagñanārāyana Dīkshita says that he was not only proficient in the Advaita Philosophy, but had a thorough knowledge of the six systems of philosophy (Shad darsanas). Vēņkatēswara Dīkshita (or Vēnkaṭamakhi), another son of this great minister says that his father reestablished the Advaita school of Philosophy of Sri Sankara and he was the elder contemporary of the great Advaita scholar, Appayya Dīkshita. Both of them are said to have made efforts to propagate advaitism.<sup>24</sup> While Gövinda Dīkshita completed his Kaumārila Darsana (a commentary on Kumārila Bhatta's darsana), Appayya Dīkshita wrote in comment, his Parimala at the former's instance. Appayya Dīkshita's reference to an Advaita Vidyāchārya in his Siddhāntalēsa Sangraha, is taken to mean Govinda Dīkshita himself, for whom the author had a high regard.<sup>25</sup> Gövinda Dīkshita was also very proficient in the science of music and may well be called the founder of Karnātic music. Vēnkatamakhi says that the Sangīta Sudha was in reality written by his

<sup>22. 164</sup> of 1925.

<sup>23.</sup> There is a passage in the Tiruvaiyār Purāņam which reads: மலிபுணல் சூழ்சோணுடு தஞ்சையிற் காத்திருமாசர் மதியமைச்சர் ெனுலிமறைதேர் கோவிர்த தீட்சதாரயன் திருவாக்குடைமையாலே, கலியுகத்துச் சகராண்டு மூவைஞ் ஹாற்றிருபதின்மேல் காணுமேழாய்பொலி வருடத்தை யோற்றுப் புராணவடமொழி தமிழாற் புகலுற்றேன்.

<sup>24.</sup> Govinda Dikshita by Mr. N. K. Venkatesam Pantulu, Ibid.

<sup>25.</sup> Gövinda Dīkshita is wrongly called the author of Harivamsa Charitam composed of twenty-three cantos on the ground, that the author of this work is also called Gövindamantrin. But this is not possible since the latter is said to have belonged to Sāndilya götra whereas Gövinda Dikshita belonged to Vasishta götra. (See The Tanjore Sarfoji Maharaja's Saraswathi Mahal Library Catalogue edited by Prof. P. S. Sastri.)

father.<sup>26</sup> Both Yagñanārāyana Dīkshita and his brother Vēnkatēswara Dīkshita were all good musicians and the latter is given credit for his standard work on music the Chaturdaṇdiprakāsika,<sup>27</sup> wherein he had "reduced the old twenty-two svaras to twelve and designed the present Vina adapted to the twelve svaras." "It appears also that Vēnkaṭamakhi was the author of the Mēļakarta that is in vogue at present in Southern India." Gōvinda Dīkshita was also the author of a work on Astrology, since reference is made to his work in the Tāṇdava Mālai.<sup>28</sup> The contemporary works say that Gōvinda Dīkshita had numerous titles such as Pada vākya pramāṇa pārāvāraha and Advaitāchārya. He was also known by other names as Gōvinda Ādhvari, Gōvinda Yajva and Gōvinda Makhindu.

From the colophon to the Chaturdaṇdiprakāsika, it is known that Gōvinda Dīkshita's wife was called Nāgamāmba, the daughter of oṇe Nārāyana Dīkshita.<sup>29</sup> Gōvinda Dīkshita is said to have been the father of eight sons, of whom only two are well known. Yagñanārāyana Dīkshita has won immortal fame by his works, the Sāhityāratnākara, the Raghunātha Vilāsa Nātaka and the Alankāra Ratnākara; and he also performed the Sāgnicityā and the Sarvatōmukhā sacrifices.<sup>30</sup> He studied both under his father Gōvinda Dīkshita and his patron Raghunātha, who taught him all the Sāstras including Vyākarana, Tarka, Mīmāmsa and Vēdānta. His brother Vēnkaṭēswara<sup>31</sup> was also an all round genius and wrote a number of works. The Vārtikābharaṇam, a commentary on the Tuptīka of Kumārilaswāmi is classified along with other important works on Mīmāmsa. He also wrote the Karmānta Vārtika, a commentary on a portion of Bōdhāyana Srauta Sūtras, Sulba Mīmāmsa, a treatise on

26. ततींतु रघुनाथेन्द्र मेलविनानिरूपते तह्नक्षणं तु सङ्गीत सुधानिधिरिति श्रुते । चेव्यमाच्युत भूपालरघुनाथ तृपाङ्किते अस्मचातकृते प्रनथे प्रोक्ता श्लोकांलिखामितान् ॥

Chaturdandiprakāśika.

- 27. The work is not available in its entirety.
- 28. Report on the Sanskrit and Tamil Mss. for 1896-97, Madras. The introduction of the Tāṇdava Mālai says (pp. 261 and 262):
- இன் னூலென் னூலின் வழிக்கெனின் 'மாவிக்கை சோதான் மலாடி வணங் குங் கோவிக்த தீட்சிதீயத்தின் வழிக்து' எனவும், கோவிக்க நீட்சிதர் தங் கொள்கையினுற் கூறுகின்ற மாவிக்க நூலின் வழக்கறிக்து தேவிக்திசர் போற்றும் பிண்டியஞ் செல்வன் சீர்கூறி வருவணப்பா வையன் வக்து.

Also the Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society, Vol. II, p. 237.

- 'Sri Gövindadīkshita Nāgamāmba vara tritīya naņdanasya.'—Chaturdandiprakāśika.
- 30. Colophon to the Sāhityaratnākara.
- 31. He calls himself as the third son of Govinda Dikshita in his Chaturdandi-prakāsika, Colophon.

Vēdic Trignometry and also Sangīta Sāmrājya. But he is well known by his great work on Music, the Chaturdaṇdiprakāsika. He was also the teacher of Rājachūdāmani Dīkshita, the author of Rukmanī pariṇayam³² and of Nīlakaṇta Dīkshita, a grand nephew of Appayya Dīkshita. One Liṇgādhvari, the author of Sivasahasranāmabhāshya and Vēdartha tatva nirnaya is said to have been a third son of Gōvinda Dīkshita.³³ Rājachūdāmani Dīkshita in his Tantraśikhāmaṇi, a work on the Jaimini Sūtras, says that Vēnkatamakhi also performed several yagñas. Nīlakaṇta Dīkshita, the author of Siva Līlārṇava and Gangāvatarana Kāvya, speaks of Vēnkatamakhi, his master, as belonging to Vasishta gōtra and as the son of Gōvinda Dīkshita.

Gövinda Dīkshita also appears to have been an authority in Dharma Sastras and also a permanent court of arbitration. His administration of even-handed justice is recorded in an inscription coming from Pattis-The epigraph is dated in the cyclic year Bhaya, corresponding to A.D. 1634; and Govinda Dikshita is called by the venerable name of Gövinda Dīkshitaswāmi. The record registers a settlement made by him when the pattunūlkārars (Saurashtrian weavers) presented him with a petition (Valakkumurai) as a result of some differences arising in social matters. It appears that there was some difficulty in the order of precedence in the distribution of betel and nuts among the weavers and the merchants (Chettis). Govinda Dīkshita hearing both sides. seems to have arbitrated and settled the question amicably; but the exact terms of the settlement are not known. The agreement reached among them by making a person liable to offer a new cloth worth five fanams and 30 arecanuts and 100 betel leaves to the goddess of the local temple, if he should transgress the rules, shows clearly that the settlement was made satisfactorily to both the contending parties, who are said to have made up their minds to observe this rule by making a vow in the name of the king.34 This record is also the latest so far known of him and this would show that he was living till A.D. 1634. Since Venkatamakhi says that he was for some time the minister of Vijayarāghava (accession 1633) it is probable that Gōvinda Dīkshita died shortly after his accession. This is further supported by the fact that no more reference is made to Gövinda Dīkshita in the contemporary literature. Even Yagñanārāyana's name is not mentioned in the reign of Vijayaraghava Nayaka. The absence of any mention of these two

<sup>32.</sup> Vēnkatamakhi is also said to be the author of *Jātaka Chandrika*—a treatise on Astrology. This has been translated into English by Mr. B. Suryanarayana Rao.

<sup>33.</sup> Sāhityaratnākara, Introduction by Dr. T. R. Chintamani.

<sup>34. 257</sup> of 1927.

names or their whereabouts in the works of Vēnkatamakhi and in the Telugu works of Vijayarāghava, has led some writers to think that both of them must have died about the same period<sup>35</sup> and how far this view is correct, will have to be determined by future research.

Gövinda Dikshita's association with the administration of the Navaks, is also taken as the cause for the latter's patronage of Saivism. Since the Nayaks were all Vaishnavas by their religious persuasion, it is said that their patronage of Saivism was made possible only by the powerful influence of Govinda Dikshita, the great Advaita scholar of the times. Even though his influence over them cannot be undervalued, yet the statement that he was responsible for their catholicity and religious toleration remains to be well established; since the Navaks in general do not seem to have ill-disposed towards or persecuted any of the rival faiths. Govinda Dīkshita, though not a native of Tanjore, soon became one; and a review of his life which starting from humble and poor circumstances soon attained to the zenith of power and honour; shows the high regard and esteem which the Nayaks had for learning and scholarship. His rise to power was made easy by the royal patronage and favour and the high sense of duty, honesty. loyalty and charity which Govinda Dikshita had in abundance, were responsible for his ultimate success as a great administrator. qualities made him a hero of the day and when he died, the people deified him. It is popularly believed that he spent his last days in the Mangalāmbika shrine at Kumbakonam, performing severe penance.

## CHAPTER VIII.

## VIJAYARĀGHAVA NAYAKA. (A.D. 1633 to A.D. 1673).

T

Achyuta Vijayarāghava Nayaka<sup>1</sup> better known as Mannārudāsa<sup>2</sup> and as Vijayarāghava, was the son of Raghunātha Nayaka and succeeded his father on the throne. For his reign and for the subsequent period, there is available only the evidence of the native chronicles and of the Jesuit letters. With regard to the date of his accession, his epigraphs which are few and far between, remain silent, while the chronicles mention no date at all. Raghunātha Navaka's inscriptions show, that his rule must have extended down to the year A.D. 1634 since a record of his, dated in the cyclic year Bhava corresponding to A.D. 1634 refers to a vow made by two communities at the feet of Nayakkarayyan, who was no other than Raghunātha himself.3 The same epigraph mentions Gövinda Dīkshita also and since it is known for certain, that Gövinda Dīkshita did not continue as the minister to Vijayarāghava also, the reference to Nāyakkarayyan must be taken to mean Raghunātha, and hence the latter ruled as king for about twenty years from A.D 1614 to A.D. 1634, but his association as co-ruler with his father, dates back atleast from A.D. 1600. Considering the duration of all the individual reigns of the Tanjore Nayaks, it becomes evident that Raghunatha, the most illustrious ruler of this family had but a relatively short reign and his death will have to be placed about A.D. 1634.

It is not known for certain whether he nominated his successor in his own life time and performed the Yauvarājyābhishēkam. The internal evidence contained in the Raghunāthābhyudayam of Vijayarāghava<sup>4</sup> says that he (Vijayarāghava) performed the sixteen great gifts (shōdasa mahādānas) on a day in the year of his coronation. Chengalvala

 <sup>461</sup> of 1922 from Papanasam is recorded in the name of Achyuta Vijayarāghava Nayaka. Also Mannārudāsavilāsam, page 2.

<sup>2.</sup> Father Proenza in his letter dated 1659 says that the Nayaka called himself as the son of God Mannaru of Mannargudi, La Mission Du Madure, Vol. III, p. 51.

<sup>3. 257</sup> of 1927 from Pattiśwaram (Tanjore District). The Inscription is dated in the cyclic year Bava which corresponds to A.D. 1634.

<sup>4.</sup> Sources of Vijayanagar History, p. 255.

Kālakavi, the author of Vijayarāghava Vamsāvali<sup>5</sup> and the court poet of Vijavaraghava, has recorded that these sixteen great gifts were made in the cyclic year \$rīmukha and in the month of Srāvaņa; corresponding to August-September, A.D. 1633. These two statements taken together prove that Vijayaraghava's accession must have taken place in the year 1633 and that it was celebrated sometime before the death of Raghunā-Mr. K. Sitaramayya also agrees with this date and says that tha.6 Vijavarāghava's coronation took place in A.D 1633. This date is further supported by the evidence contained in the Tantrasikhāmaņi of Rājachūdāmani Dīkshita, a disciple of Vēņkatamakhi a son of the illustrious Gövinda Dīkshita. The author says that he wrote his work at the instance of his master, who is referred to have been then the minister in the court of Vijayarāghava. Vēnkatamakhi in the Introduction to his Chaturdandiprakāśika, mentions that he, in turn, wrote his work at the instance of his patron, Vijayaraghava Nayaka, the ruler and that too when the latter had already donated the sixteen great gifts. is also stated therein that Venkatamakhi was the establisher (consecrator) of a Chola king and this reference to his part in helping a Chola to the throne must in all probability refer to his help rendered to Vijayarāghava Nayaka himself, as there could not have been then, any possibility for any Chola to have contested the throne. Incidentally this reference shows that the work was written sometime after the coronation of Vijayaraghava and perhaps, when the author himself was occupying the high office of minister.7 But the date of his work, Chaturdandiprakāśika is not known. However, from the chronogram expressed in the Tantrasikhāmaņi, it is clear that it was written in Saka 15598 corresponding to A.D. 1637 and it further goes to prove that Vijayarāghaya had already become the ruler and that his coronation must have taken place sometime before A.D. 1637.9 Hence, the reference made to the Nayak's gifts by Venkatamakhi in his own work and the date of the Tantrasikhāmani, settle the year of Vijayarāghava's coronation finally by saying that his accession to the throne must have been an accomplish-

- 5. Vijayavilāsam, alias Vijayarāghava Vamsāvali by Kālakavi, published in Cocanada by the Andhra Sāhitya Samsodha Mandal.
- 6. Raghunātha must have been then fifty-nine years old. The epigraphs mention him from A.D. 1600. Sevappa, according to the Sangīta Sudhā lived to see his grandson, Raghunātha. Sevappa's death took place in A.D. 1580.
- 7. There are more than one reason to believe that Vēnkatamakhi was his minister only for a short time and that too in the early years of his reign.
  - Tantrasikhāmani: श्रीमान्मन्ये शकस्यान्दे will give 9551.
     According to the rule अक्षराणां वामतो गति: it will yield S. 1559=A.D. 1637.
  - 9. Also the Tanjavur Andhra Nayaka Charitam, p. 252.

ed fact before the year A.D. 1637, which is the date of the Tantrasikhāmani. These two works, thus bear indirect evidence to the fact that Vijayarāghava's coronation took place in Srimukha (A.D. 1633) the cyclic year given in the Vijayarāghava Vamśāvali. In that case Raghunātha Nayaka must have anointed Vijayarāghava, as his successor, shortly before his death.

It is sometimes held that Vijayaraghava, the illegitimate heir, usurped the throne. Vijayarāghava was the son of Raghunātha by his chief consort Kalāvati, the daughter of Vēmparāja and Lakshmamma. parāja, son of Chinna Malla, was Raghunātha Nayaka's uncle.10 Raghunāthābhuuudayam of Vijayarāghava says that Vijayarāghava had a brother of the name of Rāmabhadra and that the latter is said to have accompanied Raghunātha to the Toppur battle field in A.D. 1617. Mr. T. S. Kuppuswami Sastri, in his History of the Tanjore Nayaks, says that Rājachūdāmani Dīkshita in his Ānandarāghava Nātakam has made mention of two sons of Raghunātha, namely Achyuta and Rāmabhadra. 11 Vijayarāghaya in his Raghunāthābhyudayam calls Rāmabhadra as Kumāraratnam. Of these two, Vijayarāghava would appear to be the eldest son according to the genealogy given in the Raghunāthābhyuda-But it is said in another place of the same work that Rāmabhadra alone accompanied his father Raghunātha to the field of 'Toppūr battle and Vijayarāghaya Nayaka, the elder son, is not at all mentioned among the participators of Toppur battle. But Mr. Hickey says that of the two sons, Vijayarāghava the younger "excelled his elder brother and consequently the kingdom was given over to him on account of his physical powers and mental acquirements. His elder brother was fain to be content with what he got viz. the territories of Tirukāttuppalli (near Tanjore) and Pandanallur (near Kuttalam)." However, Mr. Hickey does not mention the source from where he drew this conclusion. That Raghunātha Nayaka had more than one son is also known from the

<sup>10.</sup> Raghunāthābhyudayam; Sources, p. 254. Also Mannārudāsavilāsam and Ushāparinayam by Raṇgājamma, the poetess. The Ushāparinayam says that Raghunātha had Chenchi Lakṣmamma and Kalāvatamma for his consorts. Raghunātha is said to have worshipped god Kastūri Krishna for the birth of a son. The God appearing before Lakṣmamma is said to have narrated to her the story of Dēvaki and Yasōdha and that he would now be born to Kalāvati this time. This means that Vijayarāghava was born to Kalāvati.

<sup>11.</sup> In the Bharatavākyam of the *Anandarāghava Nātakam*, Rājachūdāmani Dikshita says:

सारस्यं मजतो मनस्सुमनसा सारखते शाश्वते शश्यामाकार्मुखशेखरे मनंतुनः श्यामाकणि चेमुषि जीयादच्युतराममद्रजनकः श्रीचित्रचेव्वाच्युतश्माशृद् भू रघुनाथ भूमिपतिरप्योचन्द्रमातारकम् . quoted on p. 264 of Mr. K. Sitaramavva's work.

<sup>12.</sup> The Maratha Principality of Tanjore, p. 43.

evidence contained in the Jesuit letters. A Jesuit letter dated 165913 says that when the Kallans (thieves) plundered the land and set free the prisoners, who were imprisoned in the Vallam fort, there were among them "two brothers of the Nayaka, whom he had shut up in prison, after pulling out their eyes to remove all possibility of succeeding him." This letter shows that Vijayarāghava had two brothers instead of one and the name of the third brother is not known. And from this it is also inferred that these brothers were leading a miserable life as they were blinded and detained as prisoners at the Vallam fort. The reference to Vijayarāghava's 'putting out their eyes to remove all desire on their side of succeeding him,' proves that Vijayarāghava's right to the throne was not above challenge by rivals; and the Jesuit letter incidentally bears witness to his accession only by foul means. internal evidence, even though it remains silent on this quesion, does not any where mention, that Rāmabhadra was ever killed in battle or predeceased Vijayarāghava. Mr. K. Sitaramayya glibly assumes Rāmabhadra to have been an elder brother of Vijayarāghava and concludes, after a careful and critical examination of the available literary sources that Vijayaraghava got the throne through violent usur-He advances Vēnkatamakhi's reference in his Chaturdandiprakāśika. that he established a Chōla king on the throne, as evidence to this point and to prove that Vijayaraghava got the help of Vēnkatamakhi at the time of his coronation.<sup>14</sup> He further adds that the statements contained in the Raghunāthābhyudayam are inconclusive and self-contradictory. For, Vijayarāghava says therein, that he wrote it even while Raghunātha was alive and the latter is said to have offered the succession to him in appreciation of his scholarship. But in the Prastavana (Introduction) it is said that he told his master Tātāchārya, that he had been directed by God Mannaru to write this work and the royal preceptor on hearing this, seems to have blessed him, "called here as the king" and directed him to compose the work in dvipada metre. And the Raghunāthābhuyudayam<sup>15</sup> begins like an address made by Tātācharya to Vijayarāghava, the ruler. Besides, the same work recounts

Bertrand: La Mission du Madure, Vol. III, p. 53.
 Mentioned in the Nayaks of Madura, on page 271-2.

<sup>14.</sup> The Tanjore Andhra Nayaka Charitam, p. 252. The reference to a Chōla ruler (Chōlakṣmājane) must be taken to mean a ruler of Chōladēśa of the times and hence Vijayarāghava is referred to. Vēnkatamakhi also calls himself as Karnātarājyapratishtāpanāchārya.

<sup>15.</sup> Sources, pp. 256-7. Tātācharya says that he had already obtained the blessings of God Mannāru as well as his own. Tātācharya asked him to write the work embodying his achievements so that the whole may be offered to the deity as a garland (Tāraka Hāra).

the deeds of both Raghunātha and Vijavarāghava and Mr. Sitaramayya asks the pertinent question that if the work was written at the instance of Tātāchārya by Vijayarāghava when he had already become the ruler, how Raghunātha could have appointed him as ruler in appre-That the work was really written long after ciation of this work? Vijavaraghava's coronation is further established by the fact that it contains references to the help given by Vijayaraghava to the Vijayanagar Emperor, Srirangaraya III, whose accession took place in A.D. And hence the composition of this work cannot be referred strictly to the time of his accession, but only to a date approximately about a decade after the event. These observations show, that Vijavaraghava had usurped the throne with the aid of Vēnkatamakhi and Mr Sitaramayya adds further colour to the violent temper of Vijayarāghava by referring to his imprisonment of his son Mannāru, as mentioned in the Tanjāvūri Andhra Rājula Charitamu. 16 non-co-operation and the disloyalty shown by his subjects on the eve of the Muhammadan invasions upon Tanjore and Vallam about the middle of his reign, are also taken as consequences of Vijayarāghava's violence and lack of popular support. However, Rangājamma says that Vijavarāghava was born to Raghunātha and his chief consort (Pattampurani) by the grace of God. She says that when Raghunātha was praying along with his wives (Aa sathulanugudi), Mannāru, the family deity, appeared before him in a vision and blessed him with the birth of a son.<sup>17</sup> This would show that Vijayarāghava was of legitimate birth. The mention of Raghunātha's numerous courtesans as praying along with him, might suggest the possibility that other sons might have been born to him, of whom Rāmabhadra was probably one. The poets of the court did not take the trouble to mention his other sons, as they were not born of his chief consort; and so Ramabhadra could not have been on the direct line of succession. hence, Rangājamma's account leaves no doubt regarding the legitimacy of Vijayarāghaya's succession. And the reference in the Anandarāghava Nātakam to two sons of Raghunātha, namely, Achyuta and Rāmabhadra, is not securely established; and since it is not quite known for certain, that Achyuta Vijayaraghava was also called Achyuta Rāmabhadra, it is not possible to pursue the point further. evidence would be required to prove that Achyuta and Rāmabhadra refer to the same person Vijayarāghava. However, the general character of the Nayaks themselves and their peaceful rule as borne out by the literary evidence, do not admit the possibility of an usurpation. And

<sup>16.</sup> Tanjavūri Andhra Rajalu Charitam.

<sup>17.</sup> Mannārudāsa Vilāsam.

hence, on account of all these observations, Vijayarāghava's illegitimate succession cannot be admitted until further research into the still unearthed sources should be forthcoming.<sup>18</sup>

Vijayarāghava ruled for an appreciable length of time and it is said that he was an octogenarian at the time of his death.<sup>19</sup> The early years of his reign immediathat he died on the battle field. tely following the death of Raghunātha, saw the continuance of peace and tranquillity, and the loyalty of Tanjore to Vijayanagar remained unquestioned. Even though his epigraphs do not bear evidence to prove his lovalty to his suzerains the Vijavanagara Emperors, Venkatapati Raya II and Sriranga Raya III, yet it appears certain, in the absence of any contradictory evidence, 20 that he conducted himself as became a loyal feudatory of the empire and did not take advantage of the weak reign of Venkatapati Raya II (1630 to 1642), who was a lover of peace and who did not interfere into the affairs of his feudatories, as he was engaged in repulsing the attacks of the Muhammadan armies of Golkonda and Bijapur converging on his capital. This nonintervention of the Raya in the affairs of the southern Nayak kingdoms was taken full advantage of by the Madura Nayaka, Tirumala, who pursued a vigorous anti-imperial policy and even refused the usual Venkatapati Raya II had no time to teach Tirumala a sense of subordination; and the Küniyur plates (1634) of Venkatapati II issued 'in accordance with the wishes of the prosperous and eminent ruler Tirumala,' show that even from the beginning of his reign, Madura displayed only a nominal allegiance and mere outward subordination to the Empire. But Vijayaraghava appears to have remained sincere and loyal towards the Raya and upheld the cause of the empire. And it

<sup>18.</sup> From the Raghunāthābhyudayam of Vijayarāghava and the Vijayarāghava Vamsāvali, it is clear that the accession of Vijayarāghava had taken place in the year Srimukha, i.e., A.D. 1633, when Raghunātha Nayaka was alive. The literary evidence bears no evidence to show whether Ramabhadra Nayaka, who is said to have been a son of Raghunātha and to have accompanied his father to the Tōppūr battle, was either killed in the action or returned in safety. Even assuming that Ramabhadra did survive the war, one is not able to understand any usurpation on the part of Vijayarāghava in A.D. 1633 when there was Raghunātha Nayaka alive and whose death will have to be placed in the following year, on the authority of his epigraphs.

<sup>19.</sup> The Tanjavūri Andhra Rājula Charitam and also Taylor's Mss. say that he was eighty years old at the time of his death.

<sup>20.</sup> Both the internal and foreign evidence agree on the question of Tanjore's loyalty. The Raghunāthābhyudayam of Vijayarāghava, contains references to his help given to the Emperor, Srirangarāya. The Jesuit letters also speak of his loyalty and co-operation with the empire.

was perhaps this loyalty of Tanjore to the empire and the emperor's countenance and support to Vijayarāghava in turn, that were responsible for the keeping of Tirumala Nayaka's ambitious and aggressive activities out of Tanjore politics in the early years of his rule and when, the latter was engaged in the fortification of the important citadels of his kingdom and bore also an indifferent attitude towards the empire.<sup>21</sup>

#### [ Note by the Editor. ]

21. It is however held by Prof. R. Sathianatha Iyer that there is no definite evidence as to the objective of Tirumala, in organising the defences of his kingdom even at the very outset of his rule, though preparedness for war was essential even without any clear objective. He thus concludes: -- "The features of the policy of Tirumala Nayaka towards the Vijayanagara emperor developed only later on under the pressure of circumstances. His original idea was probably to humour the emperor with occasional presents without paying regular tribute. But he was not allowed to continue this ambiguous relationship for long." Dr. S. K. Aiyangar holds that Tirumala's attitude towards the emperor depended upon the conditions of the empire for the time being. The diversion of the attention of Bijapur and Golkonda during the Mughal wars with Ahmednagar in the early decades of the 17th century "synchronised with the active movement of Tirumala towards independence in the "The policy of the Nayaks of Madura generally . . . . . . . cannot be regarded as having taken into calculation the actual political condition of the times. The empire was struggling for existence during the first forty years of the century.....being driven successively from one capital on to another. Penukonda had to be vacated ...... Chandragiri had to be similarly abandoned; and early in the reign of Sriranga III, Vellore was being laid siege to. These changes did not happen in a short campaign or two, but by persistent effort of no less than three decades. The absorption of the Chennappattana viceroyalty by Mysore enabled her to make a stand against the aggressions of Bijapur...... The whole brunt of the efforts of Golconda had to be borne by the empire practically singlehanded. If Tirumala had only realised the situation and had the foresight to see the political consequences of the disintegrating movement of which he had made himself the sponsor, if not the author, he would have certainly adopted a policy of co-operation with the empire. The question of Tirumala's loyalty or disloyalty therefore depends on the question whether, in the political conditions of his time, he could have foreseen the direct results of his action. The action of his predecessors and their attitude towards the empire must necessarily have made it impossible for him to take an impartial view of the situation at the time. The interests of Mysore and the empire ran together a great way. It was the governments behind these two that were for the time saved from the attacks of the Muhammadans. It cannot but have been clear to these, chief among them Tirumala, that what befell the empire would befall them soon after. If Mysore saved herself by sustained effort, the joint efforts of the emperor and his greater feudatories should have been equally successful. That Tirumala and his friends did not adopt this course of action argues either disloyalty or want of political foresight, either of the alternatives not redounding to the credit of the great Nayak of Madura."

This long quotation shows the part that Tirumala has justly to share of the blame and responsibility for the break up of the Hindu power in the South in the 17th century.

But there is no definite evidence to help us to determine whether Tanjore paid her tribute to the empire regularly.

Vijayarāghava was not destined to enjoy a peaceful reign as his latter years were full of troubles and unsuccessful wars. He was driven by force of necessity and incompetence, to purchase peace at a very heavy price from the Muhammadans. His subsequent vacillating attitude towards Sriranga III, was largely due to his single-handed efforts to maintain his own prestige and the safety of his kingdom against great odds. He was hemmed in by the powerful Madura ruler Tirumala, on the one side and the invading Muhammadans on the other. The political circumstances of the times forced him to give up the policy of cooperation and sympathy towards the emperor. And the political conditions were such that they offered only two alternatives to Vijayarāghava, either to co-operate with the Emperor and thus work out his own ruin at the hands of the Muslims or to abandon him to save himself from immediate destruction.

The accession of Sriranga Raya III to the Vijayanagar throne in A.D. 1642<sup>22</sup> saw the beginning of the troubles and wars, which brought about not only the decline and ruin of the empire itself, but also the fortunes of Tanjore. Sriranga, unlike his predecessor, was a talented and courageous ruler. At the time of his accession the empire was in a state of rapid decline. On the north, the Sultans of Golkonda and Bijapure began to renew their vigorous attacks on the empire, when their own safety was guaranteed by means of settlement made by the Mughal emperor in A.D. 1636. In the South, the viceroyalty of Madura was truculent and tending to become independent. Mysore had already established herself independent under Kanthīrava Narasa and Tirumala Nayaka of Madura began to give up even the show of a nominal allegiance to the empire. The Nayak of Gingee<sup>23</sup> in accordance with their family traditions, joined Tirumala and co-operated with him in his attempt to overthrow the supremacy of the empire. Tanjore alone seems to have remained traditionally loyal. It was under these discouraging political conditions, that Sriranga came to the throne and soon he had to face the

<sup>22.</sup> His accession is placed on the 29th day of October, A.D. 1642; but an inscription dated A.D. 1630 of his, indicates that he had been selected as Yuvarāja in that year.

<sup>23.</sup> The English Factory Records mention one Tubaki Krishnappa as the Nayak of Gingee.

difficulties on either side.24 As he had a good training and experience in the administration of government, he reversed the peaceful policy of Venkata II and declared a policy of war against his enemies amongst whom, the opposition of Madura loomed large. For, he thought that the safety of the empire and the power to repulse the Muhammadans lay entirely in the unity and co-operation of his various feudatory rulers. With this object in view, he declared war upon Madura soon after his accession, before proceeding to stabilise his other resources. Vellore was then the Raya's residence and Sriranga Rāya also wanted to regain the lost territories of the empire from the Muhammadans. Thus it becomes evident that Madura was solely responsible for the emperor's serious intervention in the affairs of the South. As subsequent history will show, Sriranga was not destined to work out successfully his ambitious policy and soon he became an emperor without an empire and a refugee in the court of one of his feudatory Nayaks of Bednore. He was the last ruler of his line and with him the history of Vijayanagar comes to an inglorious termination.

From the time when Sriranga began his military operations in the south, the Nayak of Tanjore also had to face serious consequences. According to the evidence of a Jesuit letter, Tirumala Nayaka of Madura, the most resourceful of them, formed an alliance with the Nayaks of Tanjore and Gingee to oppose the onward march of the Emperor by making them believe, that in the opposition of the Emperor lay the prosperity of their respective governments. The same letter speaks of the Tanjore Nayak's betrayal of his confederates' plans against the Emperor by divulging the same to Sriranga. The Emperor, being informed of the schemes of Madura and Gingee, is said to have attacked the latter. Tirumala though disappointed by the actions of the Tanjore Nayak,

<sup>24.</sup> According to Foster's extracts the Muhammadan kings of Golkonda and Bijapur began to invade the territories of the Hindu King in A.D. 1642 immediately after the death of Venkatapati II. They are even stated to have occupied the whole country on the coast. Archaeological Survey of India, 1911-12, p. 193. The Jesuit letters mention the Muhammadan invasion as a result of Srirangarāya's dealings with the southern Nayaks.

<sup>25.</sup> La Mission du Madure, Vol. III, p. 43.

<sup>26.</sup> The Jesuit letter says that Tirumala concluded a league with Tanjore and Gingee against their sovereign. Mr. Sitaramayya says that Vijayarāghava at first joined them; but when he came to know their disloyal attitude towards Sriranga, he withdrew from the league unhesitatingly. However, the hostile attitude between Tanjore and Madura from 1610 would stand against the possibility of Tanjore entering into a league with Madura.

Vijayarāghava, did not lose courage and made a successful appeal to the Sultan of Golkonda to invade the emperor's territories and to attack Vellore in order to divert Sriranga's attention from the south. His appeal had its desired effect, since Sriranga is said to have retreated to his dominions and gained a victory over the Muhammadans. These must have happened about A.D. 1643.<sup>27</sup>

What happened in the south, consequent upon the emperor's with-drawal from Gingee is not known for certain. However, the political relationships and animosities of the times would show that Madura and Gingee must have been opposed to Tanjore as they could not acquiesce with the latter's betrayal. Some positive offensive must have also taken place between Tanjore and the allies and even though we have no direct evidence on this point, yet Vijayarāghava's claims in his Raghunāthābhyudayam that he compelled the Pāṇdya (Madura) and the Tuṇdira (Gingee) chiefs to sue for peace, when they opposed Srirangarāya and that he helped the latter by making those chiefs to wait at his door, must have reference to this period. The above statement refers to Vijayarāghava's forcing the allies to come to terms and it may not be improbable if it is held, that he co-operated with Srirangarāya in his siege of Gingee and also continued it for sometime, even after the emperor's retirement to the North.<sup>28</sup>

The victory gained by Srirangaraya over the Muhammadans did not in any way prove to be final and the Sultan of Golkonda, dismayed

#### [ Note by the Editor. ]

27. In 1643 and perhaps in the early part of 1644, Sriranga had succeeded in putting down the opposition of Damarla Venkatappa, who had intrigued with Golconda and had also defeated and turned back the Golconda forces which had advanced as far as Pulicat. He had thus contrived to establish himself firmly in power and to push back the advance of Golconda. Sriranga's position was very strong in 1645 when he gave a charter to the English at Madras in September.

A little later, we find in the Dutch records, a reference to the defeat of Sriranga within the walls of Vellore by a Bijapur army, and forced to pay a war indemnity; though two years earlier he had secured the Bijapurian help in return for 15 lakbs of pagodas and 24 elephants. "This (change) was brought about through the intrigues of Mirjumla, who, after suffering the defeat referred to before, negotiated both with Bijapur and with Kantirava Narasa Raja Udaiyar of Mysore to bring about an attack on Vellore."

After this, the rebel Nayaks of the empire seemed to have come back to their proper allegiance and support of the Raya. Foster tells us that "the three rebellious Nayaks were those of Tanjore, Madura and Sinsider (Gingee?) who inflicted a severe defeat on the royal forces in December 1645 (The English Factories in India (1646-50), pp. 24-25).—[Ed.].

28. This seems fairly plausible since subsequent events do not support Vijaya-rāghava's help to Srirangarāya.

at the success of the Hindu army, made active preparations for another attack. Finding himself insecure, Sriranga again thought that a solution of the problem lay only in the hearty co-operation of his Nayak feudatories of the South, Mr. Sathianatha Aiyar says that 'encouraged by their new attitude, he (the emperor) worked with them to devise plans for the expulsion of the Muhammadans from their recent conquests.'29 Proenza's letter says that Sriranga 'finding the chance of success but in an alliance with the three Nayaks, invited them to join him' and offered them favourable conditions which were accepted.<sup>30</sup> The same letter adds that Sriranga came to the south 'to better concert together the means of defence and attack.' But according to the same evidence even his new policy did not produce any result. Proenza says that Sriranga spent more than a year in bringing about a good understanding between the Nayaks, during which the Muhammadan armies quietly achieved the conquest of his dominions. But finally, the Nayaks whose selfish interests and jealousies were insuperable, rejected the call for co-operation with Sriranga and so the latter forsaken and abandoned, lived for sometime in the forests lying to the north of Tanjore and from where he proceeded towards the west when a Muhammadan detachment composed of cavalry from Gingee was sent further south in pursuit of the emperor.<sup>31</sup> Since the Jesuit letter refers to this chase and to the subsequent siege of Gingee by the Golkonda forces, it may be taken that these events happened about A.D. 1646 which is the date of the fall of Gingee fort<sup>32</sup> into the Muhammadan hands.

The Jesuit evidence would have us believe that Tanjore also was opposed to the emperor when it says that Sriranga invited the three Nayaks and offered them favourable terms. But from the general attitude and character of the Tanjore Nayaks, it is not possible to entertain any suspicion as regards the loyalty of Tanjore and the arrival of Srirangarāya near Tanjore on the eve of his proposed negotiations, would only confirm Vijayarāghava's more friendly attitude towards the empire. However, nothing tangible was achieved as Proenza refers to the break-

<sup>29.</sup> Sriranga III of Vijayanagar. (Third Oriental Conference Report). The reference to the new attitude of the Nayaka was perhaps due to the exertions of Vijayarāghava mentioned before.

<sup>30.</sup> Bertrand III, p. 43. Sriranga's invitation to the Nayaks and his offer of favourable conditions imply that he no more stood on his technical rights as emperor regarding his relations with his feudatories.

<sup>31.</sup> Bertrand, p. 43. Sriranga's flight from Tanjore was mainly to escape from the attack of the Muhammadans.

<sup>32.</sup> Prof. C. S. Srinivasachari, 'History of Gingee,' p. 11. Also 'The Nayaks of Madura', p. 133 and Note 60.

down of the negotiations.33 Since it is not mentioned that Vijayarāghava upheld the cause of the empire but strangely enough allowed Sriranga to go to the west, the loyalty of Tanjore calls for some explanation. Proenza's letter referring to the conquest of Vellore and other territories by the Muhammadan army of Golkonda and to the retirement of Sriranga from Tanjore, speaks of the siege of Gingee by Golkonda. Thus it becomes clear that Sriranga despaired of the prospects of a joint action on the part of his feudatory Nayaks, and disheartened, by the onward march of the Muhammadan forces which were sent in pursuit of him, had to leave Tanjore, leaving Vijayaraghava to his own fate. Perhaps the emperor thought it insecure and also futile to remain at Tanjore and to oppose his enemies with the aid of Vijayarāghava alone.' Moreover, the recent success of Sivappa Nayaka of Ikkeri (Bednore) in raising the second siege of Vellore for a time and his momentary victory34 would have tempted the emperor to join him, so that he could try his chance of winning success by attacking his enemies from the rear. Thus Vijayarāghava was left without any help from the empire, when he was attacked by a detachment of Muslim cavalry. The old animosities between him and Madura would not allow any possibility of entering into an alliance against the Muhammadans and it was this uttter helplessness and lack of self-confidence that led him to adopt the extremely unwise but the expedient policy of purchasing peace with his enemies by 'surrendering

33. What led to the failure of this proposed union is not known. Perhaps Madura's growing idea of independence and her suspicion of Tanjore were responsible, besides other factors, for the termination of the negotiations.

[Additional note by the Editor.]

"Tirumala Nayaka, seeking safety in his unsound policy, committed a second folly, which brought about the ruin of all these kingdoms. His ambassadors went, in his name, to treat with Idal Khan (Adil Shah) or the king of the Dakhan who sent him 17,000 horse. With this imposing cavalry and 30,000 infantry of his own, he marched to Gingi. But the Muhammadans of the two armies easily came to an understanding among themselves. The subah of Golkonda concluded a treaty with the general of Idal Khan and retired to the kingdom of Bisnagar to consolidate its conquest; while the 17,000 cavalry of Idal Khan, along with some regiments of infantry continued the siege of Gingi which they were called for to defend. The 30,000 Madura infantry entered into the place, and joined the troops of the king of Gingi..... Soon disagreements and diversions sprang up among these men (the besieged) so diversified in nationality and manners. A revolt broke out, in the midst of the general confusion, the gates of the citadel were thrown open to the enemy who rushed into it, and delivered the town, the richest in all these countries, to pillage." (The Jesuit letter, quoted above.)

34. Sources: Sivatatvaratnākara.

himself at discretion.'35 Proenza says that the arrival of a detachment composed of cavalry in Tanjore itself 'created a panic in the citadel.'

Tirumala Nayaka stood firm by the side of the Nayak of Gingee and when the latter was besieged by the forces of Golkonda, he was able to enlist the help of Bijapur against the besiegers. He is said to have despatched an army composed of 30,000 infantry along with 17,000 cavalry supplied by Adil Shah, the Bijapur Sultan, to raise the siege of Gingee. When these two armies arrived at Gingee, the general of Golkonda seeing that it was led by the Bijapur general, the Khan-i-Khanan, who was also a faithful follower of Islam like himself, concluded an agreement with him by which the Golkonda general retired to the North, leaving the siege of Gingee in the hands of the Bijapur general. The Madura army, again disappointed, now joined the forces of Gingee and made a protracted siege possible. But a revolt among the besieged, who were composed of heterogeneous groups, soon upset all calculations of success and the Muhammadans easily captured the city. Proenza speaks of the immense booty 'consisting of silver, gold, pearls, and precious stones of inestimable value' captured by the enemies.

Encouraged by the successful siege and capture of Gingee, the Muhammadan army marched against the Nayaks of Tanjore and Madura. According to the Jesuit account, Vijayarāghava at first displayed his cowardice by hiding himself in the inaccessible forests of his kingdom, but had to come out when his territory was overrun by the enemies, who carried plunder and devastation wherever they went. Vijayarāghava had to purchase peace again at a heavy cost by meekly submitting to the will of the conqueror.<sup>36</sup> Proenza finds fault with Vijayarāghava for his submission, without the least defence and also for his short-sighted policy of not attempting to advance the cause of the empire,<sup>37</sup> even after the re-

<sup>35.</sup> Bertrand III, p. 45. Mr. Nelson says that Vijayaraghava submitted by sending an embassy to Gingee. Vide the Madura Manual, p. 134. [Additional note by the Editor.]

The Jesuit letter thus tells us about the doings of the Nayaks of Tanjore:—
"The Golkonda army advanced on the territory of Gingi. The Nayak of Tanjore knew that he could not give pitched battle to an enemy whose mere number had created so much terror, but he could no longer count on his ally of Madura whom he had scandalously betrayed. Obliged to take sides, he......delivered himself up to the king of Golkonda and concluded with him a treaty by which he surrendered at discretion." There is much that cannot be cleared up in the above passage regarding the conduct of the ruler of Tanjore, for which an elaborate explanation is offered here.

<sup>36.</sup> La Mission du Madure, Vol. III, p. 47. Also Taylor's Catalogue Raisonée, III, p. 40.

<sup>37.</sup> Ibid.

turn of the enemies. But a close study of the political movements of the times would only support the stand taken by Vijayaraghaya, however bad and impolitic it was. Sriranga's leaving Tanjore helpless at a critical time, only exposed Vijayaraghava to the attacks of the Muhammadan and Madura forces. However strong and well disciplined the Tanjore forces might have been, yet, on account of her small size and slender resources and middle position, she could not offer an effective check against the torrential stream of the Muhammadan advance. Besides, his loyalty to the empire which led him to betray Madura and Gingee, now made him an irreconcilable foe to Madura and so no alliance with her was possible. Madura, with the idea of achieving independence, would not join Tanjore, which was for the continuance of the Empire. It was this utter helplessness that greatly handicapped him in his active co-operation with Sriranga Raya. Under these circumstances, only two alternatives remained for immediate solution and Vijayarāghava had to choose between his own safety by submitting to the enemy and taking up the cause of the emperor at his own risk. In the latter course he could not think of joining Mysore which was then loyal to the emperor, because the distance and the immediate presence of Madura between these two would not be suitable for carrying on any united action. Hence it becomes apparent that Vijayaraghava's preferring his own safety was largely the outcome of political sagacity and statesmanship and cannot be called either want of sympathy or short-sightedness or disloyalty. However, his purchase of peace at a very heavy cost definitely proves that he was very much wanting in leadership and courage as well.

This event which happened about A.D. 1646 was a shadow of the coming evils and according to the Jesuit evidence, Khan-i-Khanan, the Bijapur general, invaded Tanjore immediately after his conquest of Madura<sup>38</sup> and levied a huge ransom. Proenza says that the general

<sup>38.</sup> The advance of Khan-i-Khanan upon Mysore was the result of Tirumala's invitation made to Bijapur. The causes for this second Bijapur invasion are said to have been Mysore's protection given to Sriranga and the latter's attempt to regain his territories with the aid of Mysore. Proenza says that Sriranga with an army of Mysoreans 'entered the field, reconquered a part of his provinces and repulsed the army of Golkonda which advanced to attack him.' Prof. Sathianatha Aiyar says that Madura was not all conquered but was obliged to pay subsidy for the help which Tirumala received. Nayaks of Madura, p. 131.

Mr. Nelson referring to the event of this period says that Raghunātha and Tambi Sētupati had annexed Pattukköttai, Mannār Koil, Dēvaköttai, Arantangi, Tiruvarur and Tanjore. But he does not mention the source. The Madura Manual, p. 131.

raised large contributions and returned to Bijapur, full of plunder.39 The second invasion of Bijapur upon Mysore and its ultimate success brought to an end the ambitious policy of Srirangaraya and Kanthirava Narasa (1638 to 1659) humbled and frustrated in his policy of Vijayanagar expansion, and finding his hospitality and generosity towards Sriranga were the sources of all his recent troubles, withdrew his co-operation and finally gave up the cause of the emperor. Since this is said to have happened in 1653, the second Bijapur invasion, must have taken place about the same year. Sriranga, thus abandoned for a second time, had to lead a miserable life in the jungles on the confines of his kingdom,40 The disappearance of Sriranga from the political field marked the rapid decay of the empire. In the destruction of the empire, Tanjore lost a valuable protector and trusted friend, though from this time onwards, Vijayaraghava Nayaka ceased to be a depen-

39. Bertrand, p. 48.

40. Even though there are pieces of evidence to show that he appealed to Shah-Jahan for help through Aurangzeb by offering himself to become a convert to Islam and that he also made attempts in 1657 and 1658 for the recovery of his kingdom, yet nothing intelligible is known about him after A.D. 1659. "Sriranga III of Vijayanagar" by Prof. R. Sathianatha Iyer. However epigraphs and literature refer to his remaining alive as refugee under Sivappa Nayaka of Ikkēri until A.D. 1675. See "The Nayaks of Madura," p. 131 Dr. S. K. Ayyangar places (p. 131 note) his death about 1675. Prof. R. S. Aiyar says that the date of his death cannot be taken later than that of Shivaji's i.e. A.D. 1680. [Additional note by the Editor]

When Mir Jumla fell out of favour with his master of Golkonda, on account of the intercession of Shah Jahan on his behalf, Sriranga tried to recover his power. A Dutch letter from Batavia tells us that about January 1657, Sriranga had captured Tirupati and was planning the conquest of the neighbouring districts. These must have happened in 1656. But the Raya's cause was injured by the faithlessness and disaffection of his own officers, e.g. the defection of his general, Koneri Chetty. Early in 1658, he was defeated by Tubaki Krishnappa, who was in the service of the enemy, Mir Jumla and who was himself attacked by the Golkonda forces. In 1659 the trade of Madras was greatly injured by the continued operations of the armies of the Raya and of the Muslims in its neighbourhood.

Even in 1661 the Raya continued to enjoy some authority. But the English guns and gunners in the service of the Muslims had contributed to his defeat in many places. Dr. S. K. Aiyangar holds that 1668 A.D. definitely marks the passing of the Carnatic from the Vijayanagar rule to Muslim sway; and after this date Sriranga Raya had to shift for himself outside this region. In 1661-2, the new Madura Nayak, Chokkanatha, planned boldly to re-establish the Raya in his power, to restore Gingi to its Nayak line and to remove the evils that had resulted from the mistaken policy of Tirumala Nayaka. He contrived to defeat the Nayak of Tanjore, reduced him to submission and turned back the Bijapur generals Maula and Sagosi (Shahji) back into Gingi. Then followed an invasion of the Bijapur troops and a second invasion by the Madura forces into the Tanjore country. (See Journal of Indian History, Vol. XVIII, Part I, pp. 39-41.)

dent ruler. The disappearance of the empire was followed by the expansion of the Muhammadan armies of Bijapur and Golkonda farther south. Thevenot remarks that "the king of Golkonda seized those dominions of the Coast of Coromandel which lay conveniently for him and the king of Bijapur, having taken what lay next to him, pursued his conquest as far as the Cape of Negapatam," and adds that the kingdom of Bijapur is bounded on the south by the country of the Nayak of Madura, "whose territories reach to the Cape Comorin." The vassalage of Vijayarāghava Nayaka to Bijapur is proved by the observation of Thevenot:—
"There are many Naiques to the south of St. Thomas who are sovereigns. The Nayaks of Madura is one. He of Tangiour (Tanjore) is at present a vassal to the king of Bijapur." Robert Orme says that in 1652 the Carnatic was invaded by the armies of Viziapore (Bijapur) and Golkonda acting separately; but agreed it is supposed in the objects and division of their conquests which were accomplished in 1656.42

These observations of the Jesuits and other writers show that the supremacy of Vijayanagar in the south came to an end by A.D. 1646 and by A.D. 1656 the Muhammadan supremacy was established in its stead. The kingdom of Gingee was completely annexed, that of Tanjore became a vassal and Madura paid yearly tributes. From this time onwards Vijayarāghava's foreign policy was mainly concerned with Madura, as he had adopted a policy of submission towards the Muhammadans. After Khan-i-Khanan's leaving Tanjore about A.D. 1653, Vijayarāghava was allowed to rule peacefully for a short period till A.D. 1659. During this short time, Vijayarāghava was perhaps interested in the fortification of the important places of his kingdom even though the internal and foreign evidence do not prove this conclusively.<sup>43</sup>

By reading between the lines of the Jesuit letters one is led to think that Vijayarāghava by his short-sighted policy and ruinous re-

- 41. Travels, Pt. III, Pp. 91 and 105.
- 42. Orme: Historical Fragments, p. 62.

<sup>43.</sup> Bertrand, III p. 50. Father Proenza says that 'the king of Tanjore instead of imitating his (Muthuvirappa Nayaka) example' i.e., in fortifying the citadel and on p. 51 he says that 'the Vallam fort by its natural position and fortifications which art had added it' was considered impregnable. The Tanjāvūri Andhra Rājula Charitamu says that he was responsible for the extension of the fort of Tanjore and adds that the forts of Arantāngi, Pattukōttai, Relāthalli, Tiruppattūr were all begun and completed in one day. Another tradition says that he built the forts of Tirukkāttuppalli, Vallam, Pandanallūr and Sākkōttai in addition to those mentioned in the Andhra Rājula Charitamu. Since subsequent events were full of wars and there is also no reference to show that any of these forts was damaged, it may be said that Vijayarāghava utilised this short period in repairing and fortifying the vulnerable points of his kingdom.

ligious zeal and fervour, neglected his duty of protecting the people from foreign aggression. By his own neglect of duty and want of statesmanship and diplomacy, he made Tanjore a prey to his enemies. About the same time the contemporary Madura Nayaks were devoting their attention in the fortification of their strongholds. does not seem to have entered into open hostilities with Tanjore as he was engaged in the settlement of the affairs of the Sētupatis of Ramnad and in his expedition against Mysore.44 He died in A.D. 1659 and was succeeded by Muthu Virappa Nayaka in February of that year.45 He differed from Tirumala in his policy towards the Muhammadans, and shortly after his accession, he added to the fortifications of Trichinopoly and placed it under the command of his general Lingama Nayaka, so that Trichinopoly might serve as an impregnable defence against future Muhammadan invasions. The Jesuit letter says that he even refused to pay the tribute to Bijapur. The extensive measures of defence taken by him must have had their consequence upon the neighbouring Tanjore and the Jesuit evidence records an appeal made by Vijayarāghava to Adil Shah of Bijapur in that year, instead of co-operating with the Nayak of Madura.46 Even though there is nothing to show that Muthu Virappa was at war with Vijayarāghāva, yet, the reference to the latter's appeal to Bijapur for help shows that the old family feud between these two houses continued unabated and there was also distrust and suspicion among them. What became of Vijiyarāghava's appeal to Bijapur is not known, but from the subsequent events it becomes clear, that Bijapur was indifferent towards However, his appeal seems to have enabled the Sultan to understand that the time was best suited for carrying on a conquest of the Encouraged by the absence of unity among the Southern Nayaks, the Sultan despatched a large army under 'Sagosi' and 'Mula' with the object of conquering the Nayaks' dominions. The army arriving at Trichinopoly and soon finding that the fort was well fortified and warlike preparations made for her defence, moved towards the east and made a surprise attack upon Tanjore.

The fierce advance of the enemies upon Tanjore itself made Vijayarāghava to lose courage and to take shelter in some other place, without offering them battle. The Jesuit letter says again that Vijayarāghava

<sup>44.</sup> For an account of the measures of defence taken by Tirumala, see The Nayaks of Madura, p. 144.

<sup>45. &#</sup>x27;The Nayaks of Madura,' p. 150.

<sup>46. &#</sup>x27;The Nayaks of Madura,' p. 152. Prof. Sathianatha Aiyar says that Muttu Virappa Nayaka 'urged the Nayak of Tanjore in vain to join him.' The Jesuit letters, Bertrand III p. 269 makes no reference to this attitude.

fled to Vallam leaving Tanjore to be defended by his 'son-in-law.' The date of this attack according to the same source was 19th of March 1659. Proenza<sup>47</sup> says:—"This town, situated in the midst of a fertile plain. was not inferior to the strong citadels of Europe. Defended by strong artillery and numerous troops, provisioned for several years. it could defy the besiegers, who had not a single cannon at their service. The commander of the fort, a son-in-law of the Nayak, boldly ascended the ramparts, and was struck by an arrow which inflicted a light wound on him; at once his bravery vanished, and he gave up the place shamelessly. The rajas also protested against his cowardice. These are warriors of a very noble caste and renowned for their courage. They use only the sword and the lance; they scorn the bow and the gun, and leave as they themselves say, these arms to cowards who dare not face danger closely. Their maxim is never to retreat before the enemy, to conquer or die is to them a sacred law. Faithful to this law, they threw themselves desparately admist the conquerors and met with a glorious death, which they preferred to a dishonourable life." 'Sagosi' and 'Mula' capturing the fort without hard fighting, proceeded towards Mannārkōil (Mannārgudi), which was 'situated seven leagues east of the former' and which contained a well fortified fort. This fort was also easily taken by the Muhammadans. Encouraged by their easy success they advanced towards Vallam, 'three leagues south-east of Tanjore,' where they were informed that the Nayak had taken his shelter along with his family and hoarded treasures. The fort of Vallam situated 'on a steep rock within which ramparts are erected with incredible labour and expense' and by its natural position and fortification was an impregnable one and Vijayaraghava, it is gathered from the Jesuit accounts, seemed to have determined to defend it with all his energy. Proenza again says 'when the hour of peril was rung, he had no more faith in his courage than in the fidelity of his subjects; he sacrificed his dearest and fled to the forests of Talavarāyan,48 his vassal. of Idal Khan (Adil Shah) was not even put to the trouble of attacking this third citadel. Those who defended it, frightened by the capture of the two principal towns despaired to resist an enemy so formidable. Besides, actuated only by the feeling of self-preservation, without any kind of devotion for a king who deserved so little of them, they believed that they would be safer in their impenetrable forests than behind their ramparts. As soon as night came, to cover them, they escaped one after

<sup>47.</sup> Bertrand III, p. 270. Proenza's letter from Trichinopoly dated 1659. The Nayaks of Madura, pp. 270-271.

<sup>48.</sup> Who this vassal was that gave Vijayarāghava shelter is not easy of identification.

another, without noise and with such perfect agreement, that, at daybreak, the commander found himself in a deserted town with only a few faithful followers. They themselves made up their mind to follow the fugitive; but when going off, they wished to take their share of the treasures which they abandoned to the enemy; they opened the coffers of the Navak, took what they could carry of the most precious in gold. pearls and precious stones, and fled to the most inaccessible forests. 'Their strength was not in proportion to their greed.' When the commander himself fled in a panic, the Kallans (wild tribes) of the neighbourhood visited the fort before it was surrounded by the Muhammadan forces and took possession of the 'fabulous treaures which till then were not counted but in measuring them by the bushal.' The fort was emptied of its riches and was thus saved 'from the rapacity of the Muhammadans.' The thieves while searching for the treasures came across the prisons which they threw open and thus set free a large number of prisoners. Proenza calls this 'the happiest episode of this war' and adds that those treasures which were the fruits of the greedy kings and the labour of the poor, when removed gave to all people an honest life. By the time the Muhammadan armies arrived at Vallam the palace was left barren. 'Sagosi' and 'Mula' finding the fort empty and evacuated and bereft of all riches, is said to have put a small garrison in charge of it. Proenza writing sometime after this event (March 19, 1659) says that the Muhammadans have already been 'for several months in possession of this beautiful and fertile country' and adds that at the time of his writing it was not possible for him to say definitely whether they would remain there or go back to their country collecting the riches. In another letter dated 1662, he again says that 'Mula' and 'Sagosi' had occupied the kingdoms of Gingee and Tanjore 'since two years' and 'seemed determined to fix their dominions there.' From the same letter it is also gathered that they had to abandon their project of colonisation, when a famine broke out as a consequence of this invasion and havor done, to human life. Proenza says that the famine was severe in all this country and was followed by the migration of the people to the neighbouring places like Madura and Satyamangalam, where the ravages were less felt. The Muhammadans themselves suffered much from this pestilence. Their exposure in the open air of dead bodies without burying them, soon developed an epidemic disease resulting in increased mortality. To this was added the disunion among the officers and generals of the army. 'Mula' reduced to this sad plight, tried negotiations with the Nayaks of Tanjore and Madura by saying that he would leave the land if they should agree to advance him the tribute of three years. Vijayarāghava Nayaka, having lost everything already and with nothing more to lose betook himself in the forests, while Madura paid no heed as she was confident of her strength. And both of them realising the adverse circumstances under which the Muhammadan army was suffering remained quiet. 'Mula' finding that further delay would mean additional loss of men and lives, left Tanjore and laid siege to the fort of Trichinopoly, where again he found the task quite beyond his skill and resources. Bands of Kallans (robber chiefs) caused considerable havoc and further damage to the misfortunes of 'Mula,' who atlast finding it very hard to continue the siege for long retired on receiving a moderate sum from the Madura ruler, Muttu Virappa Nayaka.49 Thus, for the fourth time, we find Vijaraghava Nayaka being attacked by the Muhammadan forces and on this occasion he seemed to have suffered much on account of his cowardice and want of popularity with his subjects. Proenza speaks of the Tanjore people, who were left unprotected by the Nayaka 'as those who had no devotion for a king who deserved so little of them.' Even the army was tired of his rule and it did not co-operate with him fully at times of danger. And Vijayarāghava could not even continue his self-made policy of submission and surrender to the enemy, as a result of these frequent invasions and hence we find him adopting a new policy of moving with his men and money from one place to another and thus avoiding the enemy. Vijayarāghava's extreme piety and devotion to God and his intense religious zeal stood by him as a great consoler and he, a philosopher king understood success or failure as only a manifestation of the Supreme Will.

However, Vijayarāghava soon after the departure of 'Mula' to Gingee, occupied Tanjore. Referring to the miserable life led by him, Proenza mentions that the robbers, the former plunderers of the Nayak's treasures in the Vallam fort, took pity on him and restored to him a part of his riches, saying that they plundered it only to preserve it safe. Thus with the active aid of the Kallans, Vijayarāghava succeeded in re-establishing his authority in the land but as misfortune would have it, he was not destined to rule peacefully even for a short time.

Muttu Vīrappa Nayaka of Madura died shortly afterwards after a rule of about six months and he was succeeded by Chokkanatha in July 1659. His accession saw the revival of the old long-standing animosities between Tanjore and Madura and also the beginning of internal trou-

<sup>49.</sup> For an account of the expedition of 'Sagosi' (Shahji) and 'Mula' (Mustafa Khan), see 'A Great Maratha Service to South India in the Pre-Shivaji Epoch' by Rao Saheb C. S. Srinivasachari—Sardesai Commemoration Volume, pp. 76-77.

<sup>50.</sup> La Mission Du Madure, Vol. III, p. 53.

bles. As he was only sixteen at the time of his accession, he left the administration in the hands of his Pradhāni, Rāyasam and Dalavāy, who, forming a close association among themselves, were bent upon furthering their own selfish interests. The Jesuit evidence<sup>51</sup> says that Chokkanatha declared a policy of conquest on the advice of his ministers in order to drive away the Muhammadans. With this object, Lingama Nayaka was despatched with forty thousand men to attack 'Sagosi,' who was then encamping at Gingee. Lingama is said to have received bribes from the Muhammadan general and prolonged the campaign, while in Madura, the Pradhāni and the Rāyasam were conspiring together to put an end to the life of Chokkanatha and to instal his brother on the throne. The news of this projected plot was revealed to the Navak by a lady of his court and he lost no time in taking a bold action. The eyes of the Pradhāni were pulled out and the Rāyasam was murdered and Chokkanatha captured the power from them. Too weak to oppose Lingama Nayaka, he pretended friendship with him only to take him captive at a suitable opportunity and punish him accordingly. But Lingama, whose conscience rendered him suspicious, escaped from Trichinopoly and joined 'Sagosi.' Proclaiming hostility towards Chokkanatha, he besieged Trichinopoly with twelve thousand cavalry. According to the Jesuit evidence, 52 Vijayarāghava held out assurances to Lingama of his help in his attack upon Madura. The beginning of the siege was favourable to the allies and Lingama thought of capturing Chokkanatha alive. The latter given to understand that the failure of his men was due to the vile and treacherous Pradhāni, soon assumed the command of his army in person and made strong efforts to repulse Lingama and 'Sagosi.' Soon victory was on the side of Madura and the enemies withdrew to Tanjore. Chokkanatha encouraged by the victory, ordered his troops to advance upon Tanjore and attack Vijavarāghava Nayaka for co-operating with 'Sagosi' and Lingama. Vijayarāghava again helpless surrendered to the enemy, while his allies fled to Gingee. Since these events are recorded in a Jesuit letter<sup>53</sup> dated A.D. 1662, the invasion of Madura upon Tanjore in order to punish Vijayarāghava for helping Lingama, must have happened between 1660

<sup>51.</sup> La Mission du Madure, Vol. III, p. 121; and 'The Nayaks of Madura,' p. 155. Prof. Sathianatha Aiyar says that Chokkanatha was not responsible for this policy of conquest, since the whole project was worked out by the three officers in order to create confidence in the people. And when Lingama, the Dalavay, heard of the Nayak's activities he turned an enemy, when the Nayak wanted to deal with him severly.

<sup>52.</sup> La Mission du Madure, Vol. III, p. 123.

<sup>53.</sup> La Mission du Madure, Vol. III, p. 119. Letter of Proenza, dated 1662.

and 1661. This victory of Madura over Tanjore proved to be the first of its kind, ever since the foundation of the Tanjore Nayakship.

The Jesuit letter speaking on the troubled political conditions of this period, says that Tanjore suffered serious consequences on account of these frequent attacks. 'The people abandoned their homes and took refuge in Madura and some at San Thomé. The excessive and fatel religious zeal of Vijayarāghava made him culpably negligent of his subjects' sufferings. To all the mishaps due to the Muhammadan scourge and famine, was added the 'inhuman exploitation of the situation by the Dutch, prompted by mercenary motives.' A Jesuit writer's says, 'shame, eternal shame to the Dutch, who cruelly speculated on the misery of the Indians. They enticed them to the coast by the bait of abundant food; then, when their number became pretty large and their strength a little recouped, they piled them up in their ships and transported them to other countries to be sold as slaves.'

The retirement of Chokkanatha from Tanjore after Vijayaraghava's abject surrender gave the land some sort of nominal peace. In this short period nothing seems to have happened in Tanjore except the preparations of Vijayaraghava to wreak vengeance upon Madura, as he could not reconcile himself with his submission to Chokkanatha. The recent invasion was so significant, as to induce him to action. But as he found that by himself he could not face Chokkanatha, he was waiting for an opportunity to display his enemity openly. Soon the longed-for opportunity came in A.D. 1663 when 'Vanamian' the able general of Bijapur came to the south on an expendition and laid siege to Trichinopoly.<sup>56</sup> The Jesuit evidence again tells us that 'Vanamian' was helped by Vijayarāghava of Tanjore, who is said to have been the enemy and opposed Madura 'against the fidelity of treaties.' The Bijapur general laid waste the neighbouring territories but finding that his threats and show of power as well as his several attacks were of no avail, he opened negotiations with Chokkanatha and asked for a ransom as a condition of his leaving his kingdom. The latter availed himself of this and purchased peace by paying a large contribution in money and thus saved himself for the moment from the horrors of war. But he could not

<sup>54. &#</sup>x27;The Nayaks of Madura', p. 157.

<sup>55.</sup> La Mission du Madure, Vol. III, pp. 124-5.

<sup>56.</sup> The causes for this expedition are not known for certain. Perhaps the news of the defeat of Sagosi and Lingama at the hands of Chokkanatha, might have induced the Bijapur Sultan for further action. The co-operation of Vijayarāghava of Tanjore with 'Vanamian' and the Jesuit reference to Tanjore's betrayal also admit the probability of Tanjore seeking the help of the Sultan as against Madura.

allow Vijayaraghava unpunished for his betraval in joining 'Vanamian' in his siege of Trichinopoly, by breaking his treaty with Chokkanatha made recently. Accordingly, the Navak of Madura marched upon Tanjore for a second time with a large army and soon captured the fort of Vallam which 'by its position and by the rich lands which depend on it' was efficiently garrisoned. Vijayarāghava was forced to surrender and he made peace by agreeing to the timely conditions imposed by the victor. The fort of Vallam which formerly belonged to Madura, but which was transferred to Tanjore by an order of Achyutha Raya at the commencement of the rule of the Tanjore Nayaks in exchange for Trichinopoly, was now lost to Madura by Vijayaraghava as a consequence of this defeat. Chokkanatha Nayaka's annexation of the Vallam fort is confirmed by the Jesuit evidence, which speaks of his return 'after leaving a good garrison in the fortress of which he has just made the conquest.'57 The loss of Vallam must have happened in A.D. 1663, since John Nieuhoff speaks of Vijayarāghava's recapturing it in A.D. 1664.58 Nieuhoff says "the Nayak of Madura had been for a considerable time in war with the Nayak of Tanjore and taken many places from him; at my time the war was renewed with more vigour than ever; and the Nayak of Tanjore having gathered a great army attacked the Nayak of Madura so briskly that he took from him, in a few days, all the places he had conquered from him before. The army of the Nayak of Madura being much disheartened by the victories of their enemies, the Nayak of Madura sent to me to Koylang his chief governor desiring assistance from the Company; but it was not our interest to engage on any side. I it as handsomely as I could."59 And from this it is known that Vijayarāghava recaptured the fort of Vallam and that the latter remained under Chokkanatha only for a very short time. Mr. K. Sitaramayya says that this was the first victory won by Vijayarāghava Nayaka. As Chokkanatha Nayaka was engaged with the reorganisation of the affairs of the Sētupatis of Ramnad and also with the preparations for an attack on Mysore, 60 and as he was not able to enlist the co-operation of the

<sup>57.</sup> Proenza in his letter dated 1665 speaks of Vijayarāghava as having been 'defeated and fleeced by Sokkalinga', whom he had notoriously betrayed. La Mission du Madure, Vol. III, pp. 164-5. Since the letters were written at a regular interval of three years, the reference to this war will have to be placed in 1663. However the reconquest of Vallam is not mentioned by him.

<sup>58.</sup> The Nayaks of Madura, p. 159.

<sup>59.</sup> John Nieuhoff: Voyages and Travels into Brasil and the East Indies, II, 1703, p. 297.

<sup>60.</sup> For an account of these wars, see the Nayaks of Madura, pp. 159-162.

Dutch,<sup>61</sup> he perhaps allowed Vijayarāghava without opposition, to reoccupy his fort. However, as subsequent events would show, he was preparing for a big offensive against Tanjore.<sup>62</sup>

From A.D. 1664 to A.D. 1673 there was comparative peace and calm in the country<sup>63</sup> and the Nayaks of Madura and Tanjore were busy preparing for their mutual war. The Tanjāvūri Andhra Rājula Charitamu says that Vijayarāghava fortified the forts of Tanjore, Arantāngi, Pattukkõttai, Tirupattur and Rēlatalli.64 The enemity between Tanjore and Madura grew violent and each wanted to get rid of the other. And Madura was the only insuperable enemy of Vijayarāghava. Though his policy was one of submission towards the Muhammadans, yet he could not think of adopting the same towards Madura, as she was also a former feudatory of Vijayanagar like himself. Ever since the foundation of the Tanjore Navakship as a dependency of Vijayanagar, the Nayaks of Madura had entertained a policy of distrust and hatred towards her. And the latter's interest in the affairs of the empire and her loyalty and the wars waged by Achyutappa Nayaka and Raghunatha Nayaka on behalf of the Vijayanagar emperors against Madura, all these were looked upon by Madura with hatred, since they were not quite in agreement with her idea of independence. The recent help given by Vijayarāghava to 'Sagosi' and 'Mula' and also to 'Vanamian' in their attacks on Trichinopoly, only added momentum to the already existing indignation of Madura. The absence of strong and powerful rulers on the Tanjore throne and the inability and helplessness on the part of the empire to take up her cause, gave Madura an opportunity to wreak vengeance upon Tanjore.

- 61. Nieuhoff's reference to his refusal of Chokkanatha Nayaka's request in A.D. 1664 was perhaps due to the friendly relations that existed between the Dutch at Negapatam and Vijayarāghava Nayaka. The Dutch took Negapatam from the Portuguese in A.D. 1658 and in that year the Dutch got a deed from the Nayaka (Nammikka Śāsanam: deed of assurance) through one Ciṇṇaṇṇa Chetty by which their claim to Negapatam was recognised. One of the clauses of the deed required the Dutch to entertain feelings of friendship and loyalty towards Vijayarāghava. (Two Negapatam grants from Batavia by Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri Proceedings of meetings of The Indian Historical Records Commission, Vol. XIV, p. 39).
- 62. The change of capital from Madura to Trichinopoly in A.D. 1665 and the fortifications carried out at the latter place were all undertaken with a view to attacking Tanjore. The Nayaks of Madura, p. 160 and The La Mission III, pp. 181-2.
- 63. Andre Friere in his letter dated 1666 refers to a prospective Bijapur invasion of the South, to collect the promised contributions from the Nayaks. But it is not known what became of this intended invasion. La Mission III, page 203.
- 64. Sources of Vijayanagar History, p. 324. Dr. S. K. Aiyangar identifies Rēlātalli with Kīlānilai on the road between Arantangi and Tiruppattur. Even though there is nothing to show that the above fortifications were made in this period, yet the history of his reign shows that he must have been busy with this work only about this time.

II

### (a) The Fatal War with Madura.

As was expected the storm broke out in A.D. 1673, when Chokkanatha ordered his troops to march upon Tanjore. Vijayarāghava put up a strong and gallant defence and died a glorious death on the field of battle. The immediate causes for this war are not clear. The chronicles say that Vijavarāghava's refusal to give his daughter in marriage to Chokkanatha and the bad treatment meted out to the Madura ambassadors, who brought the proposal for the marriage alliance were the immediate causes of this war. Whether the marriage proposal was the real cause of this war is not known for certain and unfortunately Andre Freire's letter dated 1673, in which he claims to have written about this war, is not available to us. However, Mr. Nelson, in his Madura Manual, has accepted the account of the chronicles and finds fault with Vijayarāghava for rejecting the offer and consequently bringing about his own ruin. He says: - one would naturally have supposed that the offer of marriage would have been gladly accepted, more especially as the two kings......were Nayakkans, descended probably from common ancestors.' Dr. S. K. Aiyangar further gives credence to the account of the chronicles by referring to Raghunātha Nayaka's marriage with a Pāndyan Princess. He thus writes, 'there is also nothing improbable in Tirumala's having married the Tanjore princess, whether she was actually stabbed to death in the manner described or not. In view, therefore of these previous alliances it is extremely likely that Chokkanatha sought an alliance and the refusal to comply must both be considered solely from the point of view of political relationship between the two families.'3 He further adds that the cause for Chokkanatha's proposed alliance was his desire to gain the support of Tanjore against his own enemy Mysore.4 However, he concludes that the rejection of the proposal alone was not 'the sole cause of the war between the two.' Mr. Sathianatha Aivar thinks that Chokkanatha's demand of the Tanjore

<sup>1.</sup> Taylor: Oriental Historical Mss, II, pp. 185 and 191-5; Catalogue Raisonnée III, p. 177. Also the Tanjāvūri Aūdhra Rājula Charitam. Also Sources, p. 324.

<sup>2.</sup> The Madura Manual, p. 191.

<sup>3.</sup> The Nayaks of Madura, p. 164, Note 33.

<sup>4.</sup> If Chokkanatha was for real peace and a strong alliance, he need not have precipitated a war immediately on Tanjore. Moreover he had nothing to fear from Mysore by way of an invasion soon after the recent battle of Erode in 1670 which went against him.

princess was only an alleged reason for his intended war.<sup>5</sup> But he controverts Nelson's view that 'both were Nayakkans descended probably from common ancestors', by saying that this could not have been possible since the ancestor of the Tanjore Nayaks was connected by marriage with the ruling house of Vijayanagar, while those of Madura could not boast of such royal relationship. He adds in further support of his statement, that even though there had been marital alliances between the Nayak families of Tanjore and Madura, yet 'Vijayarāghava may have thought differently of the matter.'6 Mr. K. Sitaramayya casts a doubt regarding the truth of this proposed marriage alliance. He says that mutual hatred and enmity between the two lines had been manifest from the year 1616 and so no marriage would have been possible in 1672 or in 1673 or even earlier,7 in view of their hostilities. Secondly the higher status, due to their connection with the royal house, of the Tanjore Nayaks, is pressed into service to disprove the possibility of this proposal. He even says that Tirumala Navaka's marriage with a Tanjore princess is not supported by any reliable testimony as there is no evidence as to its having been a fact found in the Tanjore literature; he adds that Raghunātha Nayaka, who was opposed to the Madura Nayaks in general and to Muthuvirappa Nayaka I in particular, would not have consented under any circumstances to give his daughter in marriage to Tirumala. Even granting that he had made this alliance and that Tirumala murdered his Tanjorean wife, he asks pertinently, whether Raghunātha, the most powerful of all the Tanjore rulers could have kept quiet without revenging himself on his brutal son-in-law for his daughter's death. There is no evidence even in the chronicles to show that Tanjore was at war with Tirumala. And he therefore concludes that Tirumala Nayaka's marriage with Achyuta Raghunathamma of Tanjore as recorded in the Tanjavūri Andhra Rājula Charitam is not only improbable, but highly impossible. Moreover, none of the literary works of Tanjore mention the existence of a daughter of Raghunātha Nayaka and even the Raghunāthābhyudayam of Vijayarāghava, which contains a genealogy of the Tanjore Nayaks, does not speak of a sister of Vijayarāghava. The Jesuit evidence, which speaks of a son-in-law of Vijayaraghava in A.D. 1659, re-

- 5. The Nayaks of Madura, p. 163.
- 6. The Nayaks of Madura, p. 164. He seems to accept the statement of the Raghunāthābhyudayam that Raghunātha married a Pāṇdyan princess; but rejects the marriage of Tirumala with a Tanjore princess and his murdering her on the ground that this statement of the chronicles is not confirmed by any other evidence.
  - 7. The Tanjore Andhra Nayaka Charitam, pp. 321-2.

mains silent on this matter.<sup>8</sup> The chronicles of Madura also make no reference either to this marriage proposal or to Tirumala Nayaka's marriage with Raghunātha Nayaka's daughter. Hence it is difficult to give any credence to this fanciful story that has gained so much currency; and so, the truth of Chokkanatha Nayaka's proposed alliance with Tanjore will have to be discountenanced, until it is supported by further evidence and even then, the refusal of Vijayarāghava could not have brought about an immediate crisis.<sup>9</sup> If the statement were to be supported by future evidence, then the observation of Mr. Sathianatha Aiyar that the Madura Nayak's demand of a Tanjore princess in marriage was made as a subterfuge will remain good. Until then, the question of a marriage alliance as a cause for this war, will not hold good. Hence, the necessity arises of making further enquiry on this question.

The immediate event that preceded this war was the reconquest of Vallam by Vijayarāghava about A.D. 1664.<sup>10</sup> Nieuhoff says that the Nayak of Tanjore attacked the Nayak of Madura and took from him in a few days all that he had lost. This conquest might have encouraged Vijayarāghava to entertain hopes of recovery and revival and he perhaps refused to pay the agreed tribute to Madura.<sup>11</sup> Mr. Sathianatha

- 8. La Mission, III, p. 51. If the reference is correct, then, it means that Vijayarāghava had at least a daughter who had been married already by 1659. But the internal evidence does not mention even a daughter of Vijayarāghava, not to speak of two, as mentioned in the Jesuit letters.
- 9. The view that Vijayarāghava's refusal to comply with the request of Chokkantha, was due to his nobility and high birth, does not seem to be quite secure. Of course, the Tanjore Nayak, Sevappa, was related to the imperial house of Vijayanagar by his marriage with a sister of one of Achyutarāya's courtesans. That Tirumalāmba herself was not Achyutarāya's queen is stated by her in her Varadāmbikāparinayam. But both Nāgama Nayaka, father of Visvanātha Nayaka and Timmappa Nayaka, the father of Sevappa, were brother officers under Krishnadēvarāya and both hailed from the Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam country. And Nāgama Nayaka became the Raya's favourite and that was the reason for his coming down to the South to settle the affairs of the Pāṇḍya. Both of them were Nayaks and Achyutarāya showed his regard for Viswanātha Nayaka, by making a gift for his merit. Apart from this, there is nothing to show that the Tanjore Nayaks were of a higher caste status than the Nayaks of Madura. Both of them were obliged to pay tribute to Vijayanagar according to the Jesuit letters.
  - 10. The Nayaks of Madura, p. 159.
- 11. Vijayarāghava's failure to pay the tribute and his bréaking the treaty concluded with Madura are already referred to in the Jesuit letters in connection with Vijayarāghava's help given to 'Vanamian'. Chokkanatha Nayaka's terms, soon after his capture of Vallam would have also contained a reference to Tanjore's tribute.

Aiyar also says that 'it is likely that the loss of the latter's (Madura) conquest in Tanjore referred to by John Nieuhoff was the governing consideration.' And it is also held that Tanjore's part in the struggle of Chokkanatha waged against the Mysore ruler, Devaraja Udaivar (1659-1672) at Erode and the disagreement between the two powers as a result of their defeat; formed the causes for this invasion by Madura, Dr. S. K. Aiyangar<sup>12</sup> says that Dāmarla Aiyapēndra or Aiyappa, a half-brother of Anka, the son of Chenna, and the founder of Chennapatnam exhibited his loyalty towards Sriranga III in a battle at Erode where a confederacy composed of Chokkanatha Navaka of Madura, a general of the Tanjore Nayaka, Aiyappa and one of the officers of Bijapur, was formed to uphold the claims of the fugitive Emperor, Sriranga III. In this battle Aiyappa fell and the imperial allies were completely defeated. Mr. Sathianatha Aiyar says<sup>13</sup> that 'it is likely that disagreements rose between Chokkanatha and the ruler of Tanjore as a result of this defeat, which probably precipitated the former's war against the latter in 1673.' This view is untenable in the light of our knowledge of the then existing political relationships between these two houses; and Vijayaraghava's sending his general, to participate in the battle of Erode, in which Madura, his enemy, played a prominent part, will have to be supported by further evidence. And hence a clear analysis of all the sources and other statements can only support the view, that the reconquest of Vijayarāghava Nayaka of his lost territories and the old animosities between Madura and Tanjore, constituted the main causes for a war in A.D. 1673.

Chokkanatha despatched a large army under the command of his Dalavāy Veņkatakrishnappa Nayaka with Pēishkār (Revenue Officer or treasurer) Chiṇṇatambi Mudaliar as next in authority. Chiṇṇa Kattiri Nayaka, the poligar of Kaṇṇivādi is also said to have accompanied them with his troops. Vijayarāghava, on the receipt of the news of the

<sup>12.</sup> Sources of Vijayanagar History, Introduction, p. 21. Also the Ushaparinayam by Damarla Anka:—Ibid., p. 308. The battle of Erode must have taken place in or about A.D. 1670 since the Mysore account says that Chikkadēva Udaiyar (acc. 1672), while yet a prince, offered to attack Madura, when negotiations failed. This is further confirmed by the statement that Dāmarla Aiyappa waged a war with him and the latter in his epigraphs dated A.D. 1679 and 1686 claims to have defeated Chokkanatha of Madura and to have taken Tripura (Trichinopoly), etc. See also 'Sriranga III of Vijayanagar' by Mr. R. Sathianatha Aiyar—Prroceedings of the All-India Third Oriental Conference, Madras, 1924. The reference to the part played by a general of Tanjore is also vague.

<sup>13.</sup> The Nayaks of Madura, p. 173.

<sup>14.</sup> The Nayaks of Madura, p. 165,

advance of Madura troops, is said to have despatched an army to meet them on their way and offer battle, before they could reach Vallam. Dalavāy Venkatakrishnappa Nayaka defeated the Tanjore army and captured the fort of Vallam and soon arrived near the outskirts of Tanjore. Vijavarāghava, learning of the defeat of his army near Vallam, soon collected a large force and came out to fight, along with his Senapati, Dalayāy Venkatādri Nayaka.<sup>15</sup> In the fierce battle that ensued, the Tanjore army sustained serious losses. It is said that the Madura Dalavāy proposed peace terms in vain to Vijayarāghava Nayaka, who ordered his men to march forward for battle, himself marching at their head. His son, Mannārudās, who had been kept in confinement<sup>16</sup> was also released and he was left behind along with another person. called Akkirāju, to be in charge of the ladies of his family and to blow up, the Zenana quarters, if the fight should go against Tanjore. It is said that Vijayarāghava, despairing success, gave the fateful signal, by which the Zenana quarters in the palace were blown up and Mannarudas after this, entered the thick of the battle. Shortly after this happening, both Vijayarāghava and his son rushed forward in the battle and fell. Venkatakrishnappa Nayaka proclaimed his victory and returned to Trichinopoly leaving a garrison behind at Tanjore.<sup>17</sup> This battle, which was fatally disastrous in its results to the Nayak's rule in Tanjore, also proved to be the last of the wars of Madura upon Tanjore. Vijayarāghava finding that he could not escape death, faced it with all courage and died gloriously. And Tanjore was annexed by Chokkanatha Nayaka, who put it in the charge of his foster-brother, Alagiri Navaka, who was appointed Viceroy, according to the evidence of the Jesuit letters.<sup>13</sup>

- 15. The chronicles mention one Rangappa Nayaka as the Dalavāy of Tanjore. Also the Tanjāvūri Andhra Rājula Charitam. But an inscription coming from Tirukkoshtiyur (309 of 1923) mentions one Dalavāy Venkatādri Nayaka. Mr. K. Sitaramayya also says that Venkatādri Nayaka was his general as he is mentioned in a Kuravanji Nātakam and also in the Ushāparinayam.
- 16. The reason for his imprisonment is not known. Tradition has a fanciful story to tell. It says that he advanced his love to one of the daughters of Gōvinda Dīkshita and when this was brought to the notice of the Nayaka by the minister himself, he ordered him to be put into prison. The Dakshina India Charitam by Narasimhalu Naidu, Vol. II.
- 17. An account of this battle is given in Taylor's Mss. II, pp. 191-203. Also the Tanjāvūri Andhra Rājula Charitam, Sources. Mr. V. Rangacharya gives a detailed account of this war. Indian Antiquary, 1917, pp. 58-62.
- 18. La Mission, III, p. 247. The Tanjore chronicles also refer to his appointment.

The reign of Vijayarāghava thus came to an end in A.D. 1673 (the date of this disastrous battle).<sup>19</sup>

### (b) The Nayak's relations with the Europeans.

Vijayarāghava Nayaka's relations with the Portuguese were generally friendly except for a short time. The latter continued to hold the port of Negapatam till the middle of A.D. 1658 when it passed into the hands of the Dutch. Speaking of the Portuguese trade on the Eastern Coast and the patronage shown by the Nayaks to them, Mr. Danvers says that in A.D. 1638 both the Nayaks of Gingee and Tanjore were on friendly terms with the Portuguese.<sup>20</sup> However, in the keen rivalry between the Portuguese and the Dutch on the question of Eastern trade the Dutch contrived to gain some advantage over their rivals by 1638. In 1636 the Portuguese Viceroy wrote to Lisbon that trade had generally fallen into the hands of the Dutch, who were making attempts to capture San Thome de Meliapore (Mylapore).21 The Portuguese, on account of this competition, suffered serious losses not only on the coast but also in Ceylon, where their power was slowly declining, yielding place to the rise of the Dutch power. The Danes of Tranquebar were friendly towards the Portuguese; and about 1638 the President of the Danish East India Company, getting intelligence of a projected attack on the Portuguese in Gao and Ceylon by the Dutch, offered his help to them in their defence of Negapatam and Tranquebar, if they were to allow him to establish a factory in Ceylon. When this request was turned down by the Portuguese authorities, the President made another request with a repetition of his offer of help, and this time the request was to allow the Danes to purchase cinnamon, elephants and arecanuts from Cevlon. Nothing came out of this and the Portuguese lost their fort at Batticalova in Ceylon to the Dutch in 1638. The latter were good enough to permit the Portuguese-inhabitants to set sail for Negapatam. The Dutch continued to harrass the Portuguese and attacked Goa in 1639 and Malacca in 1641. About this time the Portuguese seemed to have suffered

<sup>19.</sup> Unfortunately Andre Freire's letter dated A.D. 1673, in which, he says he had given an account of this war is lost to us. Since his subsequent letter dated 1676 begins with a reference to this war and the occupation of Tanjore by Alagiri, the battle must have come to a close by the end of 1673. Lespinay has two dates as he once records the events under July 1672 and elsewhere places them in 1673.

<sup>20.</sup> The-Portuguese in India, Vol. II, p. 252.

<sup>21.</sup> Ibid., Vol. II, p. 257.

from an attack made by Vijayarāghava of Tanjore.<sup>22</sup> The causes for this attack are not known, but it is known that nothing serious had happened as the Records say that the Nayak of Tanjore soon concluded peace with them. However, they began to decline and Conte de Avieras, writing home in December 1643, informed the king of Portugal that all the rulers of South India were against the Portuguese. In 1658, the Dutch under Major Van der Lean captured the settlement of Negapatam without a shot being fired and the Portuguese surrendered completely. According to the terms of surrender, the Portuguese were to be at liberty to leave the town and take with them all their possessions and goods, as well as their church ornaments, and the Dutch should provide them with the means of conveyance in the transportation of goods.<sup>23</sup>

From A.D. 1658 onwards Negapatam was held by the Dutch. From the Dutch Records,<sup>24</sup> it appears that Vijayarāghava was at first not favourably disposed towards them and even did not recognise their hold of the town; but subsequently he had to acquiesce in their possession when an army sent by him to oppose them was defeated.<sup>25</sup> At the instance of Chiṇṇaṇa Chetty, alias Mallayya, of whom we have read above, Vijayarāghava gave the Dutch a charter offering them valuable trade concessions on 15th September 1658.<sup>26</sup> The deed given by Vijayarāghava begins with a reference to Ciṇṇaṇa Chetty, who submitted to him that the Dutch were desirous of carrying on trade operations in the port of Negapatam and says that the Nayak gave the fort, the houses and the yards that were in possession of the Portuguese along with ten

- 22. That Vijayarāghava besieged the town of Negapatam about 1642 is mentioned in a letter dated January 4, 1643, which says that at Negapatam 'the Portuguese have been put to a great strait, for the Naik of Tanjore hath besieged them now upwards of seven months' Foster: The English Factories in India, 1640-45, p. 81. Danvers says that Pedro Boreel, a Dutch Commissioner arrived at Tranquebar and endeavoured to persuade the Naik of Tanjore to continue the warwith the Portuguese and to besiege Negapatam, offering him to bring another force to aid him in his capture of the town. The Naik, however, refused to act on this and soon made peace with the Portuguese. Vol. II, p. 284.
  - 23. The Portuguese in India, Vol. II, p. 324.
  - 24. The two grants from Batavia by Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri.

    The Indian Historical Records Commission, Vol. XIV, p. 39.
  - 25. The Cambridge History of India, Vol. V, p. 127.
- 26. The first grant is dated 15th Mārgaļi of the Cyclic year Vilambi, corresponding to 15th September 1658. The deed is called a Nammikka Śāsanam (deed of Trust).

villages to the Dutchwho were asked to pay to the state an annual tribute as tax thereon. The same charter was renewed for a second time on June 5, 1662 by Vijayarāghaya, who now gave them the additional privilege of setting up their own mint for the coinage of gold, silver and copper, the profits of which were to be shared between the Company and the Nayak.<sup>27</sup> About 1666 the Dutch got from Vijayarāghava Nayaka the port of Trimelipatam (Tirumalairājanpatnam in the Nannilam Taluk of the Tanjore District) and some other places in its neighbourhood on lease, for a period of three years 'for a sum of 2,800 parados, on condition that the Company were neither to fortify the places nor to disembark any merchandise or cloth in these places.' The Company wanted the lease in order to be able to regulate their dealings with the local dyers and also to be free from the molestation of the Nayak's officers. The issue of these charters shows that Negapatam had definitely passed on from the Portuguese into the hands of the Dutch and that Vijayarāghava, who was opposed to the latter at the beginning, had to reconcile himself with them. The grant of additional villages on lease shows further, that Vijayarāghava became more friendly towards them as years passed on.

The Danes at Tranquebar continued to enjoy their privileges unmolested and free from the Nayak's intervention. However, they do not seem to have fared well at all, for want of regular supply of money and ships from home. President Muschamp wrote to London on October 28, 162928 that the Danes for want of stock and shipping have finished their trade and by report, their general had gone to surrender their castle to the Dutch for 15.000 rials, but it is supposed that the Naik will not suffer them to enjoy it peacefully, unless upon a new composition which will cost them dear. A Dutch letter from Masulipatam dated September 24, 1628, speaks of the possibilities of the Dutch obtaining Tranquebar should the Danes decide to leave, adding that in the event of their refusing it, "Malaya, (Malliah) the Comati, would take it as he had a great trade on the Coast and was afraid of being plucked by one or another of the Naiks." In December 15, A.D. 1629, the Dutch Governor-General at Batavia reported to the Company that Roelant Crape, the Danish Admiral of Tranquebar, had proposed that the Dutch should buy the port of Tranquebar for 12,000 or 15,000 rials of eight and that they had refused it. Another letter dated December 2, 1629 contains a reference

## (To be Continued)

- 27. Tijdschrift, Batavia, Deel LXXIX, A flevering I, p. 7.
- 28. Foster: The English Factories in India, 1623 to 1629, p. 347.

# Finances of the Madras Province 1920-40

By

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According to the devolution rules framed under the Government of India Act of 1919, from the 1st of April 1921 the Madras Government made an annual contribution of Rs. 345 lakhs to the Central Revenues. This it continued to do upto 1925 when the contribution was reduced to Rs. 221.98 lakhs. Next year, 1926-27, it fell to Rs. 165.19 lakhs and was wholly abolished in 1927-28.

Simultaneously with the reduction and final abolition of the contribution to the Central Revenues there was a steady and gradual improvement in the receipts from the revenue assigned to the Madras Government. This improvement reached its apex in 1929-30; from which year it began to decline as a result of the world economic depression. With the expansion of revenue expenditure also increased; but owing to the fall in revenue from 1930-31 expenditure had to be drastically cut down.

Year.	Revenue.	Expenditure on revenue account.	Surplus (+) or Deficit (-) [Column (2)- Column (3)]
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
1920-21	16,19.71	14,79 · 60	+1,40.11
1921-22	15,79 · 20	16,77 · 92	<b>—</b> 98·72
1922-23	16,06 · 22	16,09 · 24	- 3.02
1923-24	16,47 · 85	16,11 · 54	+ 36.31
1924-25	16,27 · 59	<b>16,57 · 06</b>	<b>— 29·47</b>
1925-26	16,93 · 60	15,95· <b>2</b> 3	+ 98.37
1926-27	16,83 · 69	15,82 · 21	+1,01.48
1927-28	17,05 · 37	15,03 · 64	+2,01.73
1928-29	17,53 · 10	16,13 · 96	+1,39·14
1929-30	18,08 · 88	16,84 · 79	+1,24.09

Year.	1	Revenue.	Expenditure on revenue account.	Surplus (+) or Deficit (-) [Column (2)— Column (3)]	
1930-31		16,83 · 93	17,89 · 68	1,05 · 75	
1931-32		16,29 · 88	16,24 · 47	+ 5.41	
1932-33		16,40 · 24	<b>15,63·0</b> 3	+ 77.21	
1933-34		15,50 · 28	<b>15,44</b> ·03	+ 6.25	
1934-35		15,62.60	15,51 · 67	+ 10.93	
1935-36		15,88 · 25	15,83 · 40	4 4 85	
1935-36	(Madras only)	15,57 · 66	15,31 · 03	+ 26.63	
1936-37		15,58.04	15,77 · 37	- 19.33	

The above figures show that there were surpluses in eleven years and deficits in five years. While the surpluses in the early years were due to retrenchment, the surpluses in the later years were due to remissions of the provincial contributions. The surplus of 1931-32 was due to an unexpected increase in the yield from the excise and stamp revenues. The deficit in 1921-22 was mainly due to the Non-co-operation movement, the Moplah Rebellion, the famine in the Ceded Districts, the general trade depression and the increase in salaries. The total nett surplus for the sixteen years was 549.48 lakhs. Out of these, 3 crores were utilized for paying off loans from the Central Government and the remainder for capital expenditure mostly productive.

The table (in the next page) shows that land revenue receipts were very high in 1925-26 and 1931-32. Revenue from excise fluctuated during the period. It was at its lowest point in 1921-22 and touched the highest in 1929-30. Since then it has declined substantially. The fall in 1921-22 was undoubtedly due to the Non-co-operation movement while the subsequent decline is probably due to economic depression and the increase of illicit practices. The increase in the stamp revenue was due to the amendment of the Court Fees and Stamps Act and the enhancement of the price of the copy stamp paper. At the same time it must be remembered that stamp revenue has shown a tendency to decline due to economic depression and the measures taken to mitigate agricultural indebtedness by the grant of government loans and also because of the establishment of Land Mortgage Banks and Debt Conciliation Boards. Forest revenue reached the peak point in 1929-30 and ever since has been fluctuating. Since 1928-29 there has been a fall in registration revenue.

The following table gives the figures of revenue under the various heads of account:-

Total.	15,87.09 15,88.75 16,34.04 16,77.25 17,14.94 17,29.08 17,56.96 17,57.09 16,30.90 16,30.90 15,49.22 15,43.65 15,44.57	·
Other Heads.	96.86 99.72 1,00.67 1,12.52 1,13.46 1,14.92 1,55.46 1,55.46 1,52.52 1,22.52 1,21.23 1,32.27 1,35.00	
Registration.	30.61 32.56 36.98 37.90 34.12 39.06 30.37 30.33 30.33 30.33 30.39 30.39	
Forest.	86.88 12 12 12 12 13 13 14 14 14 15 15 15 15 15 15 15 15 15 15 15 15 15	
Stamps.	1,78·10 1,89·85 2,19·84 2,34·05 2,45·08 2,52·30 2,50·11 2,51·17 2,04·45 2,04·45 1,95·08	
Excise.	5,45 · 80 4,97 · 37 5,01 · 31 5,02 · 99 5,02 · 99 5,10 · 14 5,28 · 37 5,28 · 37 5,28 · 37 6,28 · 37 4,28 · 99 4,21 · 69 4,11 · 93 4,00 · 36	
Land Revenue.	6,87 ·04 7,24·45 7,28·35 7,12·78 7,40·20 7,70·70 7,54·32 7,50·31 7,50·31 7,50·41 7,50·41 7,69·38 7,46·84 6,92·54 7,46·84 6,92·54 7,46·84 6,92·54 7,46·84 7,46·84 7,46·30 7,46·30 7,46·30 7,46·30 7,46·30 7,46·30 7,46·30 7,46·30 7,46·30 7,46·30 7,46·30 7,46·30	
Year.	1920-21 1921-22 1922-23 1922-23 1923-24 1924-25 1926-27 1927-28 1930-31 1931-32 1932-33 1932-33 1935-36 (Ma	

Turning to expenditure the following table gives the figures for expenditure during the period under review.

Year.	Total.	Transferred departments and Development Services included in Reserved.	Charges common to Reserved and Transferred departments.	Reserved departments. (Security Services and other minor departments.)
1920-21	11,75 · 85	5,09 · 60	92·78	5,73 · 47
1921-22	13,11 · 54	5,86 · 86	93 · 42	6,31 · 26
1922-23	12,98 · 83	5,62·32	1,09·36	6,27 · 15
1923-24	13,21 · 66	5,76 · 64	1,20.85	6,24 · 17
1924-25	13,56.95	6,07 · 84	1,32 · 16	6,16 · 95
1925-26	14,22.97	6,63 · 33	1,49 · 19	6,10 · 45
1926-27	14,85 · 21	7,05 · 77	1,75 · 65	6,03 · 79
1927-28	15,82 · 57	7,75.82	1,88 · 28	6,18 · 47
1928-29	16,59 · 58	8,50 · 26	1,93 · 93	6,15 · 39
1929-30	17,26 · 42	9,08 · 12	1,87 · 96	6,30 · 34
1930-31	18,15.07	9,88 · 07	1,82 · 48	6,44 · 52
1931-32	16,26.58	8,34 · 78	1,83 · 61	6,08 · 19
1932-33	15,22.50	7,56 · 12	1,89.79	5,76 · 59
1933-34	15,48 · 97	7,70.60	1,95.58	5,82 · 70
1934-35	15,54.34	767·7 <b>4</b>	1,94 · 07	5,92 · 53
1935-36	15,85 · 81	7,89 · 64	2,00.80	5,95 · 37
1935-36	15,32.59	7,61 · 42	1,97 · 91	5,73 · 26
(Madras only)				
1936-37	15,77 · 09	7,97 · 57	2,00 · 10	5,79 · 42

In 1930-31 the total expenditure was 18,15.07 lakhs of rupees. The expenditure on transferred departments and development services had increased that year by 94% as compared to 1920-21 and that on security services and minor departments by 12%.

According to the Government of India Act of 1919 the Provincial Governments were empowered to raise loans on the security of the revenues allotted to them. On the 1st April 1921 the Government of India debited to the Madras Government 8,75·26 lakhs of rupees. This represented the capital expenses incurred by the Government of India upto 1921 for constructing protective and productive irrigation works in the Madras Presidency. The Government of India were only en-

titled to interest at a fixed rate on this amount but at the same time the option of amortizing the debt was given to Madras. In 1936 the Madras Government debited Rs. 47.07 lakhs to the Orissa Government. In 1937 the outstanding debt of the Madras Government to the Central Government was 8,28.19 lakhs. The annual interest on this amount was 28.12 lakhs. In addition to this debt the Government of India had debited to the Madras Government a sum of Rs. 108.86 lakhs. This represented loans which the Government of India had advanced to local authorities and cultivators. The Madras Government repaid this debt to the Central Government in twelve annual instalments; and it was finally cleared off in 1932-33.

According to part III of the Government of India Act, 1935, the scheme for the decentralization of balances came into effect on 1st April 1937. Along with this there was a consolidation of the debt owed by the Madras Government to the Central Government. At the same time the Government of India held 771.75 lakhs of deposits of various kinds which they had to repay to certain provincial bodies in Madras. Madras Government took up this liability in return for adjustment by way of reduction of its pre-1921 debt to the Central Government. By this method the pre-1921 debt got reduced to 56.44 lakhs. After this adjustment the total amount owed by the Madras Government to the Central Government was 756:71 lakks which included the 56:44 lakks of the pre-1921 debts. All this amount was consolidated into a single debt and the average rate of interest on this debt worked out at 4.71%. This debt was to be paid off within a period of 45 years commencing from 1937-38 and ending in 1981-82 with interest at the rate of 4.5%. The option of redeeming the debt earlier was given to the Madras Government: an amount not exceeding one half of the principal could be returned between 1st April 1945 and 15th October 1946 and the whole or any part of the remainder of the debt between 1st April 1960 and 16th October 1961. The net result of the consolidation was that the debt charges which stood at Rs. 87.67 lakhs under the old arrangement became reduced to Rs. 53.37 lakes in 1937-38. At the same time the Provincial Government lost interest on about Rs. 55 lakhs on account of furnishing the minimum balance with the Reserve Bank, cash in treasuries and sub-treasuries and of financing all the floating debts. Another fact that has to be mentioned here is that the Madras Government has saved every year roughly 22 lakhs by the Separation of Orissa. On the whole Madras Finance was in a sound position at the advent of Provincial Autonomy. Compared with the opening balance on 1st April 1921 of 58.78 lakhs, on 31st March 1937 there was a revenue closing balance of 61.86 lakhs. Besides this the Madras Government had on

the same date a closing balance of 63.89 lakhs composed of depreciation funds of commercial undertakings, deposits etc. Thus on the 31st March 1937 the total balance to the credit of the Madras Government was 125.75 lakhs apart from the securities held in the Madras Famine Relief Fund.<sup>1</sup>

With the advent of Provincial Autonomy in 1937 the functions of the Provincial Government were widened and the New Provincial Governments were eager to strengthen the social services even if that involved deficit budgets and the floatation of new loans. At the same time there was retrenchment in the more costly services and expansion in other directions. The new policy was to some extent handicapped by the lack of control of the Provincial Government over certain items of expenditure and by the lack of scope for further taxation in certain directions. Since further income from taxation was difficult to obtain expenditure had necessarily to be limited.

Even before Provincial Autonomy expenditure in Madras had been fairly well directed, there was an increase of 27% in the Madras expenditure on social services when compared to the period before dyarchy. This cannot be said of any of the other major provinces. Consequently the increase during the period of provincial autonomy in Madras was low as compared with other provinces. Whereas absence of such increase in the dyarchic period has resulted in showing a much higher percentage of increase during the period of provincial autonomy in other provinces. The following table shows the expenditure in Madras from 1937-38 to 1939-40.

Year		Primary functions of Govern- ment	Development Services	Charges Common	Total
1937—1938	••	6,60 · 26	7,90 · 80	1,31.90	15,82 · 96
1938—1939	••	6,51 · 92	8,33 · 65	1,35·19	16,20.76
1939—1940	••	6,60 · 63	8,46.34	1,33 · 75	16,40.72

Expenditure on the primary functions of government increased at the introduction of provincial autonomy. This is due to frequent meetings of the legislature, long sittings costing increased secretarial staff,

<sup>1.</sup> All the figures and tables have been taken from Budget Memorandum 1939-40, Government of Madras, Finance Department.

and other constitutional changes including the bi-cameral system. The introduction of prohibition also involved additional expenditure. On the other hand reorganization of departments and retrenchment of unnecessary posts and the stoppage of the hill exodus effected some savings. The net result was that expenditure on security services showed a slight fall.

Turning to development services we shall take up a few items for scrutiny. The following table shows the expenditure on education:—

1937—38	••	••	257 · 95	(Accounts)
1938—39	••	••	261 · 57	(Budget Estimate)
1938—39	••	••	262.51	(Revised Estimate)
1939-40	••	••	264.57	(Budget Estimate)

Though the figures show a rise as compared with previous years compulsory primary education, though realised to be highly necessary, could not be introduced since it involved an expense of 6½ to 7½ crores. Expenditure on medical relief also shows a marked increase. Special attention was devoted to water-supply. Efforts were made to combat epidemic diseases and to distribute quinine and initiate anti-malarial measures. A sum of Rs. 1½ lakhs was set apart annually for this purpose. Between 1937-40 during a period of three years a sum of 18 lakhs of rupees has been spent on rural water-supply. In this matter Madras is second only to Bombay which has spent 28.25 lakhs. It is clear, therefore, that public health received special attention during the period of provincial autonomy.

Section 45A (Rule 29 of the Devolution Rules and Schedule IV) of the Government of India Act 1919 which came into force on 1st April 1921 provided for the establishment and maintenance of a famine relief fund in Madras. The provincial revenue set apart for this purpose was 6.61 lakhs annually; this amount was reduced in 1928-29 to 3 lakhs. This sum was to be utilized for famine relief during the year; if there was an unspent balance it was to be added to the Famine Relief Fund. When, however, the Famine Relief Fund reached a maximum of 40 lakhs the provision of an annual amount for expenditure on famine relief was optional. This fund was regarded as invested with the Governor-General in Council who paid interest. On the 1st April 1935 this fund reached the highest point viz., 61.53 lakhs and on 31st March 1936 it was 41.48 lakhs. The Government of India Act 1935 did not provide for the continuance of the Famine Relief Fund; but the Madras ·Government passed the Madras Famine Relief Fund Act of 1936 by which it continued to maintain a famine relief fund with the balance to its credit with the Central Government on this head, as its nucleus.

During the period 1936-37 to 1939-40 there has been an increase in the revenue receipts of Madras. The following Table shows the revenue distributed over the important heads:—

Year.	1937-38	1938-39 (Revised estimate)	1939-40 (Budget)
Taxes on income other	T		
than Corporation tax	18.75	22.95	24 · 15
Land Revenue and irrigation minus work-			
ing expenses	6,80 · 66	6,87 · 90	<b>7,04</b> ·70
Excise	4,03 · 07	3,68 · 34	3,55 · 04
Stamps	1,92.69	1,66 · 78	1,67 · 24
Forests	50.46	45.28	44.66
Registration	33.29	31.68	31.74
Motor Vehicles	53.95	80.60	82.91
Other Taxes and			
Duties	2.87	2.36	18.34
Electric Schemes minus working			
expenses	17.53	· 19·67	30.80
Other Heads	1,47.35	1,97 · 63	1,63 · 87
Total	16,00 · 62	16,23 · 19	16,23 · 45

There has been an increase in land revenue during the period; and this is in large measure due to favourable seasons and the collection of previous arrears. In the matter of excise which accounted for 25% of the total receipts there has been a decrease in the yield owing to the introduction of prohibition. It must at the same time be added that though there were no collections from the dry areas, the wet areas registered an increase in revenue. The receipt under stamps also showed a decline since measures for debt relief led to a fall in litigation. In 1938-39 grazing fees were reduced by 50% and there has been a consequent shrinkage in forest revenue.

At the same time new sources of revenue were tapped. First among them, in point of time, was the entertainment tax. This tax had already been introduced in Bengal as early as 1922 and therefore it was not new to the country. It had also been adopted in Bombay, Sind, Punjab,-U.P. and C.P. before it came to Madras. For a long time it was a source of revenue for local bodies. In 1939 it was made a pro-

vincial item and the local bodies were compensated. Duties on electricity and motor spirit were also attempted. A tax on tobacco was also levied. This tax had also been in existence in other provinces before Madras adopted it. Another measure of taxation was the Sale of Cloth Act 1937. The latest measure introducing new taxation is the Madras General Sales Tax Act of 1939.

Coming to the loan policy of the Madras Government during the period of provincial autonomy one notes that the public debt of the province has increased. This has been the case in all provinces except Bombay and Sind. The debts of the Madras Government rose from 11.05 crores to 16.17 crores of rupees during the period.

A review of the revenue and expenditure of Madras during the past two decades shows that both the income and the expenditure of the Madras Government have increased during the period; but the increase in income has not kept pace with the increase in expenditure. The sources of revenue which have been assigned to the provinces by the Government of India Act 1935 are inelastic; while the functions assigned to the Provincial Government demand much greater expenditure. To remedy this state of things it would be necessary for the Central Government to accelerate the remissions under Income Tax till at last that tax becomes entirely a provincial source of revenue. The income from forests can be substantially increased by a more scientific forest policy. Further retrenchment in expenditure is scarcely possible. The possibility of the state running public utility concerns has to be explored. This province may attempt a monopoly of tobacco.

That there should be a substantial increase in expenditure on productive and nation building undertakings cannot be doubted. Since increased taxes must be based only on increased taxable capacity of the people planned and concerted measures must be taken to improve the income of the people. Haphazard methods will never lead to any substantial improvement and hence a definite plan with a time-limit should be put into force. Money is needed for all this. And one method of securing further income is the introduction of new taxes. These taxes would involve a redistribution of the incidence of taxation.

The first step in this direction would be a scientific study of the working of existing taxes and the scope for new taxation. Taxes on succession would be a productive source of revenue. The present system of land revenue needs careful investigation and the possibility of tapping larger revenues from land has to be carefully considered. Speci-

fic taxes on trades and professions may also be attempted. Taxes on luxuries and advertisements as sources of revenue for local bodies may also be examined. Transit and octroi duties which have been suggested by some people should be avoided since that would involve further restraint on the free flow of goods within the country.

A popular Government can never content itself with a policy of maintaining law and order. The motto of conservative financiers of taxing low and spending low must be discarded and within the bounds of solvent finance a bold and forward policy in regard to taxation, loans and expenditure has to be followed. This well-planned and co-ordinated policy must have as its aim the maximising of the agricultural and industrial production of the country and the improvement of the conditions in which the millions of the country live and labour from day to day. No higher task can await the future provincial finance ministers than the initiation and adoption of a sound and well conceived economic policy which is calculated to banish from our country, poverty, ignorance and disease. In the field of finance, as in other spheres of human activity, extreme conservatism may be only another name for stagnation; and a policy which appears risky and dangerous may prove in the long run to be the safest and most beneficial.

## **Bharati and Keats**

By

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If the following lines of Keats:-

And they shall be accounted poet-kings Who simply tell the most heart—easing things

are true. Poet Subramaniya Bharati, who flourished in the first quarter of this century, must be regarded a poet-king. John Keats thought that it was easier to think what poetry should be than to write it. But modern writers such as Mr. Housman would tell us that it is far easier to say such and such lines are poetry than to define poetry. Just as a terrier is able to scent a mouse without being able to define it, one can enjoy poetry without being able to say what poetry is. If, to be accounted a poetking one need simply "tell the most heart-easing things," Bharati was certainly a poet-king. For sheer simplicity of expression of high and noble thoughts he has a few compeers in Tamil literature. In almost every part of the Tamil country, where nationalism is prevalent there are hosts of people on whose minds in particular he has a strong hold. They have an immense love for his poems and an irresistible desire to read or sing them aloud. He has produced combinations which would give him a high rank among the Tamil poets of modern times because of their appeal to the ear. Verses taken at random would illustrate this statement.

Among things that brought him to prominent notice must be mentioned his ardent love of the country in which he was born and for which he was prepared to offer sacrifices and undergo suffering. To him the Tamil country was sweeter than nectar:—

Amiltil iniyatadi pāppā—nam Ānrōrkal dēsamadi pāppā.

As soon as he heard the word 'Tamilnādu' sweet honey poured into his ears and as soon as the word 'Fatherland' was uttered there came through the breath a marvellous spirit. This idea is contained in the following lines:—

Sen Tamil nādeņum pōti nilē—inpat Tēnvantu pāyutu kātinilē—enkaļ Tantaiyar nādenra pēccinilē—oru Sakti pirakkutu mūccinilē—

To him Bhārata-dēsam or India appeared to be the best country in the world. Witness for instance the following lines:—

Pārukkuļļē nalla nāḍu—eṅkal Bhārata nāḍu.

He has sung in many places to the praise of the country where his father and mother and their fore-fathers had lived and played, where several women with golden bodies had played and played in broad moon-light or in the river, and where several women, giving birth to their golden children, had nursed and fondled them. What a contrast to Keats who, though he said,

"Happy is England! I could be content
To see no other verdure than its own;
To feel no other breezes than are blown"

was anxious to see other climes and especially other beauties! Keats, though he said,

"Happy is England, sweet her artless daughters; Enough their simple loveliness for me"

was burning to see "beauties of deeper glance, to hear their singing, and to float with them about the summer waters." To Bharati the ladies of Tamilnāḍ appeared to be quite angelic. Not that Bharati did not want to see ladies of other climes but that to him angels, certain celestial beings and certain goddesses appeared as though they were women of Tamilnāḍ.

Bharati's poems abound in repetition of a word or phrase. Human nature requires that a thing should be said twice or thrice if it is to be believed. At any rate, that is the view of Mr. E. A. C. Lamborn. That ought to explain why Milton, in his cruel deprivation, cried:—

Oh dark, dark, dark amid the blaze of noon Irrecoverably dark, total eclipse Without all hope of day.

Bharati was highly enamoured of the worship of Sakti, the Goddess of Energy who, according to him, stands supreme to the Hindu Triad. In order to emphasise to the world the worship of her he has repeated the expression Sakti ever so many times. For instance, under the title 'Sakti Tiruppuha' he has said:—

Sakti Sakti Sakti Sakti Sakti enrotu Sakti Sakti Sakti enpār—sākār enrotu

and again

Sakti Sakti Sakti Sakti Sakti vālī nī. Sakti Sakti Sakti Sakti Sakti vālī nī.

In another place he has said again

Ōm Sakti ōm Sakti ōm Sakti ōm Sakti Ōm Sakti enru urai ceytiḍuvōm.

It appears as though Sakti would be conjured by means of uttering the expression time and again. Otherwise his 46 verses going under the title 'Dedication of the Soul to the Sakti,' would cease to have great value. The burden of the song is "Sakti taṇakkē aḍimai ākku, Sakti taṇakkē aḍimai ākku." With these exquisite examples of his melody one can compare Keats'

Shed no tear! Oh, Shed no tear The flower will bloom another year. Weep no more! Oh weep no more

Dry your eyes, oh dry your eyes!

Shed no tear! Oh, shed no tear

Adieu, adieu-I fly, adieu,

\* \* \* \*

Adieu, adieu.

Again, with the melodious and creative beauty in the fore-going verses of Bharati one can compare Keats' song

"Spirit here that reignest! Spirit here that painest! Spirit here that burnest! Spirit here that mournest! Spirit! I bow \* \* \* \* \* Spirit I look \* \* \*

Spirit here that laughest! Spirit here that quaffest! Spirit here that dancest! Noble soul that prancest! Spirit! With thee I join in the glee."

Keats is reported to have said in his youth

"Give me women, wine and snuff Until I cry out 'hold, enough'

They age shall be My beloved Trinity."

Whether this is true or not, that he said "the poet enjoys light and shade and lives in gusto" in a letter to Woodhouse is beyond doubt. The latter statement applies to Bharati in a remarkable manner, for he wished to enjoy moon-light and the shade of the cocoa-nut palms and to live in great gusto as is evident from his three verses entiled 'Kāni Nilam.' There he has said that he required a storeyed palace with a well, cocoanut trees numbering 10 or 12, tender cocoa-nuts, milk-white moon-light, and the sweet notes of a cuckoo. There he would require Goddess Sakti to guard the place while he, with an artless, chaste girl, would sing and dance. The verses under this title would bring to one's mind the following lines of Keats in 'Sleep and Poetry':—

First the realm I'll pass
Of Flora, and old Pan: sleep in the grass,
Feed upon apples red, and strawberries,
And choose each pleasure that my fancy sees;
Catch the white-handed nymphs in shady places,
To woo sweet kisses from averted faces,—
Play with their fingers, touch their shoulders white

\* \* \* \*

Another will entice me on, and on Through almond blossoms and rich cinnamon; Till in the bosom of a leafy world We rest in silence, like two gems upcurl'd In the recesses of a pearly shell.

Three ruling passions of Bharati's life appear to have been poesy, fame and beauty. In this way he was like Keats who thought that verse, fame and beauty were intense and unlike Keats who thought at the same time that death was intenser and that death was life's high meed. The nine verses going under the title 'Mūnru Kātal' would indicate that Bharati strove for poesy, fame and beauty. Stripped of the allegory this poem would represent that he was anxious to obtain the grace of Sarasvathi the Goddess of Learning, of Lakshmi the Goddess of Wealth and of Kāli the beautiful Mother-God. This poem shows that he enjoyed the grace in ample measure of the first two Goddesses; but that they occasionally eluded his grasp has also been made plain. He did not, however, say as Keats did

"O folly! What is Love! and where is it? And for that poor Ambition—It springs From a man's little heart's short fever-fit; For Poesy!—no—she has not a joy—At least for me—.

Though Keats had a great passion for fame as is evident from a line in his Sonnet "Verse, fame and beauty are intense indeed," he scorned those people who strove for fame. Witness for instance the following lines on 'Fame':—

Fame, like a wayward girl, will still be coy

To those who woo her with too slavish knees,
But makes surrender to some thoughtless boy,
And dotes the more upon a heart at ease;
She is a Gipsey, will not speak to those

Who have not learnt to be content without her;

Ye love-sick Bards! repay her scorn for scorn; Ye Artists lovelorn! madmen that ye are! Make your best bow to her and bid adieu, Then, if she likes it, she will follow you.

But Bharati never scorned fame nor scorned those that were trying to obtain fame. In several places we find him courting fame. For instance, under the caption 'Vēndum' he has said

<sup>&</sup>quot;Dharaṇiyilē perumai vēṇḍum"

In the sixth verse under the title 'Vaiyam Mulutum' he has prayed for a long life of 100 years with fame. That he sought also beauty is evident from the following words "Nittam navam enac cudar tarum uyir kēṭṭēn" contained in stanza 2 of his desidereta. That he had a craving for poesy is far more easily understood, for he has repeated that idea in many places. For instance, under the title 'Yōgha Siddhiwaram Kēttal'—the follownig lines occur:—

Pala paṇṇir kōḍi vahaiyinpam—nān pāḍat tiran aḍaital vēṇḍum.

Under the title 'Kāṇinilam' the following lines

Enran pāttut tirattālē ivvaiyattaip Pālittida vēņum

and under the title 'Om Sakti' the following lines

Eļļattaņai polutum payaninri irātu enran nāvinilē Veļļamenap polivāy

have occurred. There is no doubt therefore that fame, beauty and poesy were some of the ruling passions of Bharati's life.

He yearned for wealth, joy and long life besides. He has given utterance to this idea in several places. For instance, in a poem entitled 'Vēndum' he has said "Dhanamum inpamum vēndum." In another poem, namely, 'Yōgha Siddhi' he has eagerly sought great wealth to be used as capital for certain enterprises:—

Tolil pannap perunitiyam vēndum.

If in the 'Ode on Indolence' Keats has decried love, ambition and poesy, we are not to infer therefrom that never were they the ruling passions in his life. On the other hand, it would be well if we said that these things which had great attraction for him at a certain period of his life ceased to interest him at a further stage when probably he lay on his sick-bed. It is in this manner that the lines in the Sonnet

"Verse, fame and beauty are intense indeed, But Death intenser—Death is life's meed"

are to be interpreted. This records, as in the opinion of Mr. J. M. Murry, "a grim and victorious struggle to detach himself from those passions"; "they dissolved away from him in a triumphant acceptance of Death." Similarly, Bharati, who had an inordinate desire for joy and happiness, found one day that these joys and happiness were probably

something ephemeral, if not illusory. That is why in his condemnation of Māya he has said "Ō māya! Shall I take as true the happiness you give" (Verse 6.), and again "Ō māya! What shall you do with those that know that this body is after all nothing" (Verse 4.).

Even though Keats said in one place

"Ever let the Fancy roam,
Pleasure never is at home:
At a touch sweet pleasure melteth,
Like to bubbles when rain pelteth;
Then let winged Fancy wander
Through the thoughts still spread beyond her,"

he said at another

"Welcome joy, and welcome sorrow

I do love you both together

Fair and foul I love together."

But Bharati was always and invariably longing for joy and happiness. This is evident from his repeated requests to the Goddess of Energy that his lot must be joy alone and never grief, happiness alone never

sorrow. For instance, in 'Porri Agaval' he has stated

"Inpam këttën ivay porri Tunpam vëndën tudaippay porri."

Further, the sixth verse relating to 'Dēsa Muttu Māri' runs as follows: -

Tunpamē iyarkai enum collai marantiduvom Inpamē vēndi nirpom yavum aval taruvāl.

Whereas Keats thought that Death was life's high meed and said

I know this Being's lease,
My fancy to its utmost blisses spreads;
Yet would I on this very midnight cease,

Bharati has given expression in many places to his desire to survive and last long. One of the reasons why he asked people to worship Sakti was that they might thereby conquer Death. He himself was a staunch be-

liever in an ever lasting and imperishable life. At one place he has said that by the worship of Sakti people could live with fame for 100 years. In another (in St. 7 of 'Shiva Sakti Pugal') he has stated that if there were the grace of Sakti people could live eternally. In yet another place ('Mahā Sakti Venpā' St. 4.) he has shown that he believed that the Goddess has made us all in order that we might live 100 years. He has clearly expressed himself in 'Pōrri Agaval' (line 23) against Death:—

Cāvinai vēņdēn tavirppāy porri.

Evidently his guru, by name Kullaccāmi or Mānkottaiccāmi has told him that man could conquer Death. He was therefore a firm believer in the theory of the immortality of the soul. What Bharati apparently thought by saying that man could conquer death was that Man's soul was not mortal even though his body was. This could be inferred from the way in which he has appealed to Mahā Sakti either to kill his foul desire or to take away his breath, either to give light to his mind or to reduce him to a corpse:—

Mõgattaik konruvidu-allal enran müccai niruttividu

Chintai teliyākku—allāl itaic cetta udalākku.

Keats in his 'Ode to a Nightingale' said

"Thou wast not born for death, immortal bird! No hungry generations tread thee down; The voice I hear this passing night was heard In ancient days by emperor and clown."

and expressed himself in favour of leaving the world unseen, and fading away into the dim forest with the nightingale. He wanted apparently to get away from the world "where but to think was to be full of sorrow." Even so Bharati wanted to soar above and live like a bird, to eat without toil, to reap without sowing, to spend the night with stories, and to sleep and sleep during night:—

- Mānudarē nīvir en madhattaik Kaikkonmin; pādupadal vēņdā.
- (2) Viţţu vidutalai āki nirpāy intac Ciţţuk kuruviyaip polē—undu Marrap polutu katai collit tūnkip pin Vaikaraiyākum mun pādivilippurru

- Cinnañ ciru kuruvi polē—nī Tirintu parantu vā pāppā.
- (4) Kāṭṭil uḷḷa paravaikalpōl vālvom appā.

Not that these poets had a brief for indolence but that they wanted to emphasise the pleasure of occasional idleness. In a Journal Letter of March-April 1819, as published by Miss Amy Lowell, it is found that John Keats wrote "This morning I am in a sort of temper, indolent and supremely careless." In a previous letter he wrote "I do not know what I did on Monday—nothing—nothing—nothing." Despite this, he wrote in the poem 'Sleep and Poetry'

"But off despondence, miserable bane
They should not know thee, who athirst to gain
A noble end, are thirsty every hour."

In a similar manner, though Bharati said in one place "hark, toil not, nature will give you food," has said in another ('Bhārata-māthā Nava-ratṇamālai' St. 7), that those that serve the mother-country should never be despondent:—

Cudutalun kuļirtalum uyirkku illai; Corvu, vīlccigaļ toņdarukku illai.

In another point there is striking resemblance between Keats and Bharati and that is in regard to relationship of Man and Woman.

"Woman!

When I see thee meek, and kind, and tender, Heavens! How desperately do I adore Thy winning graces;—to be thy defender I hotly burn—"

so said Keats. Bharati's line of argument was that since all things in the world are said to be God woman being a thing of the world ought to be God. This is expressed in his poem entitled 'Where is God' (St. 3) and in 'Bharati Sixty-Six' (St. 45). In this part of the country he had even a sermon to preach: Respect woman (Taiyalai uyarvu cey—'New Atticūdi').

In his 'Ode to Fanny' Keats said "Love, love alone, has pains severe and many" and in his Sonnet commencing as "I cry your mercy—love!" he said

O! Let me have thee whole—all—be mine! That shape, that fairness, that sweat minor zest Of love, your kiss, those hands, those eyes divine

Yourself—your soul—in pity give me all, Withhold no atom's atom or I die.

What a parallel to Bharati whose burden of the song in the allegorical poem on the Indian Cuckoo is represented to be

Kātal kātal kātal, Kātal pōyīr kātar pōyir Cātal, cātal, cātal!

The passage means "love, love, love, withhold love, withhold love, and I am dead, dead," In a poem written to a lady in October 1819 Keats remarked

"Give me those lips again!
Enough! Enough! It is enough for me
To dream of thee!"

Bharati similarly had a craving which has been expressed in 'Kannammā — En Kātali':—

Kāttiruppēņodi—itu pār kannattu muttamonru.

Both Bharati and Keats apparently could not brook philosophical obstruction in the path of love. Bharati, for instance, in his vision of 'Krishna—a hunter—as his lover' was told by him, "Away with your Shastras! I want only happiness with you":—

Ēḍi Sāttirankaļ vēṇḍēn—ninatu inpam vēṇḍumaḍi, kaṇiyē!

In another vision where Bharati was the lover and Krishna was the beloved, Bharati told Krishna, "Why this philosophy! Would those that are warm in love care for this philosophy"?

The passage runs:—

Sāttiram pēsukirāy—Kaṇṇammā! Săttiram ētukkaḍi? Āttiram koṇḍavarkkē—Kaṇṇammā! Sāttiram uṇṭōḍi?

Apart from his appeal to the senses in other places, this alone would suffice to show that Bharati would take a place by the side of John Keats

as a poet of sensuous perfection. The way in which the wondrous serpent-woman has been developed from Burton's "Anatomy of Melancholy," transformed and recreated by Keats contains a happy parallel. The poem 'Lamia'—Part II—has the following words:—

Do not all charms fly
At the mere touch of cold philosophy?
There was an awful rainbow once in heaven:

\* \* \* She is given
In the dull catalogue of common things.
Philosophy will clip an angel's wings,
Conquer all mysteries by rule and line.

When the beautiful Lamia is about to be united in marriage with Lycius, there steps in Apollonius, his sage instructor, as an uninvited guest and with his eyes fixed on her, sends her into a swoon and cries out to Lycius

"Fool, fool—from every ill

Of life have I preserved thee to this day

And shall I see thee made a serpent's prey?"

Because of the approach of the philosopher, Apollonius, the whole charm of the lovers is fled.

Bharati in his vision of 'Krishna as his Father' has represented Him as one that would laugh at the untrue Shastras of mankind. Further in stanza 7 therein he has said that He was the giver of the Vedas but those Vedas are not in men's language and in what is called Veda to-day there is a small admixture of His Vedas. Thus, Bharati lamented that the Vedas had been written and revised by persons interested in showing their own religion as the best. What a parallel to this is contained in the words of Keats relating to persons who have written the history of Jesus Christ! Keats wrote "He (Jesus) was so great a man that though he transmitted no writing of his own to posterity, we have his mind and his sayings and his greatness handed to us by others. It is to be lamented that the history of Jesus was written and revised by men interested in the pious frauds of Religion".

Mr. F. M. Owen in his Study of Keats has told us that Keats was not merely a sensuous poet but something more. That his imagination and poetic genius carried him beyond the earliest developments of the mind to the spiritual and more prominent elements of human nature is Mr. Owen's opinion. If this is true of Keats, it is truer still of Bharati. Keats in a letter is reported to have said as follows:—"Give me this credit—Do you not think I strive—to know myself? Give me this

credit (of knowing myself) and you will not think that on my own account I repeat Milton's lines

'How charming is divine philosophy Not harsh and crabbed as dull fools suppose But musical as is Appollo's lute'

no—not for myself—Nothing ever becomes real till it is experienced". Bharati similarly has said in several places 'Know thyself' (Deivam nī enru unar—'New Ātticūdi'). In 'Sarva Madha Samarasam' (St. 10) the following is found:—"Thou art God, thou art God; God thou art; it is Delusion that takes hold of thy mind and says 'thou art not God'; Remove Delusion and thou wilt know thyself."

Bharati and Keats, who lived in two different countries have so many thoughts that are like and yet unlike. It would be very interesting to make a further comparison of them.

## The Hormic Theory

(BEING AN EXPOSITION AND A CRITICAL EVALUATION WITH ORIGINAL SUGGESTIONS FOR THE IMPROVEMENT AND EXTENSION OF WILLIAM McDOUGALL'S PSYCHOLOGICAL THEORY).

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### PART I

#### CHAPTER I

#### AN EXPOSITION OF THE HORMIC THEORY

#### Section I. Introduction.

"It is too simple to be true," said a not very friendly critic of McDougall's psychological theory. Yes; it is simple, so simple that it can be expressed in two simple sentences; "Animal, as well as human behaviour is purposive"; and "Purpose implies a purposing mind." Yet, how profound has been the influence of this theory, not only on academic psychology, but also on the social sciences and animal biology! psychology, McDougall's hormism has produced a Copernican revolution, shifting the centre of interest from the barren field of abstract cognitive analysis, to the real and living realm of feeling and conation. It has engendered in the psychologist a hitherto unknown degree of self-confidence and a spirit of hopefulness in his capacity to solve the riddles of life. To the student of the social sciences it offers, in the place of the unscientific and self-contradictory ad hoc psychologies which each one of them constructed for one's own narrow purposes at variance with and often in defiance of the others, a thoroughly tested, reliable and scientific psychology of human nature. And to the animal biologist, by forcing him to recognise the existence of mind even in the humblest of living creatures. hormic psychology opens up a vast vista of knowledge and experience hitherto hidden from him by mechanistic biology. Not only in these major fields, but in other minor ones too McDougall's influence is being felt. There is not a writer of any importance in psychology and the social sciences who does not refer to the great leader of the hormic school. What, then, are the outstanding features of this psychological theory which is known as the hormic theory? It is to the task of supplying an adequate answer to this question that we shall address ourselves in this monograph. An attempt will be made to analyse the theory, and to set forth its various implications. At the same time a critical evaluation of the more significant contributions of the theory to the elucidation of the baffling psychological problems will be made, and, what is of the utmost importance, it will be shown how the defects in the theory may be rectified, and in what directions it may be fruitfully extended. This formidable task is undertaken, because we feel that when the conflicting schools of psychology come to realise the need, as they must very soon, for sinking their differences and for evolving a single all-embracing psychological theory, they will find that in the hormic theory there is the foundation, well and truly laid, for a unified psychology.

### Section II. The Background.

Such an outstanding and epoch-making psychological theory as the hormic theory could not have come into existence without a significant history behind it. But, the purely historical aspect of the theory is not of any great interest to us. What we need is a critical evaluation of the significant antecedents of the theory in the evolution of psychology. In common with the other contemporary schools, the hormic school revolted against the barren intellectualism and introspectionism of the later nineteenth century. Associationism with its atomistic conception of mental structure and function found for itself a fresh source of strength and support in mechanistic biology and chemistry, and physiology of the "muscle-nerve" preparation type. By 1900 a very interesting period of transition was reached in the evolution of psychology, wherein the germs of the brilliant contemporary theories seemed to lie unreconciled by the side of the old principles which were soon going to be thrown over-board. "In theory the psychologists of 1900 subscribed to the definition of psychology as the science of consciousness, but in practice they were studying performance as well as experience. In theory they were for an analytical psychology patterned after chemistry, .... but in practice they often disregarded this scheme. In theory they were mostly associationists, but not dogmatically so; the high noon of association was already past. theory they were strong for a physiological psychology, but in practice they made a profound bow to the brain and passed on their way...."1 It is against this background that we have to view the contributions not only of hormic psychology, but also of other contemporary schools. But in the case of the school we are considering there is an important middle ground which enters into, and colours the foreground. This middle ground is represented by behaviourism. "An outline of Psychology", which along with "an Outline of Abnormal Psychology" constitutes the most valuable contribution of McDougall to contemporary psychology, is in fact, one long sustained argument against the conclusions of mechanistic psychology. There are passages in the book illustrative of the use of the great forensic abilities of the author to shatter the conclusions of behaviourism. We have, therefore, to view the hormic theory as a protest not only against the older intellectualistic schools. but also against modern mechanistic behaviourism.

Some one has remarked that one taking up the study of McDougall for the first time may be led into the belief that our author is a behaviourist, because great stress is laid in his works on "performance" or "behaviour" as against "experience"; and animal studies figure most prominently in the opening chapter of his more important publications. It is true that McDougall attaches great value to the study of animal behaviour and of the active side of human behaviour, but that does not make him a behaviourist. Behaviourism and purposivism are in wide disagreement among themselves. Their agreement is negative in effect. It is similar to the pact which two opposed extremists enter into for purposes of defeating a common enemy. revolutionary attitude towards associationism. up а condemned emphatically. But there it most ended. behaviourism purposivism soon and as from the distant back-ground of associationism, the latter separated itself from and protested against the aims and methods of the former. For behaviourism the "subject matter of psychology is behaviour -not conscious contents, not mental functions, not psycho-physical processes of any sort, but movements in time and space. Behaviour is the activity of the organism as a whole.....Only objective methods are accepted as valid. Introspection is completely rejected".2 The conditioned reflex is the principle par excellence of the behaviourist for explaining all the highly intricate and complex problems of human behaviour. The behaviourist sees nothing mysterious in personality, which is merely "the sum total of an individual's reactions and tendencies to reaction." Personality "can be studied by the matter of fact methods of science." "The whole system of behaviour, then, the complete personality, is built up out of a few simple reactions by the process of conditioning. A limited repertoire of native responses, the process of conditioning, the stimuli provided by the body and by the environment, social as well as physical—these are all that the behaviourist needs."3 The S-R formula is the foundation of behaviourism; study of behaviour, prediction of future acts of behaviour and their control on the basis of this mechanistic formula are its aims. And against every one of the principles implied in the method and aims of behaviourism McDougall protested. So, we have to consider the development of purposivism against this middleground of S-R psychology. Purposivism exposes the inherent defects of behaviourism, corrects these defects, and then, after assimilating all that is of value in mechanism, towers over it in its new-

<sup>2.</sup> Heidbreder, E. Seven Psychologies, p. 243.

<sup>3.</sup> Ibid.

found strength drawn from the correct understanding of the hidden springs of human activities.

Section III. Some relevant aspects of McDougall's early Life and Work.

It will be helpful to our general understanding of the hormic position if, before we enter upon a critical discussion of purposivism, we could consider two topics, apparently of minor importance, but yet having some significant bearing on the general trend of McDougall's psychology. These are, (1) the influence of McDougall's early life on his psychology and (2) the value of our author's earlier work in the field of neurology.

All obituary notices of the great leader of hormism have drawn freely on McDougall's autobiographical sketch in the "History of Psychology in Autobiography." This article is a mine of information about the way in which McDougall's mind developed, and incidentally it throws light on certain obscure characteristics of purposivism. We may refer at once to the question which has been uppermost in the minds of many students of hormic psychology-why did not McDougall found a school, as Watson did or the Gertalt leaders did? The answer is found in the autobiographical essay. "I have never" says our author, "fitted neatly into any social group, never been able to find myself wholly at one with any party or any system, and, though not insensible to the attractions of group-life, group-feeling and thinking, have always stood outside, critical and ill-content."4 This inherent mental trait is largely responsible for the utter indifference which McDougall displayed for the benefits to be derived from founding a school of Hormic Psychology. Had he been more aggressive, the hormic theory would have been better understood, and more widely recognised as the most satisfactory principle for the explanation of human behaviour. This fact was brought home to the mind of our author in a very poignant manner in his later life. In the Preface to "Psycho-analysis and Social Psychology", published in 1936, McDougall writes, "I have realised too late that I might have done much more for my chosen science, had I from the first spoken with a less modest voice. It seems to me probable that, had I at the outset put forward my views in a more self-assertive and clamant fashion, I might have been acknowledged as the leader of a powerful and perhaps dominant school of psychology, instead of remaining a well nigh solitary outsider playing a lone hand; I might even have 'put over' the type of psychology which I believe to be most nearly true, and to be indispensable for the advance of all the social sciences. For, in psychology, far more than in any other field of science, the prestige and authority of a like-minded group would seem to be essential to the success of any theory or system".<sup>5</sup> The unfortunate mental trait to which McDougall has frankly confessed has forced him to stand aloof as a solitary outsider, and has deprived him of the power to create a like minded group. The loss is all on our side, the side of students of psychology.

There is another biographical incident of great importance to us. It relates to the genesis of the central hormic thesis, and illustrates strikingly the non-rational and intuitive origin of all great scientific hypotheses. "Lecturing one day in 1906" savs McDougall. found myself making the sweeping assertion that the displayed in every human activity might in principle be traced back to some inborn disposition or instinct. When I returned home I reflected that this was a very sweeping generalisation, one not to be found in any of the books; and that if it was true, it was very important. I set to apply this principle in detail, becoming more and more convinced of its truth, and of its importance; and my social psychology emerged."6 First an intuitive insight, and then rational development—that is the way in which science has developed. Accordingly, the great hormic truth revealed itself all on a sudden to the genius of McDougall in a flash of "insight," and then it was patiently developed by the founder of hormic psychology. And in the process of development the theory has undergone radical changes, not always for the better. One of the major aims of this monograph is to indicate the three main stages in the evolution of hormic psychology as marked out by McDougall's Social Psychology (1908), An Outline of Psychology (1923), and the Energies of Men (1932), and to show how on the whole the first named work is superior to the others.

The second topic, which we said is worthy of treatment in a preliminary approach to hormic psychology, is the significance of McDougall's work in the field of physiological psychology. Special importance is attached by us to this work, because it exemplifies the operation of the hormic principle even in the early physiological contributions of McDougall. In a series of brilliant papers contributed to mind and Brain McDougall showed how the synapse is the real seat of consciousness. As a fruitful corollary to this position he developed a theory of inhibition which is eminently purposive. "According to this theory, inhibition is always the negative aspect of a positive process—the

<sup>5.</sup> Op. Cit., p. v (Italics ours).

<sup>6.</sup> History of Psychology in Autobiography (Murchison), Vol. I, p. 208.

redistribution of whole event consisting in a energy mere prevention of something that would otherwise occur.....McDougall applied it to a great variety of phenomena at all levels of the nervous system; the reciprocal inhibitions of the spinal level, inhibitions on the sensory level,.....the mutual inhibitions of instincts, and finally many well-known features of the "attention process". The theory seems to fit in admirably, too, with the "displacement" and "sublimation" doctrines of the psycho-analysts and also (as McDougall himself has pointed out in a recent paper) with the phenomena of the conditioned reflex as demonstrated by Parlov."7 The theory is of special importance to us, not because of its all-embracing nature, but because it lays the foundation for the category of purpose in biology and psychology.

### Section IV. The Orienting Category of Purpose.

In estimating the value of McDougall's contribution to psychological theory, it is well to point out at the outset the orientation he has given to the entire field of the study of human nature in its many aspects by the introduction of the category of purpose. Causation is the ruling concept in the physical, and evolution in the biological sciences. The social sciences were wandering aimlessly without any such category or guiding principle. Facts had been gathered by the thousand, but those were like so many loosely scattered, disorganised and unoriented iron-filings in a non-magnetic field. McDougall brought into this chaotic mass the powerful electro-magnet of the category of purpose, and immediately the disorderly mass marshalled itself into an orderly sequence of events. Working with its aid and under its guidance the psychologist has no difficulty in unravelling the tangled skein of human behaviour, individual as well as social, conscious as well as sub-conscious. Truly may it be said that the introduction of the concept of purpose has produced a revolution in psychology as deep and significant as the Copernican revolution in mathematical physics. "If psychology can point" says Professor Koffka8 "the way where science and life will meet, if it can lay the foundations of a system of knowledge that will contain the behaviour of a single atom as well as that of an amoeba, a white rat, a chimpanzee, and a human being, with all the latter's curious activities which we call social conduct, music and art, literature and drama, then an acquaintance with such a psychology should be worth while and repay the time and effort spent in its acquisition." Such a psychology is

<sup>7.</sup> Flugel, J. C.: A Hundred Years of Psychology, pp. 270-1.

<sup>8.</sup> Principles of Gestalt Psychology, p. 23.

the hormic psychology of McDougall, and we have no hesitation in affirming that the category which is its foundation is bound to prevail in the realm of the social sciences.

The introduction of the orienting concept of purpose into psychology was the result of the objective observation of animal behaviour carefully controlled by rigorous scientific standards. McDougall noted and analysed out certain characteristics of the behaviour of living organisms. They are spontaneity of movement; persistence of activity independent of the continuance of the stimulus; variation of direction of persistent movements in order to overcome obstacles: cessation of movements when the goal has been reached and the needs of the organism satisfied; preparation for the new situation towards the production of which the action contributes; improvement in the efficacy of behaviour with successive repetitions of the act; and finally the total reaction of the organism to the behavioural situation. Wherever we notice all these characteristics we may safely argue for the purposiveness of the activity of the behaving agent. Purposiveness is the essence of mental activity, and is an expression and manifestation of mind. The view that all animal and human behaviour is purposive. and that purposive action is fundamentally different from mechanical process is the corner stone of the hormic theory.

### Section V. The Biological basis of Hormic Psychology.

In connection with and in support of his hormic hypothesis McDougall has made a very elaborate study of animals at all levels of the evolutionary scale-from the humblest amoeba to the most developed primate next to man. This has given rise to the belief that McDougall has made psychology biological, and the biological foundation has made hormic psychology much more scientific than it would otherwise be. The implications of this statement are far reaching. It is true that animal studies constitute a most important section of McDougall's major works on psychology. But it is not mechanistic biology that our author employs in his investigation of animal behaviour. It is not the biology of "dissection"; it is not the biology of the "muscle-nerve" preparation: it is not the biology of the dead animal. it is not even the biology of the body of the living animal, but it is the biology of the mind of the animal and of its purposive behaviour. He makes his position very clear in the History of Psychology in Autobiography. "I had come to see," he writes "more and more clearly that the main defect of the psychologies with which I had struggled in the opening years of the century was their acceptance or their compromise with, the mechanistic biology, and their consequent neglect of the purposive or the biological aspect of all mental life." Besides his Lamarckian experiments on white rats are not controlled by the "tail-less-dog begetting tail-less-puppy" ideology, but by a purely psychical outlook. The acquired characteristic whose inheritance is being investigated is distinctly mental as it relates to "Maze Leaning." Speaking of these experiments McDougall says, "....a positive answer indisputably established by experiment would not only give us a working theory of biological evolution, but would be a heavy blow to mechanistic biology. It would place mind at the very heart of the evolutionary process instead of leaving it as a bye-product of that process ....." Hence the biology which McDougall championed was not of the type which would pull psychology down to the level of a science dealing with muscles and bones, but that which would raise biology up to the higher level by forcing it to treat of the mind of animals.

#### Section VI. Mental Structure and Mental Function.

The consideration of purpose in the realm of animal and human behaviour leads us to the next great contribution of McDougall to psychological theory. Purpose implies a purposing mind. What, then, is the nature of this mind? In answering this question McDougall draws a distinction between structure and function which has great value for students of psychology, normal and abnormal. The distinction, let us emphasise at once, is not the usual distinction between neural or cerebral structure and mental function which is somehow to be associated with that structure. It is not the distinction on the basis of which the puzzling difference between neurosis and psychosis is drawn. It is an epoch-making distinction between mental structure and mental function that McDougall attempts to draw for the first time in the history of psychology. This distinction is bound to revolutionise our outlook in psychology, particularly in abnormal psychology.

The method of inferring structure from function is used very widely in contemporary science. The minute details of the structural organisation relating to electrons and genes, which by their very nature are invisible, have been drawn with astonishing skill. That which is unobservable is made to generate observable behaviour under known conditions. And from the observed results the structure of the organisation which has given rise to these results is inferred by the hypotheticodeductive method. It is in this way that the relative organisations of electrons and protons in an atom, of atoms in a chemical compound, and of genes in a chromosome are reconstructed

<sup>9.</sup> Op. cit., p. 215.

and presented to us. These, of course, are not arti-facts, but at the same time it must be remembered that they are only mental constructs or conceptual hypotheses, based no doubt on perceptual facts. While such a procedure is believed, to generate "hard objective facts" in the physical sciences, there is no reason why it should not yield the same result in psychology. McDougall employed this well-tried scientific method for establishing those mental facts which constitute the core of the hormic theory.

The implication of this procedure is SO little known. even amongst those scientists who make an extensive application of it in their research fields, that it is necessary to elaborate it a little. Spectroscopy is now an important branch of experimental physics. The spectroscope yields, when it is employed in the experiments relating to the structure of the nucleus of matter, a negative with certain characteristic lines. These lines are made the starting points for an elaborate process of hypothetico-deductive reasoning at the end of which (after passing, no doubt, through the highly abstract and symbolic realm of mathematics) a picture is presented to us of the way in which the electrons dance round the protons. Between the final conclusion and the original premise, the connection is remote, inferential, tortuous and hypothetical. Yet the lay man believes that the physicist "sees" electrons just as we see books and inkstands on our table. So great is the ascendency over the lay mind that the scientist has secured! Similarly from the colour of the eye of the fruit-fly the experimental biologist infers not only the existence, but the exact position of the gene in a particular chromosome in the cell. Here, again the man in the street is blissfully unaware of the fact that the gene is a mental construct. when the self-same method is employed in psychology, and equally objective conclusions drawn by the hard rigorous scientific method are presented to the lay public, the reaction is different. Every lay man has a mind, and therefore, is not the owner of a mind competent to criticise the conclusions of those who meddle in minds! However, we may assure the lay public that so far as the methodology of the investigation of mental structure goes, hormic psychology is on a level with mathematical physics and experimental biology.

McDougall attaches, very rightly, great importance to this distinction between mental structure and mental function. The concluding sections of the opening chapter of his great work, An Outline of Psychology, is devoted to this topic. "Mental structure is." he says there, "that enduring growing framework of the mind which we infer from the observed manifestations of mind in experience and in behaviour;

and ..... this develops, grows, and even when the mind is at rest, endures.....". Next to the introduction of purpose into the erstwhile chaotic field of psychology, this distinction between mental structure and mental function ranks as the most significant contribution of McDougall to contemporary psychological theory.

### Section VII. The Instinctual Structure of Mind.

The next important contribution is the nature of mental structure as inferred scientifically from behaviour. This is the foundation of hormic psychology, and in one sense, is the most valuable gift of McDougall to the whole race of psychologists and sociologists. After a very care-' ful examination of behaviour among animals, primitive men and civilised nations, McDougall came to the epoch-making conclusion that mind is instinctual in structure. He has proved convincingly "that the great behaviour patterns which are so easily discernible in the animal world also underlie all human actions. "All is no exaggeration. Like the higher animals, we are born with a few big instinctive drives, forming the warp and the woof of our nervous system. These cause us to pay attention spontaneously to certain things, to feel certain strong desires and emotions in regard to them, and to set about acting in a particular manner. But the manner in which we shall strive for the goals that attract us is less precisely defined than with animals, just as animal instincts are less stereotyped than those of insects....."

"By a careful study of our emotional life and of human behaviour under primitive and special conditions, McDougall concluded that Homo sapiens and the higher animals are possessed of some fourteen distinct instinctive drives, i.e., inborn, unlearned ways of feeling and acting, which can nevertheless be modified by education to meet civilised needs. Through the veneer of civilised intentions it is often difficult to perceive the fundamental grain of our instinctive constitution, although most people with a frank self-analysis can discern the primitive instinctive drive beyond any of their actions. We have been taught new ways of gaining the old ends, ways not socially objectionable; we are stimulated by many novel settings in place of the old original exciting situation: occasionally we have even learned to be satisfied with goals slightly different from the original biological one....; but we remain, nevertheless, creatures drawing our life interests from instincts and behaving in predictable emotional patterns....." It is in these striking words that Professor R. B. Cattell sums up in Your Mind and Mine, 10 McDougall's contribution to psychology. There are one or two easily remediable errors in this admirable summary of the central hormic theme: the first is the reference to nervous system in speaking of the nature of instinctive drives; it is not the nervous system, but mind that is the seat of these drives: the second error lies in the reference to the veneer of civilisation; the difficulty lies not in seeing the relation between so called civilised behaviour and its primitive instinctive origins, but in seeing the relation between such behaviour and its correct instinctive foundation. When these defects are set right we shall have in the quotation given above the gist of McDougall's hormic theory.

#### Section VIII. The Hormic Revolt.

We are too near the event to realise fully the deep significance of the revolution that has taken place in psychology. Freud and McDougall have blazed the trail through the jungle of the human mind for all future psychologists. The utter futility of analytic psychology confined to cognition was keenly felt by the early sociologists and economists who began to theorise on their own account on the nature of human behaviour. These ad hoc psychologies of authors like Paret. Le Bon, and Trotter have had a most pernicious influence on the development of our science, and to this deplorable effect has been added the not less retarding influence of the crude creations misnamed psychologies of writers on ethics. To wipe out these popular psychologies is not easy, and will take a long time. McDougall has essayed the formidable task of setting things right by the publication of his Social Psychology. In spite of the simplicity, directness and convincingness of the theory propounded by the leader of the hormic school, misunderstandings of its fundamental doctrines persist in the minds of many leading psychologists. So great is the illusion-creating power of scientific terminology even when it is far removed from fact!

#### Section IX. What is an Instinct?

It has been mentioned already that hormic psychology gathers facts of mental structure from a careful observation of facts of behaviour. This process has shown that mind, of the animal as well as of man, is "a bundle of instincts," to put it rather crudely and bluntly. There is nothing more and nothing less than "instinct" in the mind of any member of the whole range of living organisms from the humblest amoeba to the proudest human being. What, then, is an instinct? "An instinct" is an "innate disposition which determines the organism to perceive (to pay attention to) any object of a certain class, and to experience in its presence a certain emotional excitement and an impulse to action

which finds expression in a specific mode of behaviour in relation to that object."<sup>11</sup> In an oft quoted passage McDougall expresses, in language which reaches poetic heights, the great importance of these instinctive structures. "We may say, then, that directly or indirectly the instincts are the prime movers of all human activity; by the conative or impulsive force of some instinct (or of some habit derived from an instinct), every train of thought, however cold and passionless it may seem, is borne along towards its end, and every bodily activity is initiated and sustained. The instinctive impulses determine the ends of all activities and supply the driving power by which all mental activities are sustained; and all the complex intellectual apparatus of the most highly developed mind is but a means towards these ends, is but the instrument by which these impulses seek their satisfactions, while pleasure and pain do but serve to guide them in their choice of the means."

"Take away these instinctive dispositions with their powerful impulses, and the organism would become incapable of activity of any kind; it would lie inert and motionless like a wonderful clock-work whose main-spring had been removed or a steam-engine whose fires had been drawn. These impulses are the mental forces that maintain and shape all the life of individuals and societies, and in them we are confronted with the central mystery of life and mind and will."

The concept of instinct is the very life and soul of the hormic theory. Instincts are placed by the hormic psychologist at the very centre of the vortex of ceaseless human strivings. They make or mar human individuals and human societies. There is no act of human behaviour which may not be traced ultimately to one or another of the fundamental instincts. As there is prevalent in the scientific world a great deal of misunderstanding, due either to ignorance or wilful neglect, regarding the nature of the claims and achievements of the central thesis of hormic psychology it is necessary for us to set forth clearly the structure of an instinct.

One of the great merits of the McDougallian system is the extensive use it makes of the funded psychological knowledge of the human race in literature and tradition, and in those stores of common-sense experience, namely, proverbs. "The wise psychologist will regard literature as a vast store-house of information about human experience, and will not neglect to draw from it what he can." Taking a word in common usage he refines its meaning, making its

<sup>11.</sup> An Outline of Psychology, p. 110.

<sup>12.</sup> Social Psychology, p. 18.

cannotation scientifically accurate, and then employs it in his psychology. He could have created, as Freud did, an elaborate scientific terminology removed far from current usage, and could have made psychology very abstruse and hence beyond lay cavil. But he chose to keep close to ordinary human experience. The result has been rather disastrous to the reputation of the hormic school of psychology. Critics have become blind to the fact that words in ordinary usage, such as instinct and emotion, when they occur in McDougall's works, have a special connotation. They have, in consequence, misinterpreted many of the valuable conclusions of hormism. To guard ourselves against such an insiduous temptation to climb down to easy going levels of pseudo-psychologising, and to warn critics of shallow understanding we shall present here a detailed picture of instinct as conceived by hormic psychology.

Following the laudable method of refining the connotations of words, McDougall first clears the ground by brushing aside the errors in the popular conception of instinct. When man constructs a very complicated piece of machinery, such as an automatic central telephone exchange, we say he is using his intelligence; but when an insect achieves a similar result, as the spider does when he constructs his trap-door device, we say that the action is instinctive. Animals are creatures of instinct while man alone is the proud possessor of intelligence. Instinct and intelligence are thus placed in opposition to each other. McDougall has demonstrated clearly in the opening chapters of "An Outline of Psychology" and "The Energies of Men" the utter folly of such a view. Drawing his examples from his own observation, and from those of eminent field biologists he has proved beyond any shadow of doubt that animals, even those low down the scale of evolution, are intelligent. is true that long before McDougall, scientific workers in the field of natural science interested themselves in the problem of intelligence in animal behaviour. But our author was the first champion of animal intelligence to assemble a formidable battery of scientific evidence which shattered to shreds the mechanistic and tropistic conceptions of animal behaviour. Our behaviour has an unmistakable instinctive basis, and animals display remarkable intelligence in many of their acts of adaptation to the environment. Instinct and intelligence are to be used not as contradictory and mutually exclusive, but as complimentary principles of explanation of behaviour. In fact, intelligence is a part of instinct, and is subservient to it. "The chief lesson" says McDougall "I would have the student learn from the behaviour of insects is that Instinct and Intelligence are not two diverse principles of action or of guidance of action. Instinctive behaviour is indistinguishable from

intelligent behaviour by any outward mark..... Intelligence operates only and always in the service of the instinctive impulses to action".<sup>13</sup> The conclusion is a great achievement in itself, backed as it is by an indisputable range of scientific evidence. Its implications, however, are of utmost value to the general hormic theory. It grounds cognition and the development of cognitive abilities firmly in conation, making the latter the living stem of which the former are only branches. It dispels the illusion of the old type of psychology that cognition is independent of conation, and is different from it in essence.

The second error which McDougall corrects is a purely scientific one, and so, much more difficult to tackle, and which even when disproved does not fail to exercise fascination over men's minds. Instinct is not to be identified with the congenitally determined preadaptation of the nervous system to react in a special way to specific stimuli. This is the biological view of instinct, and on this view instinctive behaviour is merely one kind of vital adaptation of the organism. Biologists, at any rate some of them, tend to regard instincts as combinations of reflexes, and in any case there is no attempt in biology to rise above the level of the body. Biology, as we have observed already, is interested only in the body of the animal, and its view of instincts is bound to be narrow and unsatisfactory. Psychology should not be misled by biology.

Having dispelled the illusions besetting the concept of instinct, it becomes the duty of the hormic psychologist to describe the true structure of instinct. The first point that hormic theory urges is that instinct is a fact of innate mental organisation. It is a psychical fact. It is a concrete fact of mental structure or organisation inferred from facts of behaviour. We are familiar with the marvellous models of life-like wax figures which move their limbs in a very realistic manner. One who has a knowledge of the working of electrical machinery appropriate to these models can, by a careful observation of the movements of these figures. reconstruct the structure of the mechanism hidden inside. Similarly the leader of hormic psychology, with a mind rich in information relating to animal behaviour, has constructed a picture of the structure of mind which initiates purposive behaviour. This picture let us assert. even at the risk of being condemned for unnecessary repetition, is scientifically accurate, and may, without any hesitation, be accepted as their guiding principle by those who seek for a true understanding of human nature.

(To be continued.)

# **PRAMEYAMĀLĀ**

BY

### VĀTSYA VARADAGURU



EDITED WITH TRANSLATION AND NOTES

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॥ श्रीमते रामानुजाय नमः ॥॥ वात्स्यश्रीवरदगुरवे नमः ॥

नमदश्रीविष्णुचित्तार्यपदपङ्कजपांसवे। रामानुजमुनीन्द्रोक्तिरहस्यज्ञानहेतवे॥ जगतामुपकाराय जातं यतिवरात्मना। प्रगुणीकृतसन्मार्गं भजामः पुरुषोत्तमम्॥

## ॥ श्रीभाष्यप्रमेयमाला ॥

सचेतोमधुकरबृन्दसेवनीयां सौरभ्यं श्रुतिशिरसस्समादधानाम् । वत्सानां कुलपतिरदभुतामकार्षी-दम्लानां वरदग्रहः प्रमेयमालाम् ॥

# ॥ अध्ययनविधिनिरूपणम् ॥

मीमांसाया विधिप्राप्तत्वरागतःप्राप्तत्वविवेकार्थमध्ययनविधिर्निरूप्यते । किमध्ययन-विधिरर्थज्ञानपर्यवसायो, आहोस्विदक्षरराशिग्रहणमात्रे पर्यवस्यति ? अर्थज्ञानपर्यवसायीति पूर्वः पक्षः । तथा हि — अध्ययनिवेधेरक्षरराशिग्रहणमात्रपर्यवसायित्वे मीमांसाश्रवणस्य प्रवर्तकाभावादनारम्भणीया मीमांसा स्यात् । साङ्गवेदाध्ययनात्मयोजनवदर्थापातप्रतीतेरुत्पन्नो- ऽनुरागो मीमांसायां प्रवर्तक इति चेत् , नैतत् ; "वेदमधीत्य .... अभिसमावृत्य "
"वेदमधीत्य स्नायात् " इति श्रुतिस्मृतिभ्यामध्ययनानन्तरं समावर्तनादिप्राप्तेर्भध्ये
मीमांसावसराभावात् ; मीमांसाश्रवणस्य रागप्राप्तस्य विधिवाधितत्वात् । विधिहिं
रागं बाधते ; यथा 'न कल्जं भक्षयेत्" इत्यादिः । वैधे तु मीमांसाश्रवणे स्नानविधिरपि श्रवणमबाधित्वा ततः परस्तादेवावसरमञ्जुते । स्वतःप्रतीतमप्यध्ययनानन्तर्ये समावर्तनस्यार्थज्ञानपर्यन्ताध्ययनविधिबलेन बाधितुं युज्यते । रागस्तु न विधिमन्यथाकर्तुमलम् । किञ्च अध्ययनविधेः पुरुषार्थपर्यवसानावश्यम्भावात् पाठमात्रस्य चापुरुषार्थत्वात्पुरुषार्थपर्यवसानायावश्यमर्थज्ञानपर्यन्तो विधिरास्थेयः। किञ्च यद्यक्षरराशिग्रहणमात्रपर्यवसायी
विधिस्त्यात् , तदा पाठग्रहणार्थतया विनियुक्तत्वात्स्वाध्यायस्याविवक्षितार्थता स्यात् । ततश्च
तदर्थविचाररूपा मीमांसा नारम्भणीया स्यात् ; तस्मादध्ययनविधिरर्थज्ञानपर्यवसायीति ।

राद्धान्तस्तु — नाध्ययनिविधरर्थज्ञानपर्यवसायी; किन्तु अक्षरराशिम्रहणमात्रे पर्य-वस्यित; अप्राप्तप्रापकत्वाच्छास्त्रस्य । 'अप्राप्ते शास्त्रमर्थवत् ' इति हि न्यायिवदः । मीमां-साश्रवणञ्च साङ्गाध्ययनवतः पुरुषस्य प्रयोजनवदर्थापातप्रतीत्या रागतः प्राप्तमिति न तत्र विधिना व्यापरितव्यम् । स्नानविधिस्तु रागं बाधत इति चेत् , किमिति बाधते है । स्नानादे-रध्ययनानन्तरभावित्वादध्ययनोत्तरकारुस्य कृत्स्वस्य स्नानादिविध्यवरुद्धत्या मध्येऽवसरा-भावान्मीमांसाश्रवणं बाध्यत इति चेत् , नैतदेवम् ; न हि स्नानादिविधयः कृत्स्नं कारुमव-रुम्धते ; रागतः प्राप्तानां द्रव्यार्जनभोजनादीनाञ्चानवसरप्रसङ्गात् । याजनाध्यापनप्रतिमहा हि द्रव्यार्जनोपायतया रागतः प्राप्ता इति न विधिविषयतामनुभविद्यमहिन्त । श्रावयिता चाचार्यः कर्मविध्यनवरुद्धावसररुभादेव हि श्रावयित । तस्मान्मीमांसाश्रवणस्यापि रागतः प्राप्तस्य स्नानादिविध्यनवरुद्धेष्वेव कारुध्ववसरसम्भवान्न तस्य स्नानादिविधवाध्यता ।

यत्त्तम् — विभेः पुरुषोर्थपयेवसानायार्थज्ञानपर्यवसायित्वमास्थेयमितिः तत्रेदं प्रष्टव्यम् । किं साक्षात्पुरुषार्थपर्यवसानाय विभेरर्थज्ञानपर्यवसायित्वाश्रयणम् श आहोस्वित् परम्परया पुरुषार्थपर्यवसानायेति ?। न तावत्प्रथमः कल्पः ; अर्थज्ञानस्यापि साक्षात्पुरुषार्थत्वामावात् । तस्य हि स्वर्गादिसाधनयागाद्यनुष्ठानोपयोगितयैव पुरुषार्थत्वाच स्वर्गादिवत्साक्षात्पुरुषार्थत्वम्

ततश्चार्यज्ञानपर्यवसायी विधिने स्यात् । द्वितीये तु कल्पेऽर्यज्ञानवत्पाठमहणस्यापि परम्परया पुरुषार्थत्वसम्भवात्तसिन्नेव विधिपर्यवसानं स्यात् । इयांस्तु विशेषः—एकस्मिन्पक्षे स्वतः प्राप्तमर्थज्ञानमिति तत्र विधिव्यापारकल्पनावैयर्थ्यम् ; अन्यत्र च तदभाव इति ।

यचोक्तम् —विधेः पाठमहणपर्यवसायित्वे स्वाध्यायस्य सार्थेष्वतत्परत्वमापद्यत इति ; तन्न । न ह्यन्यतः प्राप्तमर्थपरत्वं पाठमहणपर्यवसायो विधिव्योहन्ति । यथा परमतेऽध्ययन-विधिसिद्धमर्थपरत्वं स्वाध्यायस्य जपविधिनं विहन्ति, तथात्रापि व्युत्पत्तिसिद्धं स्वाभाविकमर्थ-परत्वनाध्ययनविधिर्विहन्तुमरुम् । यथा च वह्नेरुष्णत्वभाखरत्वराक्तियुक्तस्य पाकार्थमुष्णत्व-शक्तया विनियोगेऽपि भाखरत्वशक्तिपयुक्तमर्थप्रकाशनं न विरुध्यते ; एवमक्षरखरूपेण पाठार्थ-तया विनियोगेऽपि बोधकत्वशक्त्यार्थपरत्वं न विरुद्धम् । किञ्च, ' खाध्यायोऽध्येतव्यः ' इति स्वोध्यायस्य कर्मत्वावगमात्तस्यैव साध्यत्वमवगम्यते । यथा 'अमीनादधीत' इत्यमीनां कर्मत्वावगमात्तेषामेव साध्यत्वमित्याधानविधिरम्रिग्रहणमात्रे पर्यवस्यति ; एवमध्ययनविधिः साध्यतयावगतस्वाध्यायप्रहणमात्रे पर्यवस्यति । स्वाध्यायशब्दवाच्यञ्चाक्षरराशिमात्रम् : नार्थज्ञानमपि । तस्मात्लाध्यायशब्दवाच्योऽक्षरराशिरेवाध्ययनसाध्य इत्यवगम्यते । अत एवेद-मिप निरस्तम् –यद्ध्ययनं नियोगविषयो न स्वाध्यायसंस्कार इति कैश्चिदुत्पेक्षितम् । निष्ठस्य हि भावार्थस्य न नियोगविषयता युक्ता । यथा आधानस्यामिनिष्ठस्य न नियोग-विषयता, यथा चावघातादेत्रीं बादिनिष्ठस्य न नियोगार्थता ; अत्रापि स्वाध्यायस्य कर्मत्वावग-मात्स्वाध्यायनिष्ठमध्ययनमवगतमिति न नियोगविषयत्वम् । 'सक्तूञ्जुहोति । भार्यम् ' इत्यादिषु कर्मत्वावगमेऽपि नियोगविषयत्वं दृष्टमिति चेत् , तन्न ; कर्मत्वं नाम कर्तुः क्रिययाप्तुमिष्टतमत्वम् । अतः कर्मतयावगतस्य साध्यत्वं स्वतः प्रतीयते । कचित्तदेव हेतुवशादपोद्यते ' सक्तू ञ्जुहोति ' इत्यादिषु । कस्तत्र हेतुः ? विनियोगान्तरादर्शनमिति ब्रूमः । संस्कार्यस्य हि द्रव्यस्य विनियोगान्तरेण भवितव्यम् । संस्कारो हि नाम कार्यान्तर-योग्यताकरणम् । अत्र त्वर्थनोधजपादिरुक्षणकार्यान्तरदर्शनात्र स्वतः प्राप्तसंस्कार्यत्वस्यापवाद इति स्वाध्यायसंस्कार एवाध्ययनम् । अतोऽध्ययनविधिरक्षरराशिम्रहणमात्रपर्यवसायी : मीमांसारम्भश्च रागप्राप्त इति स्थितम् ॥

> ।। इति वत्सकुरुतिरुकश्रीवरदगुरुविरचितायां श्रीभाष्यप्रमेयमालायां अध्ययनविधिनिरूपणम् ॥

## ॥ अथ ऐकशास्त्र्यसमर्थनम् ॥

ऐकशास्त्र्यमथ ब्रूमः कर्मब्रह्मविचारयोः। शारीरकाद्यसूत्रोक्तपौर्वापर्यप्रसिद्धये ॥ वेढारुयैकपबन्धार्थविषयत्वात्तदिष्यते । तन्निर्णयाख्यञ्च फलमेकमेव तयोर्यतः॥ विषयैक्यं फलैक्यञ्च कर्मकाण्डेऽपि कारणम् । ऐकशास्त्र्यस्य धर्मा हि विषयस्तस्य निर्णयः॥ फलम्ब तत्र वेदार्थः कृत्स्नो विषय इष्यते । तन्निर्णयः फलञ्चात्र तदैक्यादेकशास्रता ॥ अर्थभेदात्कर्तृभेदादन्योन्यञ्च विरोधतः । शास्त्रभेदपसङ्गश्चेन्नैवमत्र प्रसज्यते ॥ अध्यायपादषट्केषु प्रत्येकं भेद इष्यते । अवान्तरार्थभेदेन शास्त्रभेदावहो न सः ॥ भूर्तस्वामिकपर्दिभ्यां कृतयोर्व्याख्ययोर्द्वयोः। आपस्तम्बीयसूत्रार्थपरयोर्धेकशास्त्रता ॥ वैयाकरणवृत्त्यादौ भिन्नकर्तृकता तथा। द्रष्टेति कर्तृमेदश्च न शास्त्रेक्यस्य बाधकः ॥ देवताविष्रहाद्यर्थनिषेधात्तत्मर्थनात् ।

विरुद्धार्थत्वमस्तीति यदुक्तं तन्न युज्यने ।

## ऐकशास्त्र्यसमर्थनम्

कर्मस्वश्रुतवेदान्ताः श्रद्धावन्तो भवन्त्वित । तथा जैमिनिराचार्यो विग्रहादि निरस्यति ॥

एवमन्यपरोत्तयापि मा मून्मन्दिधयां अमः । इति कचित्रिराचके जैमिनिं बादरायणः ॥

बादरायणस्त्रेषु बहुशश्चास्ति जैमिनेः । त्रय्यन्तार्थप्रतिष्ठार्थे साक्षित्वेन परिग्रहः ॥

नन्वनन्यपरैवेयं जैमिनेरुक्तिरिष्यते । द्रव्यदैवतसामान्ये द्रव्यपाबल्यसाधिका ॥

न चायमतिवादस्स्यादनुष्ठानविरोधतः । हविःप्राधान्यतस्सर्वे बनुतिष्ठन्ति साधवः ॥

उच्यते तात्त्विकन्नात्र हिनःप्राधान्यमीरितम् । किन्तु प्रातीतिकं, तच्च प्राथम्येन प्रतीतता ॥

प्रत्यक्षसिद्धं हि हिवस्खरूपं देवता पुनः । शास्त्रैकवेद्या प्राथम्यं प्रत्यक्षस्यैव वस्तुनः ॥

अस्ति प्रतीतौ शास्त्रन्तु पश्चादेवावबोधकम् । अर्थस्य सन्निकर्षो हि बलीयस्त्वनिबन्धनम् ॥

श्रुत्यादौ साधितस्तद्वदत्रापि हि भविष्यति । अतदशास्त्रैकवेद्याया देवतायास्तु वास्तवम् ॥

प्रातीतिकादपाघान्यात्प्राघान्यं न विहन्यते । ननु शास्त्रीकवेद्यत्वाद्धविषो न प्रधानता ॥ प्रातीतिकी हिविष्टुं हि न प्रत्यक्षस्य गोचरः ।
मैंवं हिविष्टुमात्रं हि शास्त्रवेद्यं तदाश्रयः ॥
द्रव्यं प्रत्यक्षसिद्धत्वात्त तु शास्त्रस्य गोचरः ।
देवतात्वं देवतायास्वरूपमिति च द्वयम् ॥
शास्त्रैकवेद्यमित्युक्तं हिवःप्राधान्यमव्ययम् ।
अतस्वरूपप्राधान्यं हिविषो न विवक्षितम् ॥
बोधायनस्तु भगवानैकशास्त्र्यमुदैरयत् ।
तत्रश्चान्यपरैवोक्तिर्जेमिनेरिति निश्चितम् ॥
तस्मान्नार्थविरोधोऽस्ति कर्मब्रह्मविचारयोः ।
ऐकशास्त्र्यमतः कर्मब्रह्ममीमांसयोस्थितम् ॥

॥ इति वत्सकुळतिळकश्रीवरदगुरुविरचितायां श्रीभाष्यप्रमेयमालायामैकशास्त्र्यसमर्थनम् ॥

#### ॥ अथ प्रपञ्चमिध्यात्वभङ्गः॥

निन्दमैकशास्त्र्यं तत्प्रयुक्तं पौर्वापर्यञ्चानुपपन्नम्; शारीरकावसेयस्याखण्डैकरसिन्नमात्र-न्नद्यगोचरस्य ज्ञानस्य अविद्याकल्पितकर्मकर्तृसाधनफलादिविविधमेदावल्प्निना कर्मविचारे-णानुपयोगात्, प्रत्युत विपरीतवासनोत्पादनद्वारेण विरोधाच । मिध्यामूतस्य हि संसारस्य शुक्तिकारजतरज्जुसपिदिरिवाधिष्ठानयाथात्म्यज्ञानमात्रमेव निवर्तकं युक्तम् । न्नद्याव्यतिरिक्तस्य मिध्यात्वमनुमानादिसिद्धम् । तथाहि—विवादपदं, मिध्या, दृश्यत्वात्, शुक्तिकारूप्यव-दिति । श्रुतिश्च 'नेह नानास्ति ' इत्यादिरिति ।

तदसत् ; दृश्यत्वहेतोरात्मन्यनैकान्त्यात् । कथम् ? 'आत्मा वा अरे द्रष्टव्यः ' ' दृश्यते त्वमध्या बुद्धधा ' इत्यादिश्चृतिभिः । 'यत्तदद्गेश्यम् ' इत्यादिश्चृतिष्वात्मनो दृश्य- स्वप्रतिषेषोऽपि प्रतीयत इति चेत्, न; तस्मिनेव वाक्ये 'परिपश्यन्ति धीराः' ' दृश्यते त्वप्रयया बुद्ध्या' इत्यादिषु दृश्यत्वविशेषविधानात्; दृश्यत्वनिषेधवचनस्य प्राकृतचक्षुरा-दिदृश्यतानिषेधपरत्वावगमांच । तथा च श्रुतिः 'न मांसचक्षुरिभवीक्षते तम्' 'न चक्षुषा गृह्यते नापि वाचा' 'न चक्षुषा पश्यति ' इत्यादिका ।

यच आत्मा दृश्यो न भवति, आत्मत्वात्, यद् दृश्यं न तदात्मा, यथा घट इत्या-त्मनो दृश्यत्वनिषेधानुमानम्; तदिष अमीषोमीयिहिंसा न धर्मः, हिंसात्वात्, यथा ब्राह्मण-हिंसादि, इत्यनुमानवदागमबाधितम्। किञ्च, घटो दृश्यो न भवति, घटत्वात्, यद् दृश्यं तद्घटभूतं दृष्टम्; यथा पटादोत्यिष प्रसज्यते। इदं रजतिमितिवत् घटस्सन्, पटस्स-न्निति घटाद्यधिष्ठानतयाभ्युपगतस्य सन्मात्रस्यापि घटादिवद् दृश्यत्वस्यावर्जनीयत्वादनैका-न्त्यं सुस्पष्टम्।

विवादपदं मिथ्येति मिथ्यातं सत्यं उत मिथ्या ? पूर्वत्र तेनैवानैकान्त्यम् । उत्तरत्र प्रपञ्चसत्यत्वसिद्धिः । अयमनुयोगो नित्यसमा जातिरिति चेत् , न ; अधिष्ठानसंविदो मिथ्यात्ववादिनं माध्यमिकं प्रति भिथ्येत्युक्तिर्मिथ्येति भवता साधितत्वात् , तेन च भवत्सं-वित्तेरवाधितत्वाच । लोकेऽप्यपवरके घटोऽस्तीत्युक्तवन्तं प्रति केनापि घटो नास्तीत्युक्ते पुनरि नास्तीत्युक्तिर्मिथ्येति वचनं यथा घटसद्भावसाधकं भवति, तथा मिथ्यात्वस्य मिथ्यात्वे प्रपञ्चस्य सत्यत्वसिद्धिः । न चात्र जातित्वम् ; स्वव्याघाताभावात् । तिर्हे नित्यसमायाः को विषयः ? सत्यत्वस्य सत्यत्वासत्यत्विकरूपेन, नित्यत्वादेश्च नित्यत्वानित्यत्वविकरूपेन दूषणम् । सत्यत्वनित्यत्वादेः प्रमाणसिद्धस्य स्वपरिनर्वाहादिरक्षितत्वात् तद्विकरूपे नित्यसमा ; तर्काक्य-पञ्चकान्यतमहीनत्वादिति । दृश्यत्वानुमानं प्रत्यक्षानुमानागमैः प्रतिपन्नस्य सत्यस्य प्रपञ्चस्य मिथ्यात्वसाधनाद्धर्मिप्राहकप्रमाणविरुद्धञ्च । एवमनुमानान्तरेष्विप दूषणमृद्धम् । एवं ' नेह नानास्ति ' इत्यादिनिषेधवाक्यानामि तत्तद्धर्मिप्राहकप्रमाणाविरोधेन स्वतन्त्रभेदनिषेधपरत्वं तत्त्यकरणादिभिरवसितम् ॥

॥ इति वत्सकुरुतिरुकश्रीवरदगुरुविरचितायां श्रीभाष्यप्रमेयमारुगयां प्रपञ्चिमथ्यात्वभङ्गः ॥

#### ॥ अथ भेदवृषणनिस्तारः ॥

यतु भेदिमध्यात्ववादिभिरुक्तम्—प्रमाणतः खरूपतश्च दुर्निरूपत्वाद्भेदो न सम्भवति। तथाहि—प्रत्यक्षं तावद्भेदग्राहकं भेदवादिभिरिष्यते। तत्र कि प्रत्यक्षकृत्यं खरूपग्रहणं भेदग्रहणञ्चैकम् ? उत भिन्नम् ? भिन्नत्वे च प्रत्यक्षं कि खरूपग्राहि ? उत भेदग्राहि ? अथ उभयग्राहि ? उभयग्राहित्वे च युगपत्किम् ? क्रमेण वा ? न तावत् खरूपभेदग्रहणे-क्यम् ; प्रतियोगिनिरपेक्षत्वसापेक्षत्वरुक्षणिकद्धधर्माध्यासात्। भिन्नत्वपक्षे च खरूपमात्र-ग्राहित्वे भेदग्राहित्वं प्रत्यक्षस्य न स्यात्। भेदमात्रग्राहित्वन्तु न सम्भवति ; खरूपग्रहण-सापेक्षत्वाद्भेदग्रहणस्य। उभयग्राहित्वेऽपि योगपद्यन्न सम्भवति। खरूपग्रहणप्रतियोगिस्मरण-सापेक्षत्वाद्भेदग्रहणस्य। उभयग्राहित्वेऽपि योगपद्यन्न सम्भवति। खरूपग्रहणप्रतियोगिस्मरण-सापेक्षत्वाद्भेदग्रहणस्य, तिनरपेक्षत्वाच्च खरूपग्रहणस्य। प्रत्यक्षज्ञानस्य क्षणिकत्वात्क्रमेणोभय-ग्राहित्वञ्च न सम्भवति। अतो न भेदः प्रत्यक्षविषयः। तदुक्तं संवित्सिद्धौ—

" यौगपद्यक्रमायोगाद्वधवच्छेदविधानयोः । ऐक्यायोगाच भेदो न प्रत्यक्षज्ञानगोचरः ॥"

इति। भेदग्रहणमत्र व्यवच्छेद इत्युच्यते, खरूपग्रहणं तु विधानमिति। अत एव च न प्रमाणा-न्तरिवषयलं भेदस्य। अतो भेदः प्रमाणतो दुर्निरूपः ; तथा खरूपतश्च। तथाहि—कि भेदो वस्तुनस्खरूपम् ! उत धर्मः ! न तावत्खरूपम् ; खरूपभेदगोचरयोः घटः भिन्नः इति शब्दयोः हस्तः करः इतिवत् पर्यायत्वप्रसङ्गात्। किञ्च भेदस्य प्रतियोगिसापेक्षत्वात् , तिन्नरपेक्षत्वाच खरूपस्य न खरूपं भेदः। ननु भेदस्य न प्रतियोगिसापेक्षत्वम् ; खरूपस्यैव भेदत्वेन प्रति-योगिनरपेक्षखरूपग्रहणेनैव भेदस्य गृहीतत्वात्। अयमस्माद्भिन्न इति भेदव्यवहारे तु प्रति-योगिसापेक्षत्वम् ; न ग्रहणे। नैवम् ; यदि भिन्न इति व्यवहारः खरूपविषयः, तदा तस्यापि प्रतियोगिसापेक्षत्वन्न स्यात् , घट इति व्यवहारवत् । यथा घट इति व्यवहारः खरूपविषयः न प्रतियोगिसापेक्षत्वन्न स्यात् , घट इति व्यवहारवत् । यथा घट इति व्यवहारः खरूपविषयः न प्रतियोगिसापेक्षः, भेदव्यवहारोऽपि तथैव स्यात् । अपि च खरूपस्य भेदत्वे खरूपे

१. 'प्रजक्ष इति यो अमः ' इति चतुर्थपादः संवित्सिद्धी दृश्यते.

भिन्न इति व्यवहारो न स्यात्। भिन्नो हि भेदयोगी। अश्य खरूपान्तराभ्युपगमेन भिन्न इति व्यपदेशोपपिः, तिर्हे तस्यापि खरूपान्तरापेक्षया अनवस्था स्यात्। नामान्तरेण धर्म-पक्षान्नीकारश्च। किञ्च खरूपं किमनुवृत्तं व्यावृत्तं वा ? अनुवृत्तत्वे भेदत्वहानिः। व्यावृत्तत्वे खरूपं खरूपमिति अनुवृत्तप्रयोगो न स्यात्। नापि खरूपविशेषो भेद इति वक्तुं शक्यम्। तत्र कि खरूपमेव विशेषः श्यात् । नापि खरूपविशेषो भेद इति वक्तुं शक्यम्। तत्र कि खरूपमेव विशेषः श्यात् । अतो न स्वरूपं भेदः। नापि धर्मः। स कि खरूपाद्भित्रः श्यामितः श्यामितः अभिन्नत्वे खरूपमेदपक्षाङ्गीकारस्त्यात्। भिन्नत्वे च तस्यापि भेदस्तद्धभिस्तस्यापीत्यनवस्था। किञ्च धर्मिप्रतियोगिज्ञाने सित भेदप्रहणम् , भेदम्बर्णे सित तयोधिर्मितया प्रतियोगितया च ज्ञानिमत्यन्योन्याश्रयणं स्यात्। न ह्येकमेव वस्तु एकापेक्षया धर्मितया प्रतियोगितया च प्रत्येतुं शक्यते। अन्यच्चान्योन्याश्रयणम् ; ज्ञात्यादिधर्माणां धर्मिणश्च धर्मधर्मिभावग्रहणे सित भेदग्रहणम् , भेदग्रहणे सित धर्मधर्मिभावग्रहण-मिति। न खल्वेकस्यैव स्वात्मानं प्रति धर्मधर्मितया प्रतिपत्तिस्तम्भवति। अतस्तनमात्रस्येव प्राहकं प्रत्यक्षम् ; न भेदग्राहीति।

अत्र प्रतिविधिः—इदं ताबद्भेदापलापिनं प्रति प्रच्छामः—किं भवान् भेदप्रतीत्यभावं ह्रते ? उत प्रतीतेरकारणत्वम् ? अनिरूपितकारणत्वं वा ? आहोस्वित्तिविषयत्वम्? बाध्य-विषयत्वं वेति ? न ताबदाद्यः कल्पः कल्पते ; स्वपक्षपरपक्षदूषणादिसमस्तभेदव्यवहारोच्छेद-प्रसङ्गात् , वेदान्ततत्त्वज्ञाननिवर्त्याभावेन सर्ववेदान्तानारम्भप्रसङ्गाच । अतो भवतापि भेदप्रतीतिरवश्याभ्युपगन्तव्या । भवदभ्युपगमश्च तथैव । द्वितोयेऽपि सिद्धायाः प्रतीतेरकारणत्वं किं तस्यास्सिद्धिवरोधि वा ? न वा ? नो चेत्र नः क्षतिः । विरोधि चेत् प्रतीतेस्सिद्ध-त्वादेव स्वसिद्धिवरोधपरिहाराय स्वकारणं स्वयमेव कल्पयति । कार्यं हि प्रतीतं कारणकल्पनायां प्रमाणम् । न पुनस्स्फुटावधारितं कार्यं कारणनिरूपणायापह्ववमर्हति । तथा च संवित्सद्धी—

" सत्यं प्रतीतिरस्त्यस्या मूलं नास्तीति चेन्न तत् । सा चेदस्ति तया मूलं करूप्यतां कार्यभूतया ॥" इति । नापि तृतीयः ; कार्यविशेषेणैव तदनुगुणकारणविशेषस्य निरूपितत्वात् । तदप्युक्तं संवित्सिद्धौ-

#### ' क्लप्तं चेन्द्रियलिङ्गादि तद्भावानुविधानतः '

इति । चतुर्थश्च न सम्भवति ; खपक्षपरपक्षसाधनदृषणादिमेद्प्रतीतेरिष निर्विषयत्व-प्रसङ्गात् । तथा च सित खोभिमतासिद्ध्या मेदोऽप्रतिपक्षस्त्यात् । नापि पञ्चमः ; समस्तु-मेदबाध्यत्वे तद्धेतुभूतप्रतीतेरिष बाध्यविषयत्वेन मेदापलापासिद्धेः । किञ्च, तर्केण हि भवतो मेदापलापः । तर्कस्य च व्याप्त्यपेक्षया व्याप्तिमाहकप्रत्यक्षादिप्रमाणमूलत्वमवश्या-श्रयणायम् । अतस्तर्कः स्वमूलवाधाय न भवति ; स्वमूलवाधे स्वात्मलामासिद्धेः । तर्कस्य प्रमाणानुमाहकतया तदङ्गत्वात्तेन स्वानुमाह्यप्रधानबाधश्च न सम्भवति । सूत्रितञ्च—' तर्का-प्रतिष्ठानादिष , इति । अतोऽवश्यं भवतािष मेदोऽभ्युपगन्तव्यः ।

यतु प्रमाणतस्त्वरूपतश्च दुर्निरूपत्वाद्भेदो न सम्भवतीत्युक्तम् , तद्युक्तम् ; जात्यादिविशिष्टस्यैव वस्तुनः प्रत्यक्षविषयत्वात् ; जात्यादेरेव प्रतियोग्यपेक्षया वस्तुनः स्वस्य च
भेद्व्यवहाराच । तथा हि — जात्यादिविशिष्टमेव वस्तु प्रत्यक्षेण प्रतीयते । तत्र
विशेषणविशेष्ययोद्ध्योरिप योग्यत्वायुगपदेव प्रहणम् । भेदशब्देऽपि प्रयुज्यमाने तस्य पुत्रादिशब्दस्येव प्रतिसम्बन्धिनिरूपिताकारे व्युत्पन्नत्वात्प्रतियोग्यपेक्षेति न कश्चिद्दोषः । अत एवान्योन्याश्रयादिकमपि परिद्धतम् । पर्यायत्वप्रसङ्गस्तु स्वरूपशब्दवत्परिद्दार्थः । तद्वदेव प्रतियोगिसापेक्षत्वनिरपेक्षत्ववैषम्यमपि दत्तोत्तरम् । व्यावृत्तव्यवहारे तु हेतुत्वाविशेषात्स्वरूपस्यापि
भेदशब्दार्थत्वे न दोषः । तत्र भिन्न इति व्यवहारो धर्मभेदोक्षेत्वेन, व्यावृत्तव्यवहारहेतुत्वमात्रेण वा स्यात् । स्वरूपस्य व्यावृत्तत्वेऽप्यनुवृत्तोपाध्युपलक्षिताकारे स्वरूपशब्दस्य
वृत्तेरनुवृत्तप्रयोगोपपत्तिः । धर्मपक्षेऽनवस्था तु संविदादिवत्स्वपरनिर्वाहेण परिद्धता । अतः
प्रत्यक्षसिद्धस्य भेदस्य प्रमाणतः स्वरूपतो न कश्चिद्दोष इति ॥

॥ इति वत्सकुरुतिरुकश्रीवरदगुरुविरचितायां श्रीभाष्यप्रमेयमान्यायां भेददृषणनिस्तारः॥

#### ॥ अथ भावान्तराभावसमर्थनम् ॥

यतु भेदस्यान्योन्याभावरूपत्वात्तस्य च षष्ठप्रमाणवेद्यत्वान्न प्रत्यक्षत्विमत्याहः। तदसत् ; अभावारुयपदार्थान्तराभ्युपगमेऽपि प्रतिपत्त्यापरोक्ष्यादिभिस्तस्य सिद्धेः । भावान्तरमेवाभावमभिद्धमहे ; अतिरिक्तस्यानुपरुम्भादनुपपत्तेश्च । ननु अघटं भूतरू-मित्यादिव्यवहारो भूतलाद्यतिरिक्तार्थनिबन्धनः ; विशिष्टव्यवहारत्वात् , यदित्थं तदित्थम् , यथा घटघटितं भूतलमिति व्यवहार इत्यतिरिक्तसिद्धिरिति चेत् । अत्रोच्यते-प्रितियोगिबुद्धौ वस्तुधीरेवोपेता नास्तीतिव्यवहारहेतुरिति। तत्रातिरिक्तार्थस्तु तत्प्रतियोगिरूपो वा ? तदन्यो वा कश्चिद मृतलादिविशेषः ? तदन्यो वा ? तत्राद्ययोस्सिद्धसाधनता ; प्रतियोगिनो घटादेः विशेषस्य च पाङ्क(क्र)णत्वादेरसाकमपि सिद्धत्वात् । तदुक्तम्---'प्रतियोगिबुद्धौ वस्तु-विशेषधीरेवोपेता' इति । न तृतीयः ; प्रमाणाभावात् । विशिष्टव्यवहारस्य त्वदभ्युपेतया प्रति-योगिबुद्धिपूर्वकवस्तु धियैवोपपादितत्वात् ,भवद्भिमतार्थावगमकत्वाच । ननु घटोऽस्तीति विशि-ष्टव्यवहारेऽपि तथात्वमापद्येत । तथा च प्रामाणिकार्थगरित्यागः स्यादिति चेत् , तन्नः भूतलादि-विशेषव्यतिरिक्तप्रतियोगिरूपार्थान्तराभावेन घटोऽन्तीति विशिष्टव्यवहारासिद्धेः। अभावरूप-प्रतियोग्यभ्यपगमे तत्प्रतियोगिभाव।भ्यपगमापातात्तमन्तरेण तद्निरूपणात्। स्वरूपेण निरूपणे भावत्वापाताच । तथा च लाघवाद्भाव एवास्तु ; एतेनैव तद्वघवहारसिद्धेः । यत्र कुत्र-चित्सिद्धे भावरूपे प्रतियोगिनि तत्र तद्वयवहारस्य तद्वत्तया दर्शनादन्यत्रापि तथैव कल्पनीय-प्रकृतेऽपि तथाभ्यपेयम्। नास्तीतिब्यवहारहेतुभूतदेशादिविशेषप्रतियोगिकेतर-देशादिविशेष एवास्तीतिब्यवहारहेत्ररिति चेन्न ; अन्योन्याश्रयणात् । अस्तिब्यवहारहेत्-विशेषसिद्धौ नास्तिव्यवहारहेत्वविशेषसिद्धिः : तिसद्धौ चास्तीतिव्यवहारहेत्वविशेषसिद्धिरित । वस्तुमात्रविवक्षायां सर्वत्र सर्वव्यवहारप्रसङ्गः।

किञ्च नास्त्व्यवहारहेतुधियमन्तरेण अत्र घटोऽस्तोति व्यवहारदर्शने सर्वेरभ्युपेते । .न हि पित्रादिवत्केनचित्प्रतियोगिना घटादिर्निरूप्यते । न च सर्वोऽपि भावो भवता शक्य- निद्धवः ; निद्धवहेतुभूतविशिष्टव्यवहारतदर्थयोरभावे निद्धवस्यैवाभावात् । निद्धवाभावे ैच निद्धोतव्यमस्येव ।

ननु पिशाचादिपतियोगिबुद्धिपूर्वकपाङ्क(क्र)णत्वादिविशेषावगमेऽपि किचित्पिशाचायमावव्यवहारो न जायते। तत्र त्वभावनामा कश्चिद्दस्येव ; यद्वगमे नास्तीति व्यवहारः; यस्य चानवगमे न तद्व्यवहार इति। तन्न ; भावपक्षेऽपि समानत्वात्। देशादिः प्रत्यक्षत्वेऽपि पिशाचादिसम्बन्धस्य प्रमाणान्तरवेयत्वेन तदनवगमे न तद्व्यवहारः। देशादिविशेषधारेव भवतां नास्तीतिव्यवहारहेतुरिति चेत् ; तन्न ; तत्पतियोगिप्राहकप्राद्धविशेषविशिष्टत्वेन देशादेरभ्युपगमाचथान्यत्र कल्हसत्वाच। तद्वदेव तदिस्तताव्यवहारोऽपि भविष्यतीति चेत् , न ; पिशाचादिसद्भावानभ्युपगमे तद्विशेषोपलम्भकप्रमाणाभावात् , तद्विशेषोपलम्भमूलस्य विशेषस्यैवासिद्धेस्तदस्तीति व्यवहारस्यानुपपन्नत्वात् ; तत्तिद्वौ तद्विरिक्तविशेषकल्पनागौरवाच। तावमात्रेण च तन्नास्तीत्यादिव्यवहारोपपत्तेः। विशिष्टव्यवहारस्य च भूतलातिरिक्ततद्वत्ययदिविशेषव्याप्तस्य पक्षस्य तद्भावेऽभ्युपगते सर्वानुमानभक्तप्रसक्त इति चेत् , न ; द्रव्यत्वानुष्णत्ववदुपपत्तेः। द्रव्यत्वविशेषप्रयुक्तमनुष्णत्वम् ; न तु द्रव्यत्वमात्रप्रयुक्तमिति हि तत्र निर्णयः।
अत्रापि विशिष्टव्यवहारविशेषप्रयुक्तमनुष्णत्वम् ; न तु द्रव्यत्वमात्रप्रयुक्तमिति हि तत्र निर्णयः।
अत्रापि विशिष्टव्यवहारविशेषप्रयुक्तमनुष्यात्वे देहल्यादिविशेषातिरिक्तघटादिविशिष्टत्वम् ; न तु विशिष्टव्यवहारमात्रप्रयुक्तमिति सन्तोष्टव्यम् । तदेतत्सर्वमभिहितम्— पितियोगिबुद्धौ वस्तुधीरेवोपेता नास्तीति व्यवहारहेतुः ' इति । एवध्व भावान्तरस्यैवाभावत्वात्तस्य प्रत्यक्षयोग्यत्वाद्वेदोऽपि प्रत्यक्ष इति स्थितम् ॥

॥ इति वन्सकुरुतिरुकश्रीवरदगुरुविरचितायां श्रोभाष्यप्रमेयमारु।यां भावान्तराभावसमर्थनम् ॥

#### ॥ अथ अखण्डवाक्यार्थभङ्गः ॥

समानाधिकरणपदसमुदायात्मकानामलण्डैकरसप्रतिपादकत्वमाचक्षते, तदपि मन्दम् ; वाक्यान्तरवत्तेषामपि विशिष्टविषयत्वावश्यम्भावात् । इह खळु भगवता पतञ्जिलिना महाभाष्ये ' लटदशतृशानचावप्रथमासमानाधिकरणे ' इत्येतत्सूत्रार्थविवरणावसरे सामानाधि-करण्यलक्षणमुक्तम् — ' भिन्नप्रवृत्तिनिमित्तानां शब्दानामेकस्मिन्नर्थे वृत्तिस्सामानाधिकरण्यम् ' इति। अस्यार्थः---प्रवृत्तेर्निमित्तं प्रवृत्तिनिमित्तम्। प्रकृष्टा वृत्तिः प्रवृत्तिः ; शब्दस्यार्थे वृत्तिर्नाम तद्बोधनम् । तत्र विशेष्यम् तप्रधानार्थविषया वृत्तिः प्रवृत्तिः; तस्याः प्रवृत्तेर्निमित्तं द्वारम् । तच विशेषणभूतं जातिगुणादिकम् । समानं-एकं ; अधिकरणं-विशेषणानामाधारभूतं विशे-ष्यम् ; एकसिन्नर्थे वृत्तिरित्येकशब्देन समानशब्दो व्याख्यातः। अर्थशब्दश्च विशेष्यभूत-प्रधानाभिषेयपरः । एतदुक्तं भवति — त्रिविधारशब्दाः केचिद्विशेषणतो विशेष्यतश्चैकार्थाः ; यथा 'घटः कुंभः, नीलं कृष्णम् ' इत्यादयः। केचिच्चोभयतश्च भिन्नार्थाः; यथा—'गौरजो महिषः, नोलं शुक्लं पीतम् ' इत्यादयः । केचिच विशेषणतो भिन्नार्था विशेष्यतश्चेकार्थाः; यथा 'नीलमुत्पलम्', 'देवदत्तरस्यामो युवा लोहिताक्षः' इत्यादयः। तत्र पूर्वकोटिद्वयन्या-वृत्तत्वत्रायकोटिनिविष्टानां शब्दानां सामानाधिकरण्यमिति 'भिन्नपवृत्तिनिमित्तानां शब्दानाम्' इत्यादिवाक्येन प्रतिपाद्यते । तत्र 'भिन्नप्रवृत्तिनिमित्तानाम् ' इत्यनेन विशेषणतो विशेष्य-तश्चेकार्थानां नीलं कृष्णमित्यादीनां न सामानाधिकरण्यमित्युच्यते । एकसिन्नर्थे वृत्तिरित्यनेन चोभयतो भिन्नार्थानां 'गौरजो महिषः' इत्यादीनां न सामानाधिकरण्यमित्युच्यते । तस्मा-द्विशेषणतो भिन्नार्थानां विशेष्यतश्चैकार्थानां नोलमुत्यलमित्यादीनामेव सामानाधिकरण्यभिति । तत्र प्रवृत्तिनिमित्तराब्द्योरेवं वार्थः --- प्रवृत्तिः --- अभिधानम् ; तस्य निमित्तं --- अभिधेयम् । अर्थशब्दश्च अभिवेयवचनः । भिन्नाभिवेयानां शब्दानामेकसिन्नभिवेये प्रवृत्तिस्सामानाघि-करण्यम् । भिन्नविशेषणानां शब्दानामेकसिन्विशेष्ये वृत्तिस्सामानाधिकरण्यमित्युक्तं भवति । भिन्नपदसामध्येन निमित्तशब्दनिर्दिष्टं विशेषणभूतमभिषयमेकशब्दसामध्येन चार्थशब्द-निर्दिष्टं विशेष्यभूतमभिषेयमित्यवगम्यते । अतश्चोभयथाप्यनेकविशेषणाभिधायिनां शब्दाना- मेकसिन्विशेष्ये पर्यवसानं सामानोधिकरण्यमिति ' भिन्नप्रवृत्तिनिमित्तानां शब्दानाम् ' इत्यादिसामानाधिकरण्यलक्षणवाक्येनोक्तं भवति ॥

नन् सामानाधिकरण्यस्य तावदेकार्थत्वमिवगीतम् । तत्र समानाधिकरणानि सत्यादि-पदानि किं सत्यत्वादिविशेषणमात्रपराणि ? उत तत्तद्विशेषणविशिष्टपराणि ? अथ खरूपमात्र-पराणीति विवेचनीयम् । न तावद्विशेषणमात्रपराणि ; विशेषणानामनेकत्वादेकार्थत्वासिद्धेः। नापि विशिष्टपराणि ; विकल्पासहत्वात् । किं कमेण युगपद्वा विशिष्टार्थप्रतिपादनम् पदानाम् ? न तावत्क्रमेण ; विशेषणानामन्योन्यसमवायप्रसङ्गात्। प्रथममेकेन विशेषणेन विशिष्टतया-वस्तुनः पश्चाद्विशेषणान्तरविशिष्टतयावबोधनं हि ऋमेण प्रतिपादनम् । तत्र विशिष्टं प्रति विशेषणतयान्वीयमानं पूर्वविशेषणस्यापि विशेषणं भवतीति विशेषणाना-मन्योन्यविशेषणविशेष्यभावपसङ्गो दुर्वारः। अवर्जनीयश्च पदानां क्रमेणार्थपतिपादनम् । कुतः श उद्देश्योपादेयविभागवत्त्वात्सर्ववाक्यानाम् । नापि युगपत् ; उद्देश्योपादेयविभागहानिप्रसङ्गेन युगपत्प्रतिपादनासम्भवात् । सम्भवे विशेषणानां परस्परैक्यप्रसङ्गाच । तथाहि - -प्रातिपदि-कानां विशिष्टार्थपरत्वे प्रातिपदिकार्थैक्यपरस्य समानविभक्तिनिर्देशस्य विशिष्टैक्यपरत्वमवश्या-श्रयणोयमिति विशेष्यैक्यवद्विशेषणानामप्यैक्यं प्रतिपाद्यमापद्येत । किञ्च विशेषणानां व्यावर्त-कत्वस्वाभाव्याद्विरोषणभेदेन विशेष्यभेदपसङ्गो दुर्वारः। तथाहि-भेदकं विशेषणम् , भेदं विशेष्य-मिति विशेषणविशेष्ययोस्त्वरूपविवेकः। अतः पारिशेष्यात् समानाधिकरणपदानां स्वरूपमात्र-प्रतिपादनपरत्वमास्थेयम् । एवं तर्हि पदानां पर्यायत्वं, एकेनैव पदेन खरूपं प्रतिपन्नमिति पदान्तरप्रयोगवैयर्थ्य, प्रवृत्तिनिमित्तभेदाभावेन सामानाधिकरण्यलक्षणहानिश्च प्रसज्यते । एकस्यैवार्थस्य तत्तत्पदार्थविरोधिप्रत्यनीकपरत्वेन पदानामपर्यायत्वमर्थवत्त्वं, तत एव निमित्तभेदलाभात्सामानाधिकरण्यलक्षणसिद्धिश्च। तथाहि — विकारास्पदजडपरि-च्छिन्नस्वरूपस्य कृत्वस्य जगतः कारणतयावगतस्य ब्रह्मणः कार्यगतविकारास्पदत्वजडत्व-परिच्छिन्नत्वशङ्कायां तद्वगुदासार्थं सत्यादिशोधकवाक्यं प्रवर्तते । तत्र सत्यपदं ब्रह्मणो विका-रास्पद्रत्वशङ्कां निवर्तयति ; ज्ञानपदं जडत्वशङ्कां, अनन्तपदञ्च परिच्छिन्नत्वप्रसक्तिम् । न चैतावता ब्रह्मणस्तत्तद्वधावृत्तिरूपधर्मवत्त्वप्रसङ्गः ; ब्रह्मसरूपस्यैव सकलेतरव्यावृत्तिरूपत्वात् । यथा शौक्ल्यादेः काष्ण्यादिव्यावृत्तिस्तत्तत्त्रदार्थस्वरूपमेव ; न धर्मान्तरम् ; धर्मान्तरानुप- छम्भात् । तदम्युपगमेऽनवस्थानाच । अतः काष्ण्येव्यावृत्तं रक्तिमव्यावृत्तं पीतिमव्यावृत्तं शोक्त्यमिति पदानां शौक्त्यस्वरूपमात्रविषयाणां व्यावर्त्यमेदेन यथा न पर्यायत्वमर्थवत्त्वमेका-र्थत्वच्च, तथा सत्यादिपदानां ब्रह्मस्वरूपमात्रविषयाणामप्यसत्यादिव्यावर्त्त्यमेदेन न पर्यायत्वादि-दोषप्रसक्तिः ।

नन्वेवं सत्यत्वादिगुणविशिष्टवस्तुवाचिनां सत्यादिपदानां तत्तदगुणपित्यागेन तत्तद्विरोधिन्यावृत्तस्वरूपमात्रपरत्वे लक्षणा स्यात्। मैवम्—अवाच्योपस्थापने हि पदानां लक्षणा। यथा 'गङ्गायां घोषः प्रतिवसति ' इत्यत्र गङ्गापदस्य कूलोपस्थापने। न हि कूलं गङ्गापदवाच्यम्। अत्र तु सत्यादिषदानां वाच्यैकदेशभृतिवशेषणपित्यागेऽपि वाच्ये प्रधानांशभृतिवशेष्यस्वरूपप्रतिपादनान्न लक्षणाप्रसङ्गः। तथापि विशिष्टवाचिनश्शब्दस्य विशेष्यमात्रपरत्वे स्वारस्यभङ्गः प्रसज्यत इति चेत् , नेष दोषः। समानाधिकरणवाक्येष्वेकार्थपरत्व- बलाद्विशेषणपित्यागेन स्वरूपमात्रपरत्वमेव पदानां स्वारसिकम्। व्यधिकरणवाक्येष्वेव हि पदानां विशिष्टपरता स्वारसिकी। भवतु वा लक्षणा पदानाम् ; तथापि न दोषः ; वाक्य- तात्पर्यानुगुणा हि लक्षणा तद्विरोधमुख्यवृत्तेकेलीयसी दृष्टा ; यथा गङ्गापदे। सामानाधि- करण्यस्य द्वैक्य एव तार्त्यमिति सर्वसम्मतम्।

ननु सर्वपदानां रुक्षणा न दृष्टचरी, अयुक्ता च । कैश्चित्पदैः वाक्यतात्पर्यनिश्चये सत्येव हि तदानुगुण्येन पदान्तररुक्षणा । केन पदेन वाक्यतात्पर्य निश्चित्य सर्वपदरुक्षणा स्वीक्रियते ?

उच्यते—हष्टा तावत् 'विषं भुङ्क्ष्व' इत्यादिषु सर्वपद्रुक्षणा। तत्र हि विषपदं निषद्धभोज्यं रुक्षयति । भुङ्क्ष्वेति भोजनिवृत्तिम् । तत्र योग्यतादिवशाद्वाक्यतात्पर्यनिश्चयः। सत्यादिवाक्येषु तु समानाधिकरणेषु समानविभक्तिकरादेक्यतात्पर्यनिश्चयः। तद्विरोधाय प्रातिपदिकानां तु सर्वेषां रुक्षणा स्वीक्रियते। एकपदरुक्षणायामपि वाक्यतात्पर्यविरोध एव हेतुः। यथा गङ्गायां घोष इत्यादिषु। तद्विरोधे त्वेकस्यापि पदस्य रुक्षणा न दृष्टा। यथा 'गङ्गायां मत्त्याः प्रतिवसन्ति ' इत्यादिषु। अतो वाक्यतात्पर्यविरोधाय एकत्येव सर्वपदानां रुक्षणा न दोषाय। दृश्यते च विशेषणानां विशेष्यमेदकत्वम्। यथा स्वण्डो मुण्डः घटः पट इत्यादिषु।

ननु 'नीलमुत्पल्लम्' 'देवदत्तः श्यामो युवा ' इत्यादिषु विशेषणमेदेऽपि विशेष्यमेद इत्यादेषु विशेषणमेदेऽपि विशेष्यमेद इत्यादेषु विशेषणमेदेऽपि विशेषणानां विशेष्यमेद कत्वं प्रत्यक्षविरोषेनापोद्यते । प्रत्यक्षाद्यगोचरे तु ब्रह्मणि विशेषणमेद प्रयुक्तो विशेष्यमेदः केन वार्यते ? तसा-स्तत्यादिवाक्यमखण्डैकरसमेव ब्रह्म प्रतिपादयतीति ॥

अत्र प्रतिविधीयते-सत्यादिवाक्यं सत्यत्वादिगुणविशिष्टमेव ब्रह्म प्रतिपादयति । ' नीलमुत्पलम् ' इत्यादिषु समानाधिकरणवाक्येषु अनेकविशेषणविशिष्टैकार्थपरत्वन्युत्पत्तेः। सत्यादिवाक्यस्य समानाधिकरणत्वाच । तथा च सामानाधिकरण्यरुक्षणं 'भिन्नप्रवृत्ति-निमित्तानां ' इत्यादिनोक्तं शार्वदकैरिति पदिश्वितम् । तत्र यदुक्तं-सामान।धिकरण्यस्यैकार्थ-परत्वन्युत्पत्तेरैकार्थ्यस्य च पदानां विशेषणमात्रपरत्वे विशिष्टपरत्वे चासिद्धेः खह्मपमात्रैक्यपरत्वं सत्यादिसमानाधिकरणपदानामास्थेयमिति । तन्नोपपद्यते ; त्वदुक्तविकरूपदूषणयोः त्वत्पक्षेऽपि प्रसङ्गात् । तथाहि — सत्यादिपदानि कि विरोधिमात्रपराणि ? यद्वा खरूपमात्रपरोणि ? कि वा विरोध्यवच्छिन्नखरूपपराणि ? न तावद्विरोधिमात्रपराणि ; तेषामनेकत्वेनैकार्थत्वासिद्धेः। नापि खरूपमात्रपरोणि ; तथा सति पदानां पर्यायत्वप्रसङ्गात् ; एकेनैव पदेन खरूपं प्रति-पन्नमिति पदान्तरप्रयोगवैयर्थ्याच । नापि तदवच्छिन्नखरूपपराणि ; विकल्पासहत्वात् । कि वा विरोधिनां खरूपावच्छेदकत्वमुपलक्षणतया ? विशेषणतया वा ? न तावदाद्यः कल्पः; एकेनोपलक्षणेन खरूपं प्रतिपन्नमिति उपलक्षणान्तरवैयर्थ्यात् । 'उपलक्ष्याद्वहिर्भृत उपलक्ष्य-प्रतीत्यपायो धर्म उपलक्षणम् । इति ह्युपलक्षणिवदः। तथा च शाखादिषु दृश्यते। कथं तर्हि भवत्पक्षे जन्मादिबहूपरुक्षणवत्वमेकस्यैव ब्रह्मणोऽभ्युपगम्यत इति चेत्। उच्यते—तत्र ह्युपलक्ष्यस्य धर्मिणो ब्रह्मण एकत्वेऽपि प्रत्युपलक्षणमुपलक्ष्यधर्मभेदो-ऽसाभिरभ्यपगम्यते । अन्यथा तत्राप्यनेकोपरुक्षणवैययर्थं प्रसज्यत एव । त्वत्पक्षे त्वनेकोप-लक्षणोपलक्ष्यधर्मभेदानभ्युपगमाद्क्तदोषो दुर्वारः। तदभ्युपगमे हि ब्रह्मणस्सविशेषत्वप्रसङ्गः। नापि द्वितीयः : विशेषणभूतानां विरोधिनामनेकत्वेनैकार्थत्वासिद्धेः। विशेष्यान्तर्भृतो विशेष्य-प्रतीत्यपायो धर्मो हि विशेषणम् । विशेष्यान्तर्भावो नाम ज्ञाप्यान्तर्भावः । विशेषणभृतार्थभेदेऽपि विशेष्यम् तप्रधानार्थेक्यादैकार्थ्यसिद्धिरिति चेत् , तत्सखण्डवाक्यार्थवादिनोऽपि समानम् । कस्तर्हि विशेष आवयोरिति चेत् , अयमेव विशेषः यदेकस्य मते पदानां लाक्षणिकत्वमः इतरस्य तु तेषां मुख्यत्वर्मित ।

#### NYAYAPARISUDHI

EDITED WITH TRANSLATION AND NOTES

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॥ श्री: ॥

॥ श्रोमते हयवदनपरब्रह्मणे नमः॥

॥ श्रीमते रामानुजाय नमः ॥

॥ श्रीमते निगमान्तमहादेशिकाय नमः॥

श्रीमान् वेङ्कटनाथार्यः कवितार्किककेसरी । वेदान्ताचार्यवर्यों मे सन्निधत्तां सदा हृदि ॥

# ॥ न्यायपरिशुद्धिः॥

॥ प्रत्यक्षाध्यायः ॥

पत्युस्संयमिनां प्रणम्य चरणौ तत्पादकोटीरयोः संबन्धेन समिध्यमानविभवान् धन्यांस्तथान्यान् गुरून्।

> ॥ श्रीः ॥ ॥ श्रीमते निगमान्तमहादेशिकाय नमः ॥

वन्देऽद्वन्द्वं द्वन्द्वं श्रितपरतन्त्रं निदानमिसलानाम् । दशरथजनकापत्यं स्थिरवाणीमौलिमूषणं किमपि ॥

वकुरुम्षणपादसरोरुहप्रवणमानससंयमिशेखरम् । कुरुयतो निगमान्तगुरोः पदे कृतिधये गुरवे करवे नमः ॥ श्रीश्रीनिवासयोगीन्द्रचरणाम्भोजमाश्रये । कटाक्षान्वीक्षते यस्य रक्षितुं सर्वरक्षकः॥

लक्ष्मोकुमारतातयदेशिकवंश्येन कृष्णतातेन । न्यायपरिशुद्धिटीका क्रियते सन्न्यायदीपिकाभिरूया ॥

काचार्यपादसूक्तिः क च मे स्थूला मितम्पचा बुद्धिः । श्रीसूक्तिभक्तिकलितं साहसमेतद् बुधोत्तमैस्सह्यम् ॥

प्रारिप्सितम्रन्थाविष्ठपरिसमाप्तिप्रचयगमनादिप्रयोजनाय विरचितं गुरुनमस्काररूपं मङ्गलं शिष्यशिक्षाये शिष्याणामनुषङ्गतो मङ्गलसिद्धये च प्रन्थतो निवधन् चिकीर्षितं प्रतिजानीते—पत्युरिति । यद्यपि मङ्गलविरहेऽपि नास्तिकादिग्रन्थेषु समाप्तिर्दृश्यत इति न समाप्ति प्रति मङ्गलस्य कारणत्वं संभवति ; तथापि विष्ठध्वंसद्वारा कचित्तस्रयोजकत्वमुपपद्यत एव ; समाप्तिप्रतिबन्धकदुरितिविशेषरूपविष्ठनाशं प्रति मङ्गलस्य कारणत्वात् । स्मर्थते हि—

" मक्कलाचारयुक्तानां नित्यं च प्रयतात्मनाम् । जपतां जुह्वतां चैव विनिपातो न विद्यते ॥" इति ।

नास्तिकादिग्रन्थेषु तु स्वतस्सिद्धविन्नविरहादेव समाप्त्युपपतिः । आस्तिकाग्रेसरैस्तु विभ्नशङ्कया कुम्रन्थत्वपरिहाराय च मङ्गलाचरणमित्यन्यत्र विस्तरः । तत्पादकोटीरयोः—संय-मिपतिचरणमस्तकयोः । संबन्धेनेति । चरणसंबन्धः शिष्यप्रशिष्यत्वादिः ; मस्तकसंबन्धः आचार्यप्राचार्यत्वादिः । सिमध्यमानविभवान् ---सम्यक्प्रकाशमानज्ञानादिसंपत्तीन् । शिष्य-प्रशिष्यादीनां संयमिपत्युपदेशानुम्रहाधीना ज्ञानादिसंपत् । आचार्यप्राचार्यादीनां ज्ञानादिसंपत्ति । अचार्यप्राचार्यादीनां ज्ञानादिसंपत्तिस्तु उक्तसंबन्धेन ज्ञाप्यमाना सती अधिकं प्रकाशत इति भावः । तथा च सिमध्य-मानेत्यनेनाभिवर्धमानत्वप्रकाशमानत्वान्यतरवत्त्वमेव विवक्षितम् । धन्यानिति । धनलाभवत इत्यर्थः । 'धनगणं लब्धा ' इति यत्प्रत्ययः । तत्पादकोटीरयोः संबन्धेनेत्यनुष्व्यते । धनं पुरुषार्थसाधनं पुरुषार्थी वा । पुरुषार्थसाधनपरत्वे अभेदस्तृतीयार्थः । पुरुषार्थपरत्वे द्व

# शुद्धं संश्रितबादरायणतनोर्नारायणस्योक्तिभिः श्रीमान् वेङ्कटनायकः स्थितिपदं निर्माति नीतेदशुभम् ॥ १ ॥

जन्यत्वम् । पुरुषार्थश्च शिष्यादीनां मोक्षरूपः ; आचार्यादीनां भगवत्त्रीत्यतिशयरूपः । तथेति । उक्ताकारद्वयवत्तयेत्यंर्थः । उक्ताकारद्वयरूपोत्कर्षानुसन्धानपूर्वकिमिति यावत् । अन्यान् गुरून् , प्रणम्येत्यनुषङ्गेनान्वयः । संश्रितेत्यादि । संश्रिता-शक्तिविशेषेणाधिष्ठिता , बादरायणतनुः — व्यासस्य तनुः , व्यासस्या तनुर्वा येन तस्येति बहुत्रीहिः ।

" सङ्कीर्णबुद्धयो देवा ब्रह्मस्द्रपुरस्सराः । शरण्यं शरणं जम्मुर्नारायणमनामयम् ॥

तैर्विज्ञापितकार्यस्तु भगवान्पुरुषोत्तमः । अवतीर्णो महायोगी सत्यवत्यां पराशरात् ॥

कृष्णद्वैपायनं व्यासं विद्धि नारायणं प्रसुम् । को ह्यन्यो सुवि मैत्रेय! महाभारतकृद्भवेत् ॥''

इत्यादिकमिह भाव्यम् । उक्तिभिः । ब्रह्मसूत्रादिभिरिति भावः । शुद्धम्—श्रुत्याद्यविरुद्धम् । श्रुत्याद्यविरोधः ब्रह्मसूत्रादिसंवादादेव ज्ञायत इति । उक्तिभिरिति ज्ञापकहेतौ तृतीया । नीतेः । प्रमाणतत्परिकरतदनुप्राहकर्तकरूपन्यायस्य—स्थितिपदं—मर्यादारक्षकं मर्यादारक्षण-प्रतिपादकं वा प्रन्थम् । 'स्थानमर्यादयोः स्थितिः' इति, 'पदं व्यवसितत्राणस्थान-रुक्ष्माङ् प्रिवस्तुषु' इति च नैघण्डुकाः । शुभं—श्रेयस्साधनम् । अत्र च गौतमोयन्याय-विस्तरबहिष्कारपक्षे शुद्धमित्यनेन तद्वचावृत्तिरभिप्रेता । तथा च गौतमोयन्यायविस्तरस्य श्रुत्यादिविरुद्धतया तमनाहत्य श्रुत्याद्याविरुद्धमन्यं निर्मातीत्युक्तं भवति ।

अत्र पक्षे न्यायपरिशुद्धिरिति प्रन्थनाञ्चा परिशुद्धन्यायप्रतिपादकत्वं बोध्यते । न्यायस्य परिशुद्धिः यस्मिनिति विप्रहवाक्यस्य यत्प्रतिपाद्यन्यायस्य परिशुद्धिरित्यर्थोङ्कोका-

# विद्यास्थानेषु धर्म्येषु गण्यते न्यायविस्तरः। स च विद्वावितस्तैस्तैस्ततोऽत्र परिशोध्यते॥२॥

रात्ताहशार्थलामः । न्यायशब्देन च प्रमाणतत्परिकरांदिकं विवक्षितम् । स्वीकारपक्षे तु नोतेः स्थितिपदं गौतमीयन्यायविस्तरं शुद्धं निर्माति श्रुत्याद्यविरुद्धार्थकतया करोतीत्यर्थः । प्रन्थनाम्ना तु गौतमीयन्यायविस्तरस्य श्रुत्याद्यविरुद्धार्थकत्वप्रतिपादकत्वं बोध्यते । न्यायस्य गौतमीयन्यायविस्तरस्य परिशुद्धिः यद्प्रन्थप्रतिपाद्येति विष्रहवाक्यार्थाङ्गीकारात् । तृतीयपक्षेऽप्ययमेवान्वयक्रमः । परं तु शुद्धमित्यस्य विरुद्धार्थकसूत्रसंबन्धरहितमित्यर्थः । प्रन्थनाम्नि परिशुद्धिशब्देनाप्ययमेवार्थों बोध्यते । ननु

" पुराणन्यायमीमांसाधर्मशास्त्राङ्गिमिश्रिताः । वेदाः स्थानानि विद्यानां धर्मस्य च चतुर्दश ॥ अङ्गानि वेदाश्चत्वारो मोमांसा न्यायविस्तरः । पुराणं धर्मशास्त्रञ्च विद्या होताश्चतुर्दश ॥"

इत्यादिभिः न्यायविस्तरस्यापि पुराणादिवत् धर्म्यत्वेन परिगणनात् कथं तस्य बहिष्कारस्संभव-तीत्यभिमायेण शक्कते—विद्यास्थानेष्वित । पुरुषार्थसाधनज्ञानहेतुष्वित्यर्थः । यद्यपीत्यादिः। धर्म्येषु—धर्मादनपेतेषु ; धर्महेतुमृतवेदार्थनिर्णयप्रयोजकेष्वित यावत् । 'धर्मपथ्यर्थन्याया-दनपेते ' इति यत्प्रत्ययः । स चेति । तथापीत्यादिः । विद्यावितः—श्रुत्यादिविरुद्धार्थकतां नीतः । तैस्तैः—कणादपिक्षरुदिभिः । परिशोध्यत इति । परिशुद्धिप्रयोजकव्यापारः क्रियत इत्यर्थः। अत्र परिशुद्धप्रन्थान्तरकरणस्यापि अधिकं त्वित्यादिन्यायेन विशेषणीमृतपरिशुद्धिप्रयोज-कत्वानपायात्त्तसङ्ग्रहो बोध्यः । अयं भावः—पुराणन्यायेत्यादिषु न्यायशब्देन न्यायविस्तर-शब्देन च वेदार्थनिर्णयोपयोगिप्रमाणादिप्रतिपादकप्रनथस्यैव विविक्षतत्या वेदविरुद्धार्थकस्य बहिष्कारे न दोष इति । अङ्गीकारपक्षे तु बौद्धादिप्रनथवत् श्रुत्यादिविरुद्धार्थकस्य गौतमीय-न्यायविस्तरस्यात्यन्तबहिष्कार्थतया किमर्थं तच्छोधनमित्याशङ्कापरिहारकतया उक्तस्कोकावतारो

#### ॥ गौतमसूत्रबहिष्कारपक्षः॥

यद्यपि कथित्रदाक्षपादं सत्पक्षे निक्षेप्तुं दाक्यम्; न च कण-भक्षपक्षनिक्षेपवत् क्षेद्राः; नापि तत्कर्ता गौतमस्तामसेषु परि-पठ्यते; नापि च विप्रलम्भकत्वख्यातिः; तथापि ब्रह्मसूत्रकारादि-बहिष्कृतत्वान्नातीव वयमाद्रियामहे। न खल्वार्षत्वादिभिस्तदादरः; अतिप्रसङ्गात्।

बोध्यः । तैस्तैरिति । न तु मन्थकर्तुर्विरुद्धार्थतात्पर्यमिति भावः । तत् इति । धर्म्यत्वाद्विष्ठा-वितत्वाचेत्यर्थः । अत्र—अस्मिन्यन्थे । परिशोध्यत इति । श्रुत्याद्यविरुद्धार्थकतया व्याख्यायत इत्यर्थः, न तु बहिष्क्रियत इति भावः ।

अविरोधेन व्याख्यानसंभवात् कृतो बहिष्क्रियत इति शक्कते—यद्यपीति। कथिश्विदिति।
श्रुत्यादिविरुद्धार्थकतया भासमानानां स्त्राणां वक्ष्यमाणरोत्या अविरुद्धार्थकतया व्याख्यानेनेत्यर्थः। आक्षपादम्—अक्षपोदेन गौतमेन प्रोक्तं न्यायविस्तराख्यं शास्त्रम्—सत्यक्षे—श्रुत्याद्यविरुद्धपक्षे; सतां वेदान्तिनां पक्षे वा। ननु तर्हि काणादादिपक्षस्थापि तथाक्रीकारप्रसक्त
इत्यतस्तद्वैषम्यमाह—न चेति। कणभक्षः—कणादः। निक्षेपवत्—निक्षेपस्येव। 'तत्र तस्येव' इति
वितः। क्षेश्रा इति। अशक्यतेत्यर्थः। यथा वायुपरमाण्वाकाशनित्यत्वादिप्रतिपादकानां 'अद्रव्यत्वेन नित्यत्वमुक्तम्' 'द्रव्यत्वनित्यत्वे वायुना व्याख्याते ' इत्यादिकणादस्त्राणां श्रुत्याद्यविरुद्धार्थकरणमशक्यम् , तथा गौतमस्त्रस्य कस्यापि तादृशार्थकरणं नाशक्यम् ।
तामसेषु परिपठ्यत इति। शाक्यादय इवेति भावः। अनेन शाक्यादिपक्षवैषम्यमुक्तं भवति।
विप्रतंभकत्वख्यातिरिति। 'त्वं हि रुद्ध महाबाह्यो मोहृशास्त्राणि कारयः इत्यादिषु रुद्धादीनामिवेति
भावः। अनेन पाशुपतादिपक्षवैषम्यमुक्तं भवति। ब्रह्मस्त्रकारादीति। आदिना नाथमुनिप्रभृतयः परिगृद्धन्ते। आर्थत्वादीत्यादिना पाञ्चपणीतत्वप्राञ्चपरिगृहीतत्वादयो गृद्धन्ते।
अतिप्रसङ्कादिति। चार्वाकमतप्रभृतीनामप्यादरणीयत्वप्रसङ्कादित्यर्थः।

# प्राज्ञानां प्रथमेनैव गुरुणा हि खयं पुरा। लोकायतमतं प्रोक्तं लोकविष्ठवकारणम्॥३॥

# अथवा—पितामह एवात्र प्रमाणम् , य इन्द्रविरोचनयोश्चार्वा-कमतमुपदिष्टवान् । तथा गौतमोऽपि संभाव्यते । अथापि—

तदेवोपपादयति—<u>प्राज्ञानामिति । गुरुणा</u>—बृहस्पतिना । <u>लोकायतमतं</u>—चार्वाकमतम् । <u>प्रोक्त</u>मिति । तथोक्तं हरिवंशे षड्विंशेऽध्याये—

> '' एतेषां बुद्धिसंमोहमकरोद् बुद्धिसंमतः । नास्तिवादार्थशास्त्रं हि धर्मविद्वेषणं परम् ॥

परमं तर्कशास्त्राणामसतां तन्मनोरमम् । न हि धर्मप्रधानानां रोचते वै कथान्तरे ॥

ते तं बृहस्पतिकृतं शास्त्रं श्रुत्वारूपचेतसः । पूर्वोक्तधर्मशास्त्राणामभवन् द्वेषिणस्तथा ॥ प्रचकुर्न्यायरहितं तन्मतं बहुमेनिरे ॥" इति ।

पितामहः-प्रजापितः । अत्र-विप्रिलिप्सया श्रुत्यादिविरुद्धार्थोपदेशे । चार्वाकमतमुपिद्धवा-निति । छान्दोग्ये अष्टमाध्याये स्पष्टमेतत् । संभाव्यत इति । विप्रिलिप्सया शास्त्रप्रवर्तकत्व-प्रतिपादकपुराणाद्यभावेऽपि श्रुत्यादिविरुद्धस्य इन्द्रियभौतिकत्वादेः प्रतिपादनाद्धमप्रमादशक्त्य-भावनिश्चयाच तथा संभाव्यत इति भावः । संभावना-उत्कटैकतरकोटिकस्संशयः । वक्ष्य-माणरीत्या अविरुद्धार्थपरतया व्याख्यानसंभवात् निश्चीयते इति नोक्तम् । शक्कते-अथापीति ।

# " काणादशाक्यपाषण्डैस्त्रयीधर्मी विलोपितः । त्रिदण्डधारिणा पूर्वं विष्णुना रक्षिता त्रयी ॥"

#### इति स्मृतेः,

" बहवः पुरुषा राजन् सांख्ययोगविचारिणः । नैत इच्छन्ति पुरुषमेकं कुरुकुलोद्भव!॥ समासेन तु तद्भश्यासः पुरुषैकात्म्यमुक्तवान्॥"

#### इति महाभारतोक्तेश्च युक्तं तत्तद्वहिष्कारः। इह तु न तथेति चेन्न;

काणादेति । काणादाः—काणादमतानुयायिनः वैशेषिकाः। शाक्याः–बौद्धाः। पाषण्डाः त्रयोधर्मो विलोपित इति । ननु वैशेषिकैर्वेदोक्तधर्माभ्युपगमात् कथं तेषामपि तद्विलोपकत्ववचनमुपपद्यते ? अनुगृहीतं हि 'सांख्या वैशेषिकाश्च श्रुति-परिपठितं धर्ममैच्छन्न तत्त्वम् ' इति चेन्न ; श्रुखुक्तधर्माणां तत्तहेवतान्तर्यामिभगवदारौ-धनरूपत्वाद्यनुपगमेन विलोपकत्ववचनोपपत्तेः। न चैवं सित साङ्क्ष्यानामपि विलोपकत्वं स्यादिति वाच्यम् ; इष्टत्वात् । अत एव हि तुल्यन्यायतया वचनस्योपलक्षणार्थत्वमभिघीयते । त्रिदण्डघारिणेति । दत्तात्रेयरूपतया अवतीर्णेनेत्यर्थः। पुरुषाः—कपिरूपतञ्जलिपभृतयः । एकं पुरुषं—सर्वसाधारणमात्मानम् ; स्वेतरसमस्तवस्तुशरीरकमीश्वरमिति यावत् । नेच्छन्तीति। निरीश्वरसाङ्ख्यमते ईश्वरस्यैवानुपगमात् । सेश्वरसाङ्ख्ययोगमतयोरीश्वराभ्युगमेऽपि तस्य सर्व-शरीरकत्वानुपगमादिति भावः। समासेनेति। व्यासस्तु तत्-श्रुत्यादिप्रसिद्धं, पुरुषैकात्म्यं संक्षेपेण प्रतिपादितवान् । पुरुषैकात्म्यं-पुरुषस्य विष्णोः ऐकात्म्यं सर्वसाधारणात्मकत्वम् ; सर्वशरीरकृत्वमिति यावत्। एकः आत्मा यस्य चिदचिदात्मकप्रपश्चस्य स एकात्मा, तस्य भावः, ऐकात्म्यम् । पुरुषेण विष्णुना ऐकात्म्यं पुरुषेकात्म्यमित्यपि वदन्ति । इहेति । गौतम-विषय इत्यर्थः । न तथेति । न वाचनिको बहिष्कार इत्यर्थः । तथा च तद्घहिष्कारो न युक्त

तुल्यन्यायतया वचनस्योपलक्षणार्थत्वात्। न खलु तद्वा तादृग्वेति कश्चिद्विशेषः। यद्यपि काद्यकुद्यावलम्बनन्यायेन पक्षान्तरादाधि-क्यमस्य पक्षस्य, अथापि न तद्वेदान्तसन्निधौ; न खलु मद्याकाद्व-लिष्ठोऽपि मातङ्गः कण्ठीरवसुपरुणद्धि॥

"यदक्षपादः प्रवरो मुनीनां शमाय शास्त्रं जगतो जगाद। कुतार्किकाज्ञाननिष्टत्तिहेतुः करिष्यते तस्य मया निषन्धः॥" इति वाक्यमक्षपादपक्षपातेनोक्तमित्यनास्थेयम्॥ उक्तं च पूर्वी-चार्यैः—

" काणादमाक्षपादं वा कापिलं तन्त्रमेव वा । तन्त्राण्येतानि सर्वाणि न तन्त्राण्यात्मनिर्णये ॥" इति ॥

इति भावः । तुल्यन्यायतयेति । बहिष्कार्यतानियोमकस्य श्रुत्यादिविरुद्धार्थप्रतिपादनपरत्वस्यान्त्रापि सत्त्वादिति भावः । उपलक्षणार्थत्वादिति । अन्येषामपि संग्रहार्थत्वादिति भावः । काकेभ्यो दिष्ठ रक्ष्यतामित्यत्र काकशब्दस्य दध्युपघातकत्वावच्छिन्न इव काणाद इत्यादेः श्रुत्यादिविरुद्धार्थप्रतिपादकत्वावच्छिन्ने लाक्षणिकतेति भावः । काशकुशावलम्बनन्यायेनेति । बहुर्थसंवादाल्पार्थविरोधादिरूपदुर्वलयुत्तयवलंबनेनेत्यर्थः । मुख्यकल्पासंभवेऽनुकल्पावलंबनन्यायेनेति वा । अयं भावः वदप्रामाण्यवादिमतान्तरमवलम्ब्य बौद्धादिमतिनरसने प्रसक्ते नैयायिकमतमेव तत्राभ्यहितत्वेन स्वीक्रियते, न तु साङ्क्ष्यादिमतम् । तत्तश्च वेदान्तमतं मुख्यकल्पत्वेन, नैयायिकमतमनुकल्पत्वेनिति । न तद्वेदान्तसिक्तभौ इति । वेदान्तशास्त्रादाधिन्वयेन तत्तुल्यतया वा परिमाद्यतायां न तदुपयोगीत्यर्थः । इममेवार्थं दृष्टान्तेन विशदयित्न खिल्वति । शमायेति । आत्यन्तिकदुःखिनवृत्तिरूपमोक्षायेत्यर्थः । आक्षपादबिष्कारे पूर्वाचार्यसंवादमाह—उक्तं चेति । तन्त्राणि शास्त्राणि । आत्मिनिर्णये—यथावस्थितात्मस्कूप-निर्णये । न तन्त्राणीति । न कारणानीत्यर्थः। 'तन्त्रं कुदुम्बकृत्ये स्थात्कारणे च परिच्छदे । शास्त्रे प्रधानसिद्धान्ते ' इति विश्वः ।

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# ॥ अवच्छेदकतासरः॥

# महामहोपाध्यायकृष्णताताचार्यैः

विरचितः



अण्णामलेविश्वविद्यालयन्यायाध्यापकेन

वे. सुब्रह्मण्यशास्त्रिणा

प्रकाशितः

1940

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# ा भूमिका।

न्यायमहारण्यनव्यमार्गप्रतिष्ठापकाः श्रीमन्तः गक्केशोपाध्यायाः तत्त्वचिन्तामणौ 'यद्विषयकत्वेन लिक्क् ज्ञानस्यानुमितिप्रतिबन्धकत्वं तत्त्वं हेत्वाभासत्वम् ' इत्यादरेण हेत्वाभासं लक्षयामासुः । तञ्च प्रन्थं व्याचक्षाणाः शिरोमणिभट्टाचार्याः यद्विषयकत्वेनेति तृतीय्या स्वरूपसंबन्धरूपावच्छेदकत्वविवक्षणं दोषैकदेशे वह्न्यभावादावितव्याप्तिसंपादकमिति मन्यमानाः ' अवच्छेदकत्वन्नेद्वहानतिरिक्तृत्तित्वम् ' इति प्रत्यपादयन् । तद्भन्थविवरणावसरे लक्षणे सामान्यपदपूरणेनोपिक्षप्तं स्वरूपसंबन्धरूपावच्छेदकताघटितपरिष्कारं अन्ते असाधारण्याव्याप्तिदोषेण दूषित्वा शिरोमण्यभिमतं अनितिरिक्तृत्तित्वरूपावच्छेदकत्वपक्षं अपूपुषन् श्रीमद्भदाधरभट्टाचार्यचक्रवर्तिनः ।

महाचार्योदीरितदोषपरिहारेण स्वरूपसंबन्धरूपावच्छेदकत्वघटितमेव हेत्वाभाससा-मान्यलक्षणं, असाधारण्यविषयित्वावच्छिन्नप्रतियोगित्वज्ञानवैशिष्ट्यानवच्छिन्नप्रतिबन्धकत्व-विरोध्यनुमितिजनकत्वसमूहालम्बनानुमितिप्रतिबध्यत्वान्यतमे अवच्छेदकतासंबन्धेन यदू-पावच्छिन्ननिरूपकताकविषयितात्वव्यापकत्वं निवेश्य परिष्क्रियते अत्रावच्छेदकतासराभिधे निबन्धे । नातिविस्तृतया नातिसंक्षिप्तया अध्येतृजनव्युत्पत्तिदायिन्या भट्टाचार्यसरण्या दुरूहानंशान् व्युत्पादयन्त्रयं प्रन्थः अध्यापकानामध्येतृणाञ्च बहूपकरोतीत्यत्र नास्ति संशयकेशोऽपि । अपरोऽप्ययं विशेषः यदत्र विदुषां हृदयन्नमा अनुगमपद्धतिरपि वितता वर्तते ।

एतद्ग्न्थस्य प्रणेतारः तिरुप्पक्कुि अप्यावैयङ्गारिति प्रसिद्धाः महामहोपाध्याय-कृष्णताताचार्याः मार्को पञ्चाशतः वत्सरेभ्यः पूर्वे काञ्चीमण्डलमलञ्चकुः । एभिर्विरचिताः (१) शतकोटिखण्डनम् (२) सत्प्रतिपक्षखण्डनम् (३) मण्डनम् (४) सत्प्रतिपक्षविचारः (५) सामान्यनिरुक्तेः कापि व्याख्या (६) वादकल्पाभिषं तत्पत्रम् (७) अवच्छेदकतासरः इत्येते न्यायप्रन्थाः नैयायिकतिलकानानन्दतुन्दिलयन्ति । दिगन्तविश्रान्तयशोभिः गोश्रीदेशाभिजनैः (Cochin State) नैयायिकतिलकैः मान्दिष्ट कुञ्जुनम्बूदिरीति विश्रुतैः ब्रह्मश्रीयुतशास्तृशर्मिभः पूर्णत्रयीशालये (Trippunithura) स्वेनैव शोधितस्वीयादशप्रदानपूर्वकं प्रोत्साहितोऽहमेतद्गन्थप्रकाशने प्राविषि । प्रतिश्चास्मिन् निरमायि विषमस्थलिटप्पणी यस्यां दुल्हानुगमविषमप्रन्थानां तात्पर्यं विद्युन्तम् । विना एताहशीं टिप्पणीं ताहशपरिष्काराणामदम्पर्यं नावधारियतुं पार्यते इत्यवचन-सिद्धमेव तत्परिशीलिनां विद्याम् । अतोऽत्र सापि संयोजिता ।

एतद्ग्न्थप्रकाशनाय शोधितस्वीयादर्शदानेन बहु उपक्रतवतां ब्रह्मश्रीयुतशास्तृशर्भ-णां (कुञ्जुनम्ब्दिरिमहाशयानां) प्रत्युपकारं कमिप कर्तुमशक्तोऽहं कृतज्ञतामेव केवलं निवे-दयामि ।

तथा एतद्ग्रन्थमुद्रणे बहु आनुक्र्ल्यं दर्शितवत्सु अण्णामलैविश्वविद्यालयाधिकृतेषु अधमणीऽहमस्मीति शम् ।

अण्णामकेनगरम् 10—11—'40 वे. सुब्रह्मण्यशास्त्री प्रकाशकः

# ॥ अवच्छेदकतासरः ॥

॥ हरिः ॥

॥ श्रीगणपतये नमः ॥

॥ अविद्यमस्तु ॥

अनाहार्यज्ञानवृत्तित्वविशिष्टयद्भाविच्छन्ननिरूपकताकविषयितात्वव्यापकं प्रकृतानु-मितिप्रतिबन्धकतानिरूपितस्वरूपसंबन्धरूपावच्छेदकत्वं तद्भूपाविच्छन्नत्वं दोषत्विमिति करुपे पाषाणमयत्ववत्पर्वते अतिव्याप्तिः, प्रतिबन्धकतायां ज्ञानवैशिष्ट्यानविच्छन्नत्विनवेशे च प्रतिहेतुव्यापकसाध्याभावसमानाधिकरणप्रतिहेतुमत्पक्षे अव्याप्तिः, तस्य प्रकृतानुमितिप्रति-बन्धकतानुपयुक्तपदार्थघटिततया अरुक्ष्यत्वाङ्गीकारेऽपि असाधारण्ये अव्याप्तिरित्युक्तम् ।

अत्र पक्षधमत्वाविषयकज्ञानवैशिष्ट्यानविष्यकत्त्रतस्य प्रतिबन्धकतायां निवेशे नासाधारण्याव्याप्तिः ॥ १ ॥

नचैवं सित हदो विह्नमान् जलादित्यत्र भिरिज्जलव्यापकवह्यभावे श्रातिव्याप्तिः सिरिज्जलवान् हदः इति ज्ञानस्य पक्षधमेताविषयकत्वात् । यदि च पक्रतपक्षतावच्छेदका-विष्ठलविशेष्यतानिरूपितप्रकृतहेतुतावच्छेदकतापर्याप्त्यधिकरणधर्मपर्याप्तावच्छेदकताकप्र-कारत्वानिरूपकत्वमेव पक्षधमेत्वाविषयकत्वमिति नोक्तदोषावसरः इत्युच्यते । तदा हदो विह्मान् काश्चनमयजलादित्यत्र असाधारण्ये अव्याप्तिः तिकश्चयीयप्रतिबन्धकतायाः जलवान् हदः इति ज्ञानवैशिष्ट्याविच्छकत्वात् तादशज्ञानस्य उक्तपक्षधमेत्वाविषयकत्वादिति वाच्यम् ॥ २ ॥

पक्षधर्मताज्ञानवृत्तिभेदप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकत्वज्ञानवैशिष्ट्यावच्छित्रत्वोभयाभावस्यैव प्रतिबन्धकतायां निवेशात् । अवंच्छेदकता च अवच्छेदकतासंबन्धावच्छित्रा । तथाच काश्चनभयज्ञळवान् हदः इति ज्ञानस्यापि जळवद्ध्दिनश्चयत्वेन असाधारण्यनिश्चयीयप्रति-बन्धकतायामवच्छेदकत्वान्नाव्याप्तिः, न वा सरिज्ञळव्यापकवह्यभावे अतिव्याप्तिः जळवान् हदः इति ज्ञानस्य तन्त्रिश्चयीयप्रतिबन्धकतायामनवच्छेदकत्वात् ॥ ३ ॥

न चैवं सत्यसाघारण्ये अव्याप्तिः तिन्नश्चयासमानकालिके पक्षधमेताज्ञाने प्रति-बन्धकतावच्छेदकत्विरहात् । यदि च स्वाविच्छन्नविषयकिनश्चयविशिष्टपक्षधमेताज्ञान-निष्ठभेदप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकत्वस्यैव निवेशान्तायं दोषः । निश्चयवैशिष्ट्यं सामानाधिकरण्य-कालिकविशेषणत्वोभयसंबन्धेनेत्युच्यते । तदा स्वरूपासिद्धावव्याप्तिः, तंन्निश्चयविशिष्टा-नाहार्यपक्षधमेताज्ञानाप्रसिद्धेरिति वाच्यम् ॥ ४ ॥

पक्षधमताज्ञाननिष्ठभेदप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकत्वमित्यत्रावच्छेदकतायाः स्वावच्छेदक-तावच्छेदकविषयतासंबन्धावच्छिन्नाया एव विवक्षणीयत्वात् , असाधारण्यविषयकज्ञानास-मानकाळीनपक्षधमताज्ञानस्यापि स्वावच्छेदकतावच्छेदकविषयतासंबन्धेन प्रतिबन्धकता-वत्त्वसंभवेन उक्तानुपपत्तिविरहात् ॥ ५ ॥

नचैवं सित जलवान् हदो विह्नमान् धूमात्, हदो विह्नमान् जलवद्ध्दकालीन-धूमादित्यादौ विह्नयापकीम्ताभावपितयोगिजलजल्यापकवह्यभावादावितव्याप्तिः । एवं हदो विह्नमान् वह्यभाववज्जलव्यलालीनधूमादित्यादौ जलवद्ध्रदे अतिव्याप्तिः पक्ष-धमिताज्ञाने तद्ज्ञानीयपतिवन्धकतावच्छेदकतावच्छेदकविषयतासत्त्वनियमात् । यद्यपीयमितव्याप्तिः अनितिरक्तवृत्तित्वकल्पेऽप्यस्ति असाधारण्यसंग्रहाय विवक्षणीयस्य प्रकृतानु-मित्यप्रतिवनधकत्वपक्षधमिताज्ञानकालीनत्वोभयाभावे यादृशविशिष्टविषयकत्वव्यापकत्व-स्याक्षतेः । तथापि तत्कल्पे पक्षधमिताज्ञाने अनाह्यित्वमनिवेश्य असाधारण्याविषयक-ज्ञानिष्ठपक्षधमिताज्ञानकालीनत्वपकृतानुमित्यप्रतिवन्धकत्वोभयाभावे, असाधारण्याविषयकत्वव्यापकत्व-स्ववृत्तानुमित्यप्रतिवन्धकत्वोभयाभावे, असाधारण्याविषयकत्वम्यकृतानुमित्यप्रतिवन्धकत्वोभयाभावे, असाधारण्याविषय-त्वपकृतानुमित्यप्रतिवन्धकत्वोभयाभावे, असाधारण्याविषय-त्वपकृतानुमित्यप्रतिवन्धकत्वोभयाभावे यादृशविशिष्टविषयकत्वव्यापकत्वस्य निवे-क्षनीयत्या न दोषः इति वाच्यम् ॥ ६ ॥

ज्ञानवैशिष्ट्यावच्छिन्नत्वासाधारण्यविषयित्वानवच्छिन्नत्वोभयाभावस्यैव प्रतिबन्ध-कतायां निवेश्यत्वात् ॥ ७ ॥ नचैवं सित हदो वहिमान् जलादित्यत्र जलवद्दे अतिव्याप्तिः वहिव्यापकीम्ताभावप्रतियोगिजलविषयकनिश्चयविशिष्टजलबद्ध्दिषयकनिश्चयत्वाविष्ठिष्ठप्रतिबन्धकतायां
अवच्छेदककोटिप्रविष्टासाधारण्यविषयिताया अप्यवच्छेदकत्वात् । यदि च अवच्छेदककोटिप्रविष्टानामवच्छेदकत्वमप्रामाणिकं प्रतिबन्धकादिविशेषणस्यैव प्रतिबन्धकतावच्छेदकत्वादिति विभाव्यते । तदापि हदवृत्तिजलेऽतिव्याप्तिः, वहिव्यापकीम्ताभावप्रतियोगि जलं
हदवृत्ति इति ज्ञानीयहदवृत्तिजलविषयतायाः असाधारण्यविषयितास्त्रपतया तदविच्छक्तप्रतिबन्धकतायामुभयाभावसत्त्वादिति वाच्यम् ॥ ८ ॥

असाधारण्यविषयिताषृत्तिमेदप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकत्वस्यैव असाधारण्यविषयित्वा-नवच्छिन्नत्वपदेन विवक्षितत्वात् । अवच्छेदकता च अवच्छेदकत्वसंबन्धेन । तथा च केवलासाधारण्यविषयितायां इदवृत्तिजलनिश्चयत्वावच्छिन्नप्रतिबन्धकतायाः अवच्छेदक-तासंबन्धेनासत्त्वान्न दोषः ॥ ९ ॥

नच तथापि हदो बहिमान् द्रव्यत्वाभाववज्जलादित्यत्र प्रतियोगित्ववज्जले भितन्याप्तिः । प्रतियोगित्वावच्छेदेन द्रव्यत्वावगाहिनिश्चयसहितस्य बहिन्यापकीभूताभावप्र- तियोगिजलरूपासाधारण्यनिश्चयस्य प्रतियोगित्वरूपावच्छेदकधर्मदर्शनमुद्रया प्रतिवन्धकत्वात् समानाकारकज्ञानीयविषयतानामैक्यात् केवलासाधारण्यविषयकज्ञानीयविषयताया अवच्छेद-कत्वाक्षतेरिति वाच्यम् ॥ १०॥

असाधारण्यविषयितावृत्तिभेदप्रतियोगितानवच्छेदकत्वपक्षसाध्यवैशिष्ट्यावगाहिबुद्धि-त्वावच्छिन्नप्रतिबध्यतानिरूपितत्वोभयाभावस्यैव असाधारण्यविषयित्वानवच्छिन्नपदार्थत्वात् , उक्तपतिबन्धकतायां तदक्षतेः ॥ ११ ॥

न च तथापि जरूं बह्विमत् जलादित्यादौ प्रतियोगित्ववज्जले अतिव्याप्तिः, प्रति-योगित्वावच्छेदेन वह्व्यभावावगाहिनिश्चयसहितस्य असाधारण्यनिश्चयस्य अवच्छेदकधर्म-दर्शनमुद्रया प्रतिबन्धकतायां पक्षसाध्यवैशिष्ट्यावगाहिबुद्धित्वावच्छिक्पप्रतिबध्यतानिरूपित-त्वस्यापि सत्त्वादिति बाच्यम् ॥ १२ ॥ असाधारण्याविषयकश्रमभिन्नज्ञानवृत्तित्वस्यैव असाधारण्यविषयित्वानविच्छन्नत्वे-त्यनेन विवक्षितत्वात् ॥ १३ ॥

न चैवं धूमवान् हदो वहिमान् जलादित्यत्र वहिन्यापकीम्ताभावपतियोगिजल-बद्धदे अतिन्याप्तिः, धूमाभावावच्छेदकरवेन गृहीतताहराजलबद्धदिनिश्चये अवच्छेदकधर्मदर्श-नविधया प्रतिबन्धकतायाः असाधारण्याविषयकभ्रमभित्रज्ञानावृत्तित्वादिति वाच्यम् ॥ १४ ॥

असाधारण्याविषयकभ्रमभिन्नज्ञानावृत्तित्वासाधारण्यविषयितात्वव्यापकत्वोभयाभाव-स्यैव असाधारण्यविषयित्वानवच्छिन्नत्वपदार्थत्वात् । व्यापकता च अवच्छेदकतासं-बन्धावच्छिन्ना । असाधारण्यविषयितेत्यनेन ताहशनिरूप्यनिरूपकभावापन्नविषयिताया एव विवक्षितत्या, हदो विह्नमान् धूमादित्यादौ असाधारण्याप्रसिद्ध्या अव्याप्तिः, प्राति-स्विकरूपेण नानाविधासाधारण्यविषयितानां निवेशे गौरविमति तु न शङ्कयम् । अनिति-रिक्तवृत्तित्वकरुपेऽपि ताहशविषयितानिवेशावश्यकतायाः प्रागुक्तत्वात् ॥ १५ ॥

न च तथापि विद्वन्यापकीभूताभावप्रतियोगि जलम् जलवान् हदः, तादृशं शैवालम् शैवालवान् हदः इत्यादिसकलिश्चयानां एकरूपेणैव प्रतिबन्धकतया असाधार-ण्यान्याप्तिर्दुर्वारा । तथाहि ज्ञानिबिशिष्टज्ञानत्वेन प्रतिबन्धकता । वैशिष्ट्यम् स्वीयविद्व-न्यापकीभूताभावप्रतियोगित्वप्रकारताविशिष्टप्रकारतानिरूपितहदत्वावच्छिन्नविशेष्यतानिरूप-कत्वसामानाधिकरण्यकालिकविशेषणत्वेतित्त्वसंबन्धेन । प्रकारतावैशिष्ट्यञ्च स्ववृत्ति-संबन्धावच्छिन्नत्वस्वनिरूपितविशेष्यतावच्छेदकाव्चिङ्मत्वोभयसंबन्धेन । स्ववृत्तित्वं स्वनिष्ठ-प्रकारतानिरूपितावच्छिन्नत्वप्रकारतानिरूपितत्वसंबन्धेन । इत्थञ्च असाधारण्याविषयकअम-भिन्नज्ञानेऽपि असाधारण्यप्रतिबन्धकतासत्त्वेनान्याप्तिरित्यतो नेदं युक्तमिति वाच्यम् ॥ १६॥

असाधारण्याविषयकज्ञानेत्यनेन असाधारण्यविषयित्वान्यापकविषयिताशून्यासा-धारण्याविषयकज्ञानस्यैव विवक्षणीयतया दोषाभावात् । १वस्तुतस्तु निरूप्यनिरूपक-

टि.— १. इरो विद्यमान् विद्वम्यापकीभूताभावप्रतियोगिशैवास्त्रकासीनजस्मित्र असा-धारुष्ये अध्याक्षिः अतः वस्तुत इति ।

भावापन्नासाधारण्यविषयितात्वपर्याप्तावच्छेदकताकावच्छेदकत्वाभावज्ञानवैशिष्ट्यावच्छिन्नत्वो-भयाभाव एव प्रतिबन्धकतायां निवेशनीयः इति न प्रागुक्तप्रतियोगित्ववज्ञकेऽतिव्या-प्तिः, न वा असाधारण्ये अव्याप्तिः । उक्तानुगतप्रतिबन्धकतायां तद्विषयितायाः प्रतिबन्ध-कविशेषणत्वविरहेऽपि प्रतिबन्धकतावच्छेदकतावच्छेदकसंबन्धघटकत्वात् अवच्छेदककोटि-प्रविष्टानामवच्छेदकत्वाङ्गीकारात् । अथवा उक्तसंबन्धावच्छिन्नज्ञानत्वावच्छिन्नावच्छेदकत्वा-भावस्यैव असाधारण्यविषयित्वानवच्छिन्नपदार्थत्वान्न दोषः ॥ १७ ॥

नचैवं सित हदो विह्नमान् जलादित्यत्र विह्निव्यापकीम्ताभावपितयोगिशैवालेऽति-व्याप्तिरिति वाच्यम् ॥ १८॥

ज्ञानवैशिष्ट्यावच्छिन्नप्रतिबन्धकतावच्छेदकत्वासाधारण्यविषयिताभिन्नत्वोभयाभाव-स्यैव यद्भुषावच्छिन्ननिरूपकताकविषयितात्वव्यापकतया विवक्षणीयत्वात् ॥ १९ ॥

नचैवं सित वह्न्यभाववद्भ्दादाविष लक्षणगमनासंभवः धूमाभावावच्छेदकत्वेन वह्न्यभावावगाहिज्ञानवैशिष्ट्यावच्छिन्नप्रतिबन्धकतायां वह्न्यभाववद्भ्दविषयिताया अपि अवच्छेदकत्वसंभवात् । यदि च अवच्छेदकधर्मदर्शनीयप्रतिबन्धकतायां न विषयिताया अवच्छेदकत्वं संभवति । सकलावच्छेदकधर्मदर्शनानुरोधेन ज्ञानविशिष्टज्ञानत्वावच्छिन्नाया अनुगतायास्तस्या वाच्यतया विषयितायाः प्रतिबन्धकविशेषणत्वविरहात् । तथाहि स्वीयधू-माभावत्वावच्छिन्निकिश्वद्धर्मव्यापकत्वविशेषितस्वरूपसंबन्धावच्छिन्नपकारतानिरूपितविशेष्य - तावच्छेदकताविशिष्टपकारतानिरूपितह्ददत्वावच्छिन्नविशेष्यताकत्वसामानाधिकरण्यकालिक - विशेषणत्वैतित्तृत्यसंबन्धेन । अवच्छेदकतावैशिष्ट्यं स्वावच्छेदकसंबन्धावच्छिन्नत्वस्वावच्छिन्नत्विशेष्यः स्वावच्छेदकसंबन्धावच्छिन्नत्वस्वावच्छिन्नत्वत्तित्त्वसंबन्धेन । इत्थन्न कथं वह्न्यभाववद्भदाद्यसंग्रहः इत्युच्यते । तदा पाषाणमयत्ववत्पवतादावित्व्याप्तिरिति वाच्यम् ॥ २०॥

ज्ञानवैशिष्ट्यानविच्छन्नप्रतिबन्धकतानवच्छेदकत्वासाधारण्यविषयिताभिन्नत्वोभयाभा-वस्यैव व्यापकत्विवक्षणात् ॥ २१ ॥

नच पर्वतो विद्वमानित्यादौ घटत्वाविच्छन्नेऽतिन्याप्तिः घटप्रकारकप्रत्यक्षेच्छाविशिष्ट-तादृशप्रत्यक्षसामग्र्याः पर्वतो विद्वमानित्यनुमितिप्रतिबन्धकत्वात् तस्याश्च घटचक्षुस्संयोग- सहितवटज्ञानरूपत्वात् । अनितरिक्तवृत्तित्वनिवेशे तु तादशेच्छाद्यसमवहितज्ञाने प्रतिबन्ध-कत्वासत्त्वेनानुपपत्तिविरहादिति वाच्यम् ॥ २२ ॥

ज्ञानवैशिष्ट्यानविच्छन्नेत्यनेन समवायद्वयघटितसामानाधिकरण्यसंबन्धाविच्छन्नाव-च्छेदकताकान्यत्वस्यैव विवक्षिततया दोषविरहात् ॥ २३ ॥

नच इष्टसाधनपाकत्वावच्छिनेऽतिन्याप्तिः इच्छासामम्या अनुमितिप्रतिबन्धकत्वात् तस्याश्च कृतिसाध्यताज्ञानसहितसिद्धत्वज्ञानाभावसहितपाकधर्मिकेष्टसाधनताज्ञानरूपत्वादिति वाच्यम् ॥ २४ ॥

अवच्छेदककोटिपविष्टानामवच्छेदकत्वे दोषविरहात् । कृतिसाध्यताज्ञानादौ फले-च्छावैशिष्ट्यस्यापि सामम्यन्तर्भावात् । अवच्छेदककोटिपविष्टानामवच्छेदकत्वानुपगमे तु प्रतिबध्यतायां अनुमितित्वानवच्छिन्नत्वं ज्ञानत्वावच्छिन्नत्वं वा निवेश्य उक्तानुपपित्वर्ग-रणीया । अत एव सिद्धिविषयेऽपि नातिव्याप्तिः । अनुमितेर्बाधादिज्ञानप्रतिबध्यत्वं अनाहार्यज्ञानत्वेनैवेत्यन्यत्र स्थापितम् ॥ २५ ॥

न च तथापि पर्वतो बिह्मानित्यत्र बिह्मरपर्वते अतिव्याप्तिः । बह्यभावप्रकार-कपर्वतिविशेष्यकनिश्चयस्य बहित्वाविच्छन्नप्रकारतानिरूपितपर्वतत्वाविच्छन्नविशेष्यतानि-रूपकत्वाभावविशिष्टवह्यभावप्रकारकपर्वतिविशेष्यकज्ञानत्वेनैव प्रतिबन्धकत्वात् अवच्छेदक-कोटिप्रविष्टानामवच्छेदकत्कपक्षे बह्मित्पर्वतिविषयिताया अपि अवच्छेदकत्वादिति बाच्यम् ॥ २६ ॥

स्वरूपसंबन्धाविच्छन्नावच्छेदकत्वस्यैव निवेश्यत्वात् । यदि च तादृशविशेष्यता-निरूपकमेदोऽपि विनिगमनाविरहेण प्रतिबन्धकतावच्छेदक इति तत्र विषयितायाः स्वरूप-संबन्धेनापि अवच्छेदकत्वमस्त्येवेति विभाव्यते । तदा प्रतिबन्धकताविशिष्टावच्छेदकत्वमेव निवेश्यम् । वैशिष्ट्यं स्वसमानाधिकरणवृत्तित्वस्वनिरूपितत्वोभयसंबन्धेन ॥ २७ ॥

न च तथापि हदो वहिमानित्यत्र अवच्छेदकावच्छेदेन ब्राधाव्याप्तिः तत्र हदत्व-व्यापकत्विविष्टवह्यभावप्रतियोगिकस्वरूपत्वावच्छिनसांसर्गिकविषयतानिरूपकनिश्चयत्वेनैव प्रतिबन्धकत्वात् । अन्यधर्मावच्छिन्नविशेष्यकज्ञाने इदत्वव्यापकतायाः संसर्गतावच्छे-दकतया भानविरहादेवातिप्रसङ्गभङ्गादिति वाच्यम् ॥ २८॥

संसर्गोशे हृदत्वादिना पदार्थान्तरावगाहिज्ञानसाधारण्यानुरोधेन निरूप्यनिरूपक-भावापन्नविषयताया एव प्रतिबन्धकतावच्छेदकघटकतया तत्र वृत्तिविषयतायां हृदत्वाव-च्छिन्नसांसर्गिकविषयतानिरूपितत्वस्य स्वरूपत्वावच्छिन्नसांसर्गिकविषयतायां हृदत्वावच्छि-न्नविशेष्यतानिरूपितत्वस्य वा निवेशः इत्यत्र विनिगमनाविरहेण हृदत्वावच्छिन्नविशेष्यतायाः प्रतिबन्धकतावच्छेदकत्वाक्षतेः ॥ २९ ॥

न च तथापि घटो वृत्तित्वसामान्याभाववानित्यत्र घटवति बाघे अव्याप्तिः घटत्वा-वच्छित्रप्रकारताशालिज्ञानत्वेनैव प्रतिबन्धकतया घटवत्त्वावच्छित्रनिरूपकताकविषयितायाः प्रतिबन्धकतावच्छेदकत्वविरहादिति वाच्यम् ॥ ३०॥

प्रतिबन्धकतावच्छेदकतेत्यनेन प्रतिबन्धकतावच्छेदकविषयित्वावच्छिन्नत्वस्य विष-क्षितत्वात् प्रतिबन्धकतावच्छेदकीभूतप्रकारित्वावच्छिन्नत्वस्य तत्र सत्त्वात् ॥ ३१ ॥

न च तथापि वृक्षः कपिसंयोगी इत्यत्र कपिसंयोगाभाववद्वृक्षे अतिव्याप्तिः। केवलस्वरूपसंसर्गकस्यापि अव्याप्यवृत्तित्वप्रहिवरहावच्छित्तस्य किपसंयोगाभाववत्तानिश्चयस्य प्रतिबन्धकतायाः भट्टाचाँयेरसकृदुक्तत्वात्। अनितिरिक्तवृत्तित्वनिवेशे तु अव्याप्यवृत्तित्व-प्रहृद्वयमध्यपतितज्ञाने प्रतिबन्धकताया विरहात्र दोषः। हदो विह्नमानित्यादौ तु अनव-चिछन्नविशेषणतया वह्न्यभाववद्भदादेरेव दोषत्वं बाधप्रन्थे भट्टाचार्येणाभिहितमिति न तत्राव्याप्तिः। अव्याप्यवृत्तित्वप्रहकाले अनवच्छिन्नविशेषणतया वह्न्यभावप्रकारकज्ञाना-संभवात्। ये तु केवलविशेषणतया वह्न्यभाववद्भदादेरिप दोषत्विमच्छिन्ति ते अव्याप्यवृत्तित्वभ्रमाभाववैशिष्ट्यं निश्चये निवेश्य लक्षणं संगमयन्तः गुणः किपसंयोगी इत्यत्र गुणे किपसंयोगाभावः अव्याप्यवृत्तिरिति ज्ञानस्य उत्तेजकतां स्वीकृत्य किपसंयोगाभाववद्भुणे लक्षणमुपपादयन्ति। अतः न अनितिरिक्तवृत्तित्विशेकल्पे दोषः इति वाच्यम् ॥ ३२ ॥

अमिन्नावृत्तित्वस्य संसर्गतात्विविशिष्टत्वपर्यवसितस्य प्रकृतानुमितित्वव्यापकप्रति-बध्यतायां निवेशनीयतया दोषविरहात् । अन्यथा यादशस्थरुविशेषे अव्याप्यवृत्तित्वज्ञान- द्वयमध्ये पक्षे साध्याभावज्ञानं कदापि नासीत् तत्रातिन्याप्तेर्द्वारत्वात् । संसर्गतात्ववैशि
ह्यं स्विनष्ठावच्छेदकताकप्रतियोगिताकभेदवन्त्वसंबन्धेन । स्विनष्ठावच्छेदकता स्विनिष्ठाव
छ्छेदकताकप्रतियोगिताकभेदवद्वृत्तित्वसंबन्धाविच्छन्ना । स्विनष्ठावच्छेदकता स्विविश्वष्ट
प्रकारतानिरूपकत्वसंबन्धाविच्छन्ना । प्रकारतायां स्ववैशिष्ट्यं स्विनष्ठावच्छेदकताकप्रतियोगिताकभेदवन्त्वसंबन्धेन । स्विनष्ठावच्छेदकता स्वाश्रयविशिष्टत्वसंबन्धाविच्छन्ना ।
वैशिष्ट्यं स्विनरूपितत्वस्वाश्रयविशिष्टत्वोभयसंबन्धेन । वैशिष्ट्यं स्वप्रतियोगिनिष्ठत्वस्वानुयोगिनिष्ठविशेष्यतानिरूपितत्वोभयसंबन्धेन । हदो विह्मानित्यादौ केवलस्वरूपसंबन्धेन वह्यभाववद्भद्रदावित्याप्तिरिति तु न । तस्य रूक्ष्यत्वाभ्युपगमसंभवात् । बाध
श्रम्थे पक्षान्तरे तस्य रुक्ष्यताया अभिद्दितत्वात् । अत एव एतत्समानयोगक्षेमस्य प्रतियोगि
व्यधिकरणवह्वयभावाभाववदवृत्तिमद्भद्स्यापि रुक्ष्यत्वाभ्युपगमसंभवात् न तत्रातिन्याप्तिशङ्का ।

कथमन्यथा अन्याप्यवृत्तित्वश्चर्यजात्यभावकालीनः अभावः जातिमानित्यत्र केवलस्वरूप
संबन्धेन जात्यभाववत्तादृशाभावे प्रतियोगिन्यधिकरणजात्यभावाभाववदवृत्तिमत्तादृशाभावे

चातिन्याप्तिशङ्कावारणम् । एतेषां दोषत्वेऽपि अन्याप्यवृत्तिसाध्यकसद्भेतौ उक्तरीत्या

दोषाप्रसक्तेः ॥ ३३ ॥

न चैवमिप प्रतिहेतुन्यापकसाध्याभावसमानाधिकरणप्रतिहेतुमत्पक्षरूपसत्प्रतिपक्षे अन्याप्तिः तदीयविषयितायाः ज्ञानवैशिष्ट्यानवच्छिन्नप्रतिबन्धकतावच्छेदकत्वविरहात् । यदि च ज्ञानवैशिष्ट्यानवच्छिन्नत्यनेन ज्ञानवैशिष्ट्यावच्छिन्नत्वसत्प्रतिपक्षविषयित्वानव-च्छिन्नत्वोभयाभावस्यैव विवक्षणीयतया न सत्प्रतिपक्षाव्याप्तिरित्युच्यते । तदा प्रतिहेतुमत्य-क्षातिव्याप्तिरिति वाच्यम् ॥ ३४ ॥

ज्ञानवैशिष्ट्यानवच्छित्रप्रतिनन्धकतानवच्छेदकत्वासाधारण्यविषयिताभित्रत्वसत्प्रति-पक्षविषयिताभित्रत्वैतत्त्रितयाभावे यद्भूपावच्छित्रनिरूपकताकविषयितात्वव्यापकत्वस्य निवेश्यत्वात् ॥ ३५ ॥

न चैवमि इदो विद्वमान् धूमादित्यत्र जलव्यापकधूमाभावसमानाधिकरणजल-वद्भदधूमाभावाभावव्यापकीम्ताभावपतियोगिजलवद्भदाव्याप्तिः । वाधसत्प्रतिपक्षभिन्नाः ये हेत्वाभासाः तद्वघाप्यानामपि तन्मध्ये एवान्तर्भूततया तस्य स्वरूपासिद्धिरूपत्वादिति वाच्यम् ॥ ३६ ॥

सस्प्रतिपक्षविषयिताभिन्नत्वस्थाने तादृशसमृहारूम्बनानुमितिविरोध्यनुमितिजनकतानवच्छेदकत्वस्य निवेशनीयत्वात् । अनितिरिक्तृत्वित्विनेवशकरूपे विशिष्टद्वयाघिटतत्वशरीरे
एतिनवेशावश्यकतया अत्र करूपे गौरवाप्रसक्तेः । यद्यप्येवं सित मेयत्वविशिष्टव्यभिचारादिवारणाय निवेशितस्य विशिष्टान्तराघिटतत्वस्य विशेषगुणवद्धटादिसंप्रहाय विशिष्टान्तरविषयितात्वाव्यापकत्वपर्यवसानेऽपि तद्दोषतादवस्थ्यम् । उक्तत्रितयाभावस्य विशेषगुणवद्धटविषयितायां गुणवद्धटविषयितायाञ्च वर्तमानस्य एकत्वात् तादृशाभावे विशिष्टान्तरविषयितात्वाव्यापकत्वासत्त्वात् । तथापि असाधारण्यविषयित्वावच्छित्रप्रतियोगित्वज्ञानवैशिष्ट्यानवच्छित्रप्रतिबन्धकत्वविरोध्यनुमितिजनकत्वान्यतमे यद्भूपावच्छित्रनिरूपकताकविषयितात्वव्यापकत्वं विशिष्टान्तरविषयितात्वाव्यापकत्वञ्च निवेश्यम् । व्यापकता च
अवच्छेदकतासंबन्धेनेति न दोषः इति ॥ ३७॥

नचैवं सित वह्न्यभावव्याप्यव्याप्यवद्भूदे अतिव्याप्तिरिति वाच्यम् ॥ ३८ ॥ ताह्यानुमितिप्रतिबध्यानुमितिजनकताया एव विवक्षितत्वात् ॥ ३९ ॥

नचैवं सित ह्रदो विह्नव्याप्यवानित्यत्र वह्नचभावव्याप्यवद्भदेऽतिव्याप्तिः । वह्नचभा-ववत्तानुमितेः विह्नव्याप्यवत्तानुमितिप्रतिबध्यत्वादिति वाच्यम् ॥ ४० ॥

प्रकृतपरामर्शप्रतिबध्यानुमितिजनकताया विवक्षितत्वात्। वह्र्यभाववत्तानुमितेः विद्वयाप्यव्याप्यवत्तानिश्चयात्मकपरामर्शाप्रतिबध्यतया दर्शितदोषानवकाशात्॥ ४१॥

नचैवं इदो जलवान् वहिन्याप्यादित्यत्र वह्वयभावन्याप्यवद्ध्दे अतिन्याप्तिः । अनुमितौ प्रकृतपरामर्शप्रतिवन्धकताया अपि निवेशे सत्प्रतिपक्षान्याप्तिः बाधज्ञानस्य पराम-र्शाप्रतिवन्धकत्वादिति वाच्यम् ॥ ४२ ॥

तादशानुमितित्वव्यापकप्रतिबध्यताविशिष्टजनकताया एव विशेध्यनुमितिजनकता-पदेन विवक्षितत्वात् । वैशिष्ट्यं स्वावच्छेदकावच्छिकप्रतिबध्यतानिरूपितप्रतिबन्धकतावृत्ति- मेदमितयोगितावच्छेदकत्वस्वनिरूपितपितवन्धकतावच्छेदकविषयित्वावच्छिकानुमितिनिष्ठज -न्यतानिरूपितत्वोभयसंवन्धेन । मेदपितयोगितावच्छेदकता स्वसमानाधिकरणमेदपितयोगि-तावच्छेदकतासंबन्धेन । तथाच वह्वयभावानुमितिजनकताया अतथात्वाच दोषः ॥ ४३॥

नचैवमि वह्न्यभावन्याप्यव्याप्यवह्न्यभाववद्भ्दे अतिव्याप्तिः व्यापकसामानाधि-करण्यरूपव्याप्त्यवगाहितद्ज्ञानीयानुमितिजनकतायाः प्रतिबन्धकताव्याप्यत्वात् । अनतिरिक्त-वृत्तित्वनिवेशकरुपे तु विशिष्टान्तराघटितत्यविरहान्न दोषः इति वाच्यम् ॥ ४४ ॥

एकरूपेण जनकताम्युपगमेन घटाभावव्यापकवह्इयभावव्याप्यसमानाधिकरणघटाभाववानिति ज्ञानसाधारणजनकतायाः प्रतिबन्धकत्वाव्याप्यस्वात् । एकरूपञ्च धर्मविशिष्टाभावत्वावच्छित्रप्रकारतानिरूपितह्ददत्वावच्छित्रविशेष्यताशािकिनिश्चयत्वम् । प्रकारतायां
धर्मवैशिष्ट्यं स्वावच्छित्रप्रतियोगित्वसंबन्धावच्छित्रप्रकारतानिरूपिताभावत्वावच्छित्रप्रकारतानिरूपितव्यापकत्वप्रकारतानिरूपितवह्द्यभावव्याप्यस्वावच्छित्रप्रकारतानिरूपितसामाना धिकरण्यप्रकारतानिरूपितत्वस्वावच्छित्रप्रतियोगितासंबन्धावच्छित्रप्रकारतानिरूपितत्वोभयसंबन्धेन । यद्यपि प्रतियोगिवैयधिकरण्यघटिततदघटितव्याप्तिश्चानयोः सिद्धान्तरुक्षणे व्यापत्यनुगमोक्तरीत्या एकरूपेण जनकत्वे जनकतायां प्रतिबन्धकताव्याप्यत्वं न संभवति ।
प्रतियोगिवैयधिकरण्यघटितव्याप्त्यवगाहिज्ञानप्रतिबन्धकतायां अव्याप्यवृत्तित्वज्ञानस्योत्तेजकतया प्रतिबन्धकतामेदात् कस्या अपि प्रतिबन्धकतायाः जनकताव्यापकत्वासंभवात् ।
तथापि अव्याप्यवृत्तित्वप्रहविरहावच्छित्रप्रतिबन्धकतावचच्छेदकीभृतस्वावच्छेदकाभावत्वावच्छित्रविषयताविशिष्टाश्रयतासंबन्धेन जनकतायां व्याप्यत्वस्य निवेशनीयतया न दोषः।
अथवा स्वरूपसंबन्धेन जनकतां प्रति स्वावच्छेदकावच्छित्रप्रतिबध्यतानिरूपितप्रतिबन्धकताविशिष्टत्वसंबन्धेन प्रतिबध्यताया व्यापकत्वविवक्षया न दोषः। वैशिष्ट्यं स्वरूपस्वावच्छेदकीभृताभावप्रतियोग्युपहितत्वान्यतरसंबन्धेन ॥ ४५ ॥

नच तथापि गगनाभाववदाधेयवत्कालीनगगनसाध्यके तादृशगगनाभावव्याप्यव्या-

टि.—१ . प्रतियोगिवैयधिकरण्याघटितस्य भिषारप्रद्वप्रतिबन्धकतावस्क्षेद्रकविषयितावस्त्रेमा-श्वगमः ।

प्यवत्पक्षे अतिन्याप्तिः । न्यापकसामानाभिकरण्यस्पन्याप्त्यवगाहिनिस्विरुज्ञानानामेव गगनाभावावच्छेदकत्वेन गृहीताभेयवत्तानिश्चयीयप्रतिबन्धकतावत्तया जनकतायाः प्रतिबध्य-तान्याप्यत्वात् । अनतिरिक्तवृत्तित्वकरूपे तु विशिष्टान्तरविषयित्वान्यापकत्वस्य प्रतिबध्य-तायामसत्त्वेन न दोषः इति वाच्यम् ॥ ४६ ॥

स्वनिरूपितजन्यतावच्छेदकावच्छिन्नजन्यतानिरूपितजनकतासंबन्धेन जनकत।या व्याप्यत्वविवक्षणात् व्याप्त्यन्तरावगाहिज्ञानेऽपि उक्तसंबन्धेन उक्तजनकतावत्त्वेन तत्रे।कः प्रतिबन्धकताविरहेण दोषविरहात् ॥ ४७ ॥

साध्याभावव्यापकहेत्वभावप्रतियोगिहेतुमान्पक्षः इति ज्ञानस्य अनुमितिजनकतायां अवच्छेदककोटौ निरूप्यनिरूपकभावापच्चविषयताशालिनिश्चयत्वेन जनकतानिर्माणाय प्रति-योगित्वविषयताया अन्तर्भविऽपि तादृशविषयतायां प्रतियोगितात्वावच्छित्रत्वनिवेशे प्रयो-जनविरहेण तद्दनिवेशात् साध्याभावव्यापकहेत्वभावाधिकरणहेतुमान्, तादृशहेत्वभाववृत्ति-हेतुमान्, तादृशहेत्वभावविषयहेतुमान् इत्यादिज्ञानानामपि जनकत्वसत्त्वात् तत्र प्रतिबन्ध-कताविरहेणानुपपत्त्यभावात् ॥ ४९॥

नच तथापि आधेयत्वं गगनाभाववदभाववित्ररूपितत्ववत्कालीनगगनविदत्यादौ तादृशगगनाभावव्याप्याभावव्याप्यवदाधेयत्वे अतिव्याप्तिरिति वाच्यम् ॥ ५०॥

तादृशानुमितित्वव्यापकप्रतिबध्यताविशिष्टजनकताया एव विरोध्यनुमितिजनकते-त्यनेन विविश्वतत्वात् । वैशिष्ट्यं, स्ववृत्तिभेदप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकत्वस्वनिरूपितप्रतिबन्ध-कतावच्छेदकविषयित्वावच्छित्रानुमितिनिष्टजन्यतानिरूपितत्वोभयसंबन्धेन । भेदप्रतियो-

हि.--१. स्यप्यश्रासी अभावश्रेति विग्रहः।

गिताबच्छेदकता स्वसमानाधिकरणभेदप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकत्वसंबन्धाविच्छन्ना । स्वाधिकरणत्वं स्वनिरूपितजन्यतावच्छेदकीभृतप्रकारताविशिष्टनिश्चयत्वंसंबन्धेन । भेदप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकता स्वावच्छेदकाविच्छन्नप्रतिबध्यतानिरूपितप्रतिबन्धकतासंबन्धेन । निश्चये
प्रकारतावैशिष्ट्यं स्वनिरूपिताधिकरणताविशिष्टत्वसंबन्धेन । अधिकरणता स्वविशिष्टप्रकारतानिरूपिताभावत्वाविच्छन्नप्रकारतानिरूपितनिरूपितत्वसंबन्धाविच्छन्नप्रकारतानिरूपितृष्टुतिरवत्वाविच्छन्नप्रतियोगितासंबन्धाविच्छन्नप्रकारतात्वसंबन्धाविच्छन्नप्रकारतानिरूपितृष्ट्यः
तिरवत्वाविच्छन्नप्रतियोगितासंबन्धाविच्छन्नप्रकारतात्वसंबन्धाविच्छन्नत्वोभयसंबन्धेन ।
अधिकरणतावैशिष्ट्यं स्वाश्रयनिरूपकिश्चयविशिष्टत्वस्वविशिष्टपकारतानिरूपकत्वोभयसंबन्धेन । निश्चयवैशिष्ट्यं सामानाधिकरण्यकािककिविशेषणत्वोभयसंबन्धेन । प्रकारतायां
स्ववैशिष्ट्यं स्वाश्रयविशिष्टर्यं सामानाधिकरण्यकािककिविशेषणत्वोभयसंबन्धेन । प्रकारतायां
स्ववैशिष्ट्यं स्वाश्रयविशिष्टर्यं सामानाधिकरण्यकािककिविशेषणत्वोभयसंबन्धेन । प्रकारतायां
स्ववैशिष्ट्यं स्वाश्रयविशिष्टर्यं स्वाश्रयविशिष्ट्यं स्वनिरूपिताविशेष्यतावच्छेदकाविच्छन्नत्वस्वत्विशिष्ट्यं स्वनिरूपिताविशेष्यतावच्छेदकाविच्छन्नत्वस्ववृत्तिसंबन्धाविच्छन्नत्वोभयसंबन्धेन । वृत्तिश्च स्वनिहपकारतानिरूपिताविच्छन्नत्वपकारतानिरूपितत्वसंबन्धेन । तथाच ताद्यगगनाभावच्याप्याभावाभाववदवृत्तित्वेन गृहीतधर्भवत्तानिश्चयस्यापितवन्धकतयां नोक्तदोषावसरः इति ॥ ५१ ॥

न च तथापि जरूबद्धदो बह्निमानित्यत्र बह्न्यभावन्याप्यजरून्याप्यवज्जरूदे अतिन्याप्तिरिति वाच्यम् ॥ ५२ ॥

स्वनिर्द्धापतप्रतिबन्धकतावच्छेदकविष्यित्वावच्छिन्नानुमितिनिष्ठजन्यतानिरूपितत्व-स्य स्वविशिष्टजन्यतानिरूपितत्वरूपस्य निवेश्यत्वात् । वैशिष्ट्यं स्वनिरूपितप्रतिबन्धक-तावच्छेदकविषयित्वावच्छिन्नत्वस्वविशिष्टानुमितिनिष्ठत्वोभयसंबन्धेन । स्ववैशिष्ट्यं स्वनि-ष्ठावच्छेदकताकप्रतियोगिताकभेदवत्त्वसंबन्धेन । स्वनिष्ठ।वच्छेदकता स्वविशिष्टविषयितासं-बन्धेन । विषयितायां स्ववैशिष्ट्यं स्वनिष्ठावच्छेदकताकप्रतियोगिताकभेदवत्त्वसंबन्धेन । स्वनिष्ठावच्छेदकता स्वावच्छेदकाविच्छन्नप्रतिबन्धकतानिरूपितप्रतिबध्यतावच्छेदकत्वसंब-

टि.—१. इदो विद्वमानित्यादौ सत्प्रतिपक्षे छक्षणसमन्वयकाले निरुक्तसंबन्धेन जनकता-धिकरणतं वद्वयभावाभाववदवृत्ति जलमिति निश्वयविशिष्टे जलवान्द्रदः इति निश्चये बोध्यम् ।

न्थेन । तथा च वह्रग्रभावन्याप्यजलवत्ताज्ञानस्य वह्रिमत्तानिश्चयाप्रतिबध्यत्वान दोषः ॥ ५३॥

न चैवमपि तत्रैव बहुचभावन्याप्यज्ञलाभावन्याप्यविह्वकालीनत्वस्यापि पक्षविशेष-णत्वे बहुचभावन्याप्यज्ञलन्याप्यवत्तादृशपक्षे अतिन्याप्तिरिति वाच्यम् ॥ ५४ ॥

स्वनिरूपितप्रतिबन्धकतावच्छेदकविषयित्वावच्छिन्नपक्षतावच्छेदकविशिष्टानुमिति-निष्ठजन्यतानिरूपितत्वस्यैव निवेश्यत्वात् । अनुमितौ पक्षतावच्छेदकवैशिष्ट्यं स्वनिष्ठाव-च्छेदकताकप्रतियोगिताकभेदवत्त्वसंबन्धेन । स्वनिष्ठावच्छेदकता स्वविशिष्टविषयितासं-बन्धावच्छिना । विषयितायां स्ववैशिष्ट्यं स्वनिष्ठावच्छेदकताकप्रतियोगिताकभेदवत्त्वसं-वन्धेन । स्वनिष्ठावच्छेदकता स्वविशिष्टभेदप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकत्वसंबन्धावच्छित्रा । भेदे . स्ववैशिष्ट्यं स्वविशिष्टप्रकारताविशिष्टत्वसंबन्धेन । प्रकारतायां स्ववैशिष्ट्यं स्वसमानाधि-करणेत्यादिभेदवत्त्वसंबन्धेन । स्वाधिकरणत्वं स्वाविच्छन्नविशेष्यतानिरूपितसाध्यताव-च्छेदकावच्छित्रप्रकारत्वसाध्यव्याप्यहेतुतावच्छेदकावच्छित्रप्रकारत्वोभयनिरूपकत्वसंबन्धेन । मेदप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकता स्विविशिष्टविशेष्यतानिरूपकत्वसंबन्धेन स्ववैशिष्ट्यं स्वनिरूपितविशेप्यतावच्छेदकावच्छिन्नत्वस्वविशिष्टप्रकारतानिरूपितत्वोभयसं-बन्धेन । स्ववैशिष्ट्यं स्वावच्छेदकाविष्ठिन्नत्वस्वावच्छेदकसंबन्धाविच्छन्नत्वोभयसंबन्धेन । स्विविशिष्टप्रकारताविशिष्टेत्यत्र प्रकारतावैशिष्ट्यं स्विविशिष्टप्रकारताविशिष्टस्वसंबन्धेन । प्रकारतावैशिष्ट्यं स्वावच्छिन्नप्रतियोगिताकत्वसंबन्धेन । स्ववैशिष्ट्यं स्वनिरूपित-विशेष्यतावच्छेदकावच्छिन्नविशेष्यतानिरूपितत्वस्वनिष्ठावच्छेदकताकपतियोगिताकभेदवत्त्वो-भयसंबन्धेन । स्वनिष्ठावच्छेदकता स्वसमानाधिकरणभेदपतियोगितावच्छेदकत्वसंबन्धेन । स्वाधिकरणता स्वविशिष्टप्रकारतानिरूपितविशेष्यतावच्छेदकतानिरूपकत्वसंबन्धेन । प्रकार-तायां स्ववैशिष्ट्यं स्वावच्छेदकसंबन्धावच्छिन्नत्वस्वावच्छेदकावच्छिन्नत्वोभयसंबन्धेन । मेदप्रतियोगितावच्छेद**क**ता स्वविशिष्टप्रकारताविशिष्टप्रतिबध्यतानिरूपितप्रतिबन्धकता-संबन्धेन । स्ववैशिष्ट्यं स्वावच्छेदकधर्मसंबन्धावच्छिन्नत्वसंबन्धेन । प्रतिबध्यतायां प्रकार-तावैशिष्ट्यं स्वसम्।नाधिकरणेत्यादिमेदवत्त्वसंबन्धेन । स्व।धिकरणता भेदपतियोगितावच्छे-

दकता च स्विरूपसंबन्धेन । तथाच घटो विद्यमान् पटो विद्यमानित्यादिज्ञानानां घटो विद्यमावव्याप्यजलवानिति ज्ञानाप्रतिबन्धकतया नोक्तदोषावसरः इति ॥ ५५॥

न च तथापि जलवद्भदः वह्नचभावन्याप्याभावन्याप्यविह्नमान् इत्यत्र वह्नचभाव-•याप्यजलन्याप्यवज्जलवद्भदे अतिन्याप्तिरिति वाच्यम् ॥ ५६ ॥

संबन्धघटकप्रतिबन्धकतायां ज्ञानवैशिष्ट्यानविद्यात् । यतु घटः अभाव-व्यापकीभूताभावप्रतियोगिगगनवानित्यत्र साध्याभाववत्ताबुद्धौ साध्यवत्ताज्ञानस्य ज्ञानविशिष्ट-ज्ञानत्वेनैव प्रतिबन्धकतया सत्प्रतिपक्षाव्याप्तिरिति । तत्र । यतः अभाववत्ताबुद्धौ अभावाभा-ववत्तानिश्चयस्येव अभावाभावव्याप्यवत्तानिश्चयस्यापि न प्रतिबन्धकता विषयविरोधविरहात् । ततश्च अभावाभावव्याप्तिनिश्चयविशेषह्मपस्य अभावव्यापकीभूताभावप्रतियोगिगगनवत्ताः निश्चयस्य नाभाववत्ताज्ञानप्रतिबन्धकतेति तादृशगगनाभावबुद्धौ तादृशगगनवत्तानिश्चयस्य पृथ्योव प्रतिबन्धकताया आवश्यकतया नोक्तदोषावकाशः इति दिक् ॥ ५७॥

नच तथापि घटो गगनाभाववदभाववत्काळीनगगनवानित्यत्र तादृशगगनाभाववद्धटह्रपबाधावयाप्तिः। तत्र क्छप्तज्ञानवैशिष्ट्यावच्छिन्नप्रतिबन्धकतयैवोपपत्तौ तद्नवच्छिन्नप्रतिबन्धकतान्तरे मानाभावात्। यतु अभाववित गगनाभावो व्याप्यवृत्तिरिति ज्ञानकाळेऽपि
विशिष्टगगनाभाववत्तानिश्चयस्य प्रतिबन्धकत्वानुरोधेन ज्ञानवैशिष्ट्यानवच्छिन्नप्रतिबन्धकत्वस्याप्यावद्यकतया नोक्तदोषावकाश इति। तन्न। अभावव्यापकत्वस्य प्रतियोगिवैयधिकरण्याघटितस्य संसर्गघटकत्वे अव्याप्यवृत्तित्वज्ञानस्य तत्रानुत्तेजकतया तत्र प्रतिबन्धकान्तरविरहेण इहाव्याप्तिसत्त्वादिति वाच्यम्।। ५८॥

तादृशसमूहालम्बनानुमितित्वन्यापकप्रतिबन्धकतानिरूपितप्रतिबध्यत्वघटितान्यतमे बद्भुपावच्छिन्ननिरूपकताकविषयितात्वन्यापकत्वस्य निवेश्यत्वात् । यद्यप्येवं सति वहिन्या-

टि.—१. अनुगमतास्वर्थम् — पक्षतावच्छेर्कव्यापिकः या प्रकारता इदो विद्वमानिति ज्ञानीयविद्वप्रकारता तिकरूपितविशेष्यतावच्छेर्कावच्छित्रविशेष्यतानिरूपिता तङ्ग्यापिका च या प्रकारता इदो बद्ध्यभाववानिति ज्ञानीया तद्वच्छित्रभेदप्रतियोगितानवच्छेर्कविषयिताज्ञस्यक्मिति।

प्यसाध्यके वह्न्यभाववत्पक्षे अतिव्याप्तिः । तथापि तादृशपितवन्धकताविशिष्टपितवध्यताया एव निवेशनीयतया न दोषः । प्रतिबन्धकतावैशिष्ट्यं स्वावच्छेदकावच्छिन्नप्रतिबध्यतानि-रूपितप्रतिबन्धकतावच्छेदकविषयित्वावच्छिन्नत्वस्वनिरूपितत्वोभयसंबन्धेन । तथा च बह्विच्याप्यवत्ताज्ञाने वह्न्यभाववत्ताज्ञानस्याप्रतिबन्धकतया न दोषः ॥ ५९ ॥

न च स्वावच्छेदकावच्छिन्नत्वं यदि स्वावच्छेदकतापर्याप्त्यधिकरणपर्या-सावच्छेदकताकत्वं तदा असंभवः । यदि स्वावच्छेदकनिष्ठावच्छेदकताकत्वरूपं तदा तादृशज्ञानत्वावच्छिन्नत्वस्य सावित्रिकतया अन्यावर्तकता । स्वावच्छेदकविषयित्वावच्छिन्न-त्वरूपत्वेऽपि विद्वन्याप्यविद्वमानिति ज्ञानीयविषयितामादाय बह्वचभाववद्भ्दातिन्याप्ति-ताद्वस्थ्यमिति वाच्यम् ॥ ६० ॥

स्वाश्रयानुमितित्वव्यापकप्रतिबध्यतानिरूपितप्रतिबन्धकताव्याप्यत्वस्वनिरूपितत्वोभयसंबन्धेन प्रतिबन्धकतावैशिष्ट्यस्य निवेश्यत्वात् । विद्वव्याप्याभाववद्वद्व्यभाववत्कालीनद्वपक्षके विद्वव्याप्यसाध्यके वद्व्यभाववत्तादृशद्वदे अतिव्याप्तिस्तु पैश्चद्वयेऽपि
समाना । यद्वा पक्षतावच्छेदकविशिष्टप्रतिबध्यतानिवेशान्न दोषः । पक्षतावच्छेदकवैशिष्ट्यं
स्विविशिष्टप्रकारताविशिष्टत्वसंबन्धेन । प्रकारतायां स्ववैशिष्ट्यं स्वसमानाधिकरणेत्यादिभेदवन्त्वसंबन्धेन । स्वाधिकरणत्वं स्वावच्छिन्नविशेष्यतेत्याद्युभयनिरूपकत्वसंबन्धेन । भेदप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकता प्रागुक्तस्वविशिष्टविशेष्यतानिरूपकत्वसंबन्धेन । प्रकारतावैशिष्ट्यं
स्विशिष्टप्रतिबन्धकतानिरूपकत्वस्ववृत्तिभेदप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकत्वोभयसंबन्धेन । वैशिष्ट्यं
स्वसमानाधिकरणेत्यादिभेदवत्त्वसंबन्धेन । स्वाधिकरणता निरूपकतासंबन्धेन । मेदप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकता स्वरूपसंबन्धेन । स्वृत्तिभेदप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकता स्वसमानाधिकरणभेदप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकतासंबन्धेन । स्वाधिकरणता स्वरूपसंबन्धेन । भेदप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकता स्वविशिष्टविशेष्यतानिरूपकत्वसंबन्धेन । विशेष्यतायां वैशिष्ट्यं स्विन-

टिः—१ः अनितिरिक्तवृत्तिस्विनवेशपक्षे विशिष्टद्वयाघटितस्वशरीरे वाधविशेषाम्यासिवारणाय प्रकृतानुमितिप्रतिवश्यतानवश्छेदकस्वस्य विशिष्टद्वयविषयितायां निवेशांवश्यकतया तुह्योऽयं दोषपरिद्वारः।

रूपितविशेष्यतावच्छेदकावच्छिन्नत्वस्ववृत्तिभेदप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकप्रकारतानिरूपितत्वोभय-संबन्धेन । अवच्छेदकता स्वसमानाधिकरणभेदप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकतासंबन्धेन । स्वाधि-करणता स्वविशिष्टप्रकारतानिरूपितविशेष्यतावच्छेदकतानिरूपकनिश्चयत्वसंबन्धेन । भेद-प्रतियोगितावच्छेदकता स्वविशिष्टप्रकारताविशिष्टप्रतिबध्यतानिरूपितप्रतिबन्धकतासंबन्धेन । प्रकारतायां स्ववैशिष्ट्यं स्वावच्छेदकधर्मसंबन्धावच्छिन्नत्वसंबन्धेन । प्रकारतावैशिष्ट्यं व्या-पकतासंबन्धेन ॥ ६१ ॥

न च तथापि ह्रदो वह्न्यभाववज्जलवद्भृत्तिजलाभावभ्याप्यविह्नमानित्यत्र वह्न्यभाव-वज्जलबद्भृत्तिजलवद्भदे अतिन्याप्तिरिति वाच्यम् ॥ ६२ ॥

स्विविशिष्टप्रतिबन्धकतानिरूपितत्वस्ववृत्तिभेदप्रतियोगितावच्छेदकत्वोभयसंबन्धे अन्त-र्गतस्ववैशिष्ट्यस्य स्वव्याप्यत्वरूपतया दोषविरहात् । शेषं विशिष्टद्वयाघटितत्विचाररीत्या अवधेयमिति दिक् ॥ ६३ ॥

॥ इति अवच्छेदकतासरः समाप्तः॥

टि.-- १. अकारताद्ववेऽवीरवर्थः।

# **University Notes**

## FOUNDER'S DAY:

The Eleventh Founder's Day was celebrated on the 12th October, 1940. Sir R. K. Shanmukham Chettiar, Dewan of Cochin, delivered the address.

## CONVOCATION:

The Tenth Annual Convocation was held on Saturday the 16th November, 1940. His Excellency Captain the Hon. Sir Arthur Oswald James Hope, Chancellor of the University, presided. Sir Lionel Leach, Chief Justice of the Madras High Court, delivered the address to the graduates of the year.

### **ENDOWMENTS:**

- 1. Our Pro-Chancellor, Raja Sir Annamalai Chettiar, Kt., L.L.D. Raja of Chettinad, announced a gift of Rs. 12,500 to be utilised in the form of prizes. Of this Rs. 10,000 is to be set apart for the encouragement of Composition of Tamil Poems. The rest of the money is to be utilised for giving prizes in the names of (1) His Excellency Sir Arthur Hope, (2) Sir Lionel Leach, (3) Sir R. K. Shanmukham Chettiar and (4) Sir K. V. Reddi Naidu Garu. Apart from the original contribution he made to this institution by handing over three collegiate institutions and a handsome donation of Rs. 20 lakhs to form the nucleus of this University, our founder has been generous in giving various endowments from time to time. We are deeply grateful to him for his great munificence and generosity.
- 2. The Raja Raja Abhaya Kulasekara Chola Maharaja Memorial Endowment by His Holiness Srila Sri Kasivasi Swaminatha Thambiran Swamigal Avergal: (Thevara Tirumurai Prize and Publication of works of Tamil Literature and Grammar. Present Annual income Rs. 550+Rs. 1,250).

The object of the Endowment is to foster the growth of the Science of Tamil Music in the Thevara Tirumurais and publish works of Tamil Literature and Grammar.

This endowment was founded by His Holiness Srila Sri Kasivasi Swaminatha Thambiran Swamigal Avergal of Tiruppanandal to perpetuate the memory of Raja Raja Abhaya Kulasehara Chola Maharaja Avergal, due to whose solicitude the Thevara Tirumurais have been preserved to the world.

The Endowment consists of 114·3 acres of wet and 4·72 acres of Dry land (i.e.) 118 acres 75 cents, in Kayalur, Melasethi, forming parts of vattoms 21 and 23 of Sirugudi and Kilmarudur of Kumbakonam Taluk, Tanjore District, now in the sole enjoyment of His Holiness. The present value of the property is Rs. 75,000 and the net annual income is Rs. 1,750 at present market rates. Rs. 500 out of this sum shall be set apart for a Prize and the rest shall be utilised for publication of Tamil Works of Literature and grammar.

# **JOURNAL**

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# Some Problems of Higher Education in India

By

# A. C. Subrahmanyan, (Annamalai University.)

In the present century, higher education has been taking giant strides. There were only five universities in India in 1915; between 1916 and 1920 seven more were added; and the two decades since have seen the birth of another seven; so that the total number of universities in India now stands at 19.\* Similarly, the total number of students in Universities and colleges in British India in 1920 was 61.225 while the total number for 1937 is 128,623. This growth in the number of Universities and in the number of University scholars shows clearly a greater appreciation in the country of the value of higher education. And Universities too, in their turn, have increased very much the scope of their activities. In the 19th century they were content to be merely examining bodies granting degrees to persons who had acquired sufficient proficiency in different branches of learning; and these persons mostly entered the services of government which were then open to them. The idea of teaching, residential and unitary universities came to public attention in the days of Lord Curzon; and the passing of the Indian Universities Act of 1904, the resolution of the Government of India on Indian Educational Policy in 1913 and the Report of the Calcutta University Commission in 1919 became landmarks in the progress of higher

<sup>\*</sup> The University of Rangoon is included in this computation.

education in the country. Universities have recognised the need for organizing departments of study and turning themselves more and more into centres of culture which provide facilities for advanced instruction and research, with libraries, laboratories and other accessories for the spread and advance of learning. Universities today are stressing the need for training the young men who are committed to their care and for moulding their character. They endeavour to give personal attention, at least, to the advanced students. But still a large part of their energies is taken off for the imparting of mass instruction to undergraduate students. More attention has to be paid to post-graduate work and greater encouragement given to higher research if India is to keep pace with the advanced countries of the world. A glance at the following table will make the position clear:—

About 8.4% of the students in Universities are Post-graduates and ·1% are engaged in research. It must also be remembered that most of the post-graduate students are to be found in the professional colleges. It is true most of the Universities have instituted advanced research degrees; but the number of candidates who take these high degrees is very limited. The figures in the above table show that in one year approximately six candidates qualified themselves for M. Litt., eleven for Ph.D., two for D.Litt., four for D.Phil., seventeen for M.Sc., and twenty for D.Sc., bringing the total only to 56. Some Universities -notably Calcutta and Madras-have large numbers of post-graduate departments and adequate facilities for research and publication; there are also others where there are no fulltime University Professors and no research degrees. No doubt some Universities have definitely kept before themselves the needs of the community. The Bombay University, for instance, has a department of chemical technology one of whose definite aims is to form a link between science and industry. So too its department of Sociology is designed to meet definite needs. The Travancore University—the youngest University in the land—has as its definite aim research in applied science—especially in Biochemistry, Marine Biology and Fisheries—designed to promote the industries of the Travancore State. This University has a department specially devoted to publications in Malayalam and Tamil. Special attention is paid in the Osmania University to the publication of Urdu books and the Mysore and Annamalai Universities have led the way in the promotion of Kannada and Tamil studies respectively. Even apart from the Universities, research work of the greatest importance is being conducted in the Indian Institute of Science at Bangalore, the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute at Poona and the Bose Research Institute at Calcutta. Though much has been done yet still more remains

2.         Aligarh          4246         1608         2 (Ph.D.)         University Journal           3.         Anigarh          4457         552         16         4 (D.Ph.L.)         6 (D.Sc.)         University Studiess           4.         Annamalai          217         633         16         4 (D.Ph.L.)         4 (M.Sc.)         16 books. Research           6.         Annamalai          3385         460         21 (I Fellowship)         2 (M. Lift.)         1 (D.Sc.)         University Studiess           7.         Benaves          18158         964         12         1 (D.Lift.)         1 (D.Sc.)         Publications University Journal University Journal University Journal University Journal University Journal Accountables           9.         Calcutha          1691         12         I (Ph.D.)         2 (D.Sc.)         Publications University Journal University Journal University Journal University Journal Accountables           11.         Lucknow          2429         377         12 (Fellowships)         1 (D.Lift.)         3 (D.Sc.)         Publications University Journal University Journal University Journal Accountables           11.         Lucknow          2429         377         4 (D.L.Lift.) <th>S. No.</th> <th>Name of University.</th> <th>rsity.</th> <th>No. of students.</th> <th>Post- graduates</th> <th>engaged in research</th> <th>Research Degrees Arts</th> <th>Degrees Science</th> <th>Publications.</th>	S. No.	Name of University.	rsity.	No. of students.	Post- graduates	engaged in research	Research Degrees Arts	Degrees Science	Publications.
Aligarh          1674         562         2 (Ph.D.)           Andhra          4487         136         4 (D.Phill.)         6 (D.Sc.)           Annamalai          2217         653         16         4 (D.Phill.)         6 (D.Sc.)           Benares          3385         460         21 (1 Fellowship)         2 (M. Lift.)         4 (M.Sc.)           Bombay          18138         994         12         1 (Ph.D.)         2 (M.Sc.)           Calcutta          35357         1611         2 (M. Lift.)         2 (D.Sc.)           Dacca          2609         116         1 (Fellowships)         1 (Ph.D.)         2 (D.Sc.)           Mysor          2429         377         12 (Fellowships)         1 (Ph.D.)         2 (D.Sc.)           Mysor          3418         59         4 (M.Lift.)         5 (D.Sc.)           Nagpur          1461         757         4 (M.Lift.)         3 (M.Sc.)           Patna          2526         438         A (M.Lift.)         3 (M.Sc.)           Patna          1241         738         8         7 (Ph.D.	4	Agra		4246	1608				
Andhra          4487         136         4 (D.Phil.)         4 (D.Phil.)         6 (D.Sc.)           Allahabad          2217         653         16         21 (Tellowship) 2 (M. Lift.)         4 (M.Sc.)           Benares          3385         460         12         1 (Ph.D.)         4 (M.Sc.)           Benares          18193         964         12         1 (Ph.D.)         6 (D.Sc.)           Calcutta          1891         528         27         1 (Ph.D.)         2 (D.Sc.)           Delhi          2609         116         1 (Fellowships)         2 (D.Sc.)           Lucknow          2429         377         12 (Fellowships)         1 (Ph.D.)         2 (D.Sc.)           Mysore          12076         1164         40         4 (M. Lift.)         13 (M.Sc.)           Nagpur          1441         737         4 (M. Lift.)         13 (M.Sc.)           Patha          1451         77         4 (M. Lift.)         13 (M.Sc.)           Patha          1461         77         7 (Ph.D.)         4 (M. Lift.)         1 (Ph.D.)           Patha	i d	Aligarh	:	1674	262		2 (Ph.D.)		University Journal
Allahabad          2217         653         16         4 (D.Phil.)         6 (D.Sc.)           Benares          3385         460         21 (1 Fellowship) 2 (M. Lift.)         4 (M.Sc.)           Bombay          18133         904         12         1 (Ph.D.)         4 (M.Sc.)           Calcutta          1633         528         27         1 (Ph.D.)         6 (D.Sc.)           Dacca          2609         116         1 (Ph.D.)         2 (D.Sc.)           Lucknow          2429         377         12 (Pellowships)         4 (M. Lift.)         13 (M.Sc.)           Mysore          12076         1164         40         4 (M. Lift.)         13 (M.Sc.)           Nagpur          3801         757         4 (M. Lift.)         13 (M.Sc.)           Patna          1461         175         4 (M. Lift.)         13 (M.Sc.)           Patna          2984         230         8         7 (Ph.D.)           Travancore          2984         230         8         7 (Ph.D.)           Travancore          2984         28         7 (Ph.D.) <td>m</td> <td>Andhra</td> <td>:</td> <td>4487</td> <td>136</td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td>; ;</td>	m	Andhra	:	4487	136				; ;
Annamalai          983         40         21 (1 Fellowship)         2 (M. Lift.)         4 (M.Sc.)           Benares          3385         460         12         1 (Ph.D.)         6 (D.Sc.)           Bombay          18138         904         12         1 (Ph.D.)         6 (D.Sc.)           Calcutta          1631         528         27         1 (Ph.D.)         2 (D.Sc.)           Dacca          2609         116         1 (Pellow in Economics)         1 (Ph.D.)         2 (D.Sc.)           Lucknow          2429         377         12 (Fellowships)         1 (Ph.D.)         2 (D.Sc.)           Mysore          12076         1164         40         A (M. Lift.)         13 (M.Sc.)           Nagpur          3801         777         4 (M. Lift.)         13 (M.Sc.)           Patna          1461         175         A (M. Lift.)         13 (M.Sc.)           Patna          5926         438         A (M. Lift.)         A (M. Lift.)           Travancore          1950         56         A (M. Lift.)         A (M. Lift.)           Travancore <td< td=""><td>4</td><td>Allahabad</td><td>:</td><td>2217</td><td>653</td><td>16</td><td>4 (D.Phil.)</td><td>6 (D.Sc.)</td><td>University Studies</td></td<>	4	Allahabad	:	2217	653	16	4 (D.Phil.)	6 (D.Sc.)	University Studies
Benares         3385         460         12         1 (D. Lift.)         2 (D.Sc.)	'n	Annamalai	:	983	40	21 (1 Fellowship)	2 (M. Litt.)	4 (M.Sc.)	16 books. Research
Benares          3385         460         12         1 (D. Lift.)         1 (D.Sc.)           Bombay          18193         904         12         1 (Ph.D.)         6 (D.Sc.)           Calcutta          1691         528         27         1 (Ph.D.)         6 (D.Sc.)           Dacca          2609         116         1 (Pellow in Economics)         2 (D.Sc.)           Lucknow          2429         377         12 (Fellowships)         1 (D. Lift.)         5 (D.Sc.)           Madras          12076         1164         40         4 (M. Lift.)         5 (D.Sc.)           Nagpur          3801         777         13 (M.Sc.)         13 (M.Sc.)           Nagpur          1461         175         175         17 (Ph.D.)           Patna          1461         175         17 (Ph.D.)           Patna          1596         5         17 (Ph.D.)           Patna          1596         8         17 (Ph.D.)           Travannoore          2984         230         8         17 (Ph.D.)           Tavannoore									Trainment Tomas
Bombay          18188         904         12         1 (D. Lift.)         1 (D.Sc.)           Calcutta          35357         1611         2         1 (Ph.D.)         6 (D.Sc.)           Dalhi          2609         116         1 (Fellow in Economics)         2 (D.Sc.)           Lucknow          2429         377         12 (Fellowships)         1 (D. Lift.)         5 (D.Sc.)           Madrass          12076         1164         40         4 (M. Lift.)         13 (M.Sc.)           Nagpur          3418         59         4 (M. Lift.)         13 (M.Sc.)           Panjab          1461         175         7         7 (Ph.D.)           Patna          1461         175         7 (Ph.D.)         7 (Ph.D.)           Patna          1950         56         7 (Ph.D.)         7 (Ph.D.)           Patna          2984         230         8         7 (Ph.D.)           Travancore          2985         4 (M. Lift.)         17 (Ph.D.)	6	Benares	:	3385	460		(		Omversity Journal Publications IInimands
Calcutta          35357         1611         A         1 (Ph.D.)         6 (D.Sc.)           Dacca          1691         528         27         1 (Ph.D.)         2 (D.Sc.)           Delhi          2609         116         Fellow in Economics         2 (D.Sc.)           Lucknow          2429         377         12 (Fellowships)         1 (D. Litt.)         5 (D.Sc.)           Mysore          3418         59         4 (M. Litt.)         13 (M.Sc.)           Nagpur          3801         757         4 (M. Litt.)         13 (M.Sc.)           Panjab          1461         175         4 (M. Litt.)         13 (M.Sc.)           Patna          1461         757         4 (M. Litt.)         13 (M.Sc.)           Patna          1461         757         4 (M. Litt.)         13 (M.Sc.)           Patna          1461         757         4 (M. Litt.)         13 (M.Sc.)           Patna          1526         438         7 (Ph.D.)         14 (M. Litt.)           Patna          1584         230         8         7 (Ph.D.)	7.	Bombay	:	18193	904	12	1 (D. Laff.)	I (D.Sc.)	Journal
Delhi          2609         116         1         (Fellow ling)         2 (D.Sc.)           Lucknow          2429         377         12         (Fellowships)         1 (D. Lift.)         5 (D.Sc.)           Mysore          3418         59         4 (M. Lift.)         13 (M.Sc.)           Nagpur          3418         757         4 (M. Lift.)         13 (M.Sc.)           Panjab          1441         793         8         7 (Ph.D.)           Patna          1950         56         438         7 (Ph.D.)           Travancore          2984         230         8         7 (Ph.D.)           Total         12603         10667         138         17         30           133         17         13         17         13	•	4		25257	1611		1 (Ph.D.)	6 (D.Sc.)	Publications 400
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This table has been compiled Quinquennial Review.

to be done. And in setting about this a study of the methods and organization of graduate studies in the United States will be instructive.

In the middle of the last century a similar problem confronted the educationists of the United States of America. In 1869 the National Teachers' Association of the States recommended the establishment of institutions to provide advanced education mainly or exclusively on the graduate level and to enlarge the boundaries of human knowledge by means of researches and investigations. Prominent educational leaders felt that there should be established in America. Universities like those on the continent of Europe, Universities exclusively devoted to postgraduate teaching and research. These institutions should bring together the greatest scholars and scientists and the students who are best fitted to be trained in methods of research. They should aim at two things, increasing the sum-total of human knowledge and training "Wherever such teachers and such pupils are workers capable of it. pursuing the most generous culture of a civilized age, there are the essential constituents of a University." Philip Tappan, President of the Michigan University, declared that there was great difference between mere professional and technical education and that 'large and generous culture which brings out the whole man and commits him to the active life with the capacity of estimating from the highest point of view all the knowledges and agencies which enter into the well-being and progress of society." According to him the most practical education was that which fitted men best for practice; and not that which led men most directly to practice. Professor Burgess of the Columbia University was also of the same view. The progressive understanding of truth must depend on free and untrammelled individual research and complete freedom of imparting its results. Even then there were facilities for post-graduate work at Harvad, Yale, Michigan and Columbia but higher education took a new and progressive turn in America when the Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Maryland was established in 1876, the Clark University, Worcester, Massachusetts, in 1888 and the University of Chicago in 1890.

The first of these was the result of a large benefaction by a Quaker merchant of Baltimore, named Johns Hopkins. The authorities of the University wanted to establish a new institution on a new plan, an institution capable of meeting the educational requirements of the land without entering into any competition with other foundations. They wanted to give a strong impetus to learning and culture—first in Baltimore, then in Maryland and other Southern States, and, finally, throughout the entire land. Their aim was to promote public welfare so far as it may depend on university influences.

At the inauguration of the University in 1876 President Eliot of Harvard observed that 'Universities, wisely directed, store up the intellectual capital of the race, and become fountains of spiritual and moral power.' Referring to the new venture he said "Here may young feet, shunning the sordid paths of low desire and worldly ambition, walk humbly in the steps of the illustrious dead-the poets, artists, philosophers, and statesmen of the past; here may fresh minds explore new fields and increase the sum of knowledge; here, from time to time, may great men be trained up to be leaders of the people; here may the irradiating light of genius sometimes flash out to rejoice mankind; above all here may many generations of manly youth learn righteousness." Professor Thomas Huxley, the great scientist who opened the University urged the authorities to provide wide opportunities for study and research in history, physical sciences and creative arts. One of the prime functions of a University was 'to increase the stock of knowledge by the investigation of truth.' Only ideas matter in the world: "The future of this world lies in the hands of those men who will supply the world with ideas and in some way furnish the mass of mankind who have not the time or inclination or the capacity to think out things for themselves with some theory of things that absolutely inconsistent or too absolutely absured not practical purpose." According to Huxlev serve some highest duty of a University is to find a system that would discuss and protect the powers of artistic creation and the investigation of new truths which formed the two great aspects of the creative and investigative human mind. It should aim to supply the democratic state with individual citizens possessing 'intellectual clearness' and 'moral worth'. From the beginning the President of the University, Professor Gilman, wanted the institution to supply to the nation intellectual training of a higher order than could be obtained then at any other American College or University. It woud be a tragedy if a University produces learned pedants, or simple artisans or cunning or pretentious practitioners. "Its purpose is not so much to impart knowledge to the pupils, as to whet the appetite, exhibit methods, develop powers, strengthen judgment, and invigorate the intellectual and moral forces." It should aim at imparting a knowledge of principles and not merely of methods and at training a class of students who would be thoughtful, enlightened and progressive guides to society in whatever department of work or thought they may be engaged. President Gilman felt that as a result of the activities of the University, society must be definitely benefited; it should be impressed by the value of learning; its intellectual and moral growth should be stimulated: it should understand the world better. There should be less ignorance in schools, less bigotry in the temples,

less suffering in the hospitals, less starvation in the homes, less folly in politics. There should be more study of nature, more love of art, more health, more wisdom, more happiness in the country.

From the beginning the founder and trustees gave President Gilman a free hand. Dr. Gilman, was a scholar of ripe experience and the first thing he did after his appointment was to visit Europe once again in the interests of the new University. Prohibited by the terms of its grant from plunging immediately into an elaborate building programme the new University gave special attention to securing teaching staff and students. They wanted the ablest minds. Buildings could wait; even schemes of examination, instruction and graduation. In the selection of staff the trustees considered specially 'the devotion of the candidate to some particular line of study and the certainty of his eminence in that speciality'. He must pursue independent and original investigation and inspire the young with enthusiasm for study and research. They wanted the best men, men free from the tendency to sectional controversies. men willing to co-operate in trying a new experiment. When selected the head of a department was allowed considerable freedom in its development. Provided he worked in concord with his fellows he could select his own assistants, choose his own books and apparatus and devise his own plans of study. The work of the professors was supplemented by lectures by distinguished visitors from other institutions.

In regard to students they cared less for numbers than for merit. When the University opened it enrolled forty young men as associate fellows and resident graduates. A good many of them were advanced students who had taken high degrees in Europe and America. dent Gilman was of opinion that invariably the best scholars are those who specialise after a broad and liberal education and the best teachers. those who combine teaching and research. Many Americans distinguished in life have been connected with Johns Hopkins. "The first requisite to success in any institution is a body of professors each of whom gives freely the best of which he is capable. A University can best promote learning by allowing its teachers a liberal margin for private study. While a good deal of freedom was allowed in teaching the President evinced a keen interest in the work of individual members. Professor Stanley Hall observes thus of Gilman: "He loved to know something of their every new investigation however remote from his own speciality. and every scientific or scholarly success felt the stimulus of his sympathy. His unerring judgment of men was triumphantly justified in the achievements of those he appointed. He was a spiritual father of many of his faculty, the author of their careers, and for years made the institution the paradise and seminarium of young specialists. This made stagnation impossible, and the growth of professors there in their work was, I believe, without precedent."

Dr. Gilman held that all sciences were worthy of promotion; that there was no conflict between religion and science; that in the promotion of science remote utility was quite as worthy to be thought of as immediate advantage. However, a University as also its scholars, must select particular subjects for special pursuit. In the methods of work in study and teaching the utmost freedom must be allowed to student and teacher.

According to a graduate student of the University the most remarkable thing about Johns Hopkins was the freedom of access to teachers and the stimulus afforded by contact with mature minds. Other noteworthy features of the institution are the visiting lecturer plan, the seminar system and the special attention paid to the publication of scientific and scholarly journals. By the visiting lecturer plan some distinguished professor University invited of another was to deliver course of lectures, often times for a period sufficient to make the lecturer in a real sense a part of the University. This served more than one purpose; it familiarized the members with the work done in other foundations; it gave publicity to the work done in the institution and enabled it to get direction and advice whenever necessary. Most often it was a course of twenty lectures, delivered every evening at 5 o'clock attended by about 150 listeners, open to all who wished to hear, whether students or not. The lecturers were accessible to all who wished to consult them. The introduction into the academic circle of 'men from other Universities, observing, critical, suggestive, familiar with different ways, looking perhaps, for colleagues or for assistants, asking help, answering questions, showing methods, provided richness and colour and solid intellectual quality. The presence for brief periods of a large number of associates, readers or assistants who secured higher appointment there or elsewhere strengthened the University and made its work known wherever scholarship was esteemed. The seminar or study circle is a group of teachers and students who meet regularly for the study of a particular subject. The meetings are arranged near the library to which all have access at other hours. A lecture is delivered, questions are asked, comments are made, a demonstration is given, a paper is read and thus the study is promoted in an informal but effective manner. The University, in addition, published six scholarly and scientific journals including Modern Language Notes. Thus it aimed to spread abroad the results of the researches of its teachers and students and make them of practical use to the nation.

The Clark University, at Worcester, Massachusetts was started in 1888 by the munificience of a businessman named Jonas Gilman Clark. It is a graduate institution which aimed at selecting rigorously the best students, seeking to train leaders only, educating professors and advancing science by new discoveries. Stanley Hall, the president, wanted the institution to be of the highest and most advanced grade with special prominence given to original research. He desired to secure the most talented and best trained young men. He declared, "We are not a graduate department in which most so-called graduate students attend and most professors conduct undergraduate work. We are a school for professors where leisure, method and incentive, train select men to higher and more productive efficiency than before." Hall had been professor of experimental psychology at Johns Hopkins before he was appointed at Worcester and there is a certain similarity in methods, organization and aim between Clark and Johns Hopkins.

Like Gilman. Hall too toured the Continent before he entered on his new duties. He chose an extraordinarily gifted group of teachers and designed his institution mostly for candidates for the Doctor's degree. From the very beginning the University was widely acclaimed and accomplished work of a high order. It left an indelible impress on the educational effort of the country; it influenced every institution from University to kindergarten and quickened the pulse of educational thought. The success of the experiment demonstrated the wisdom of running an institution devoted exclusively to graduate work with a limited number of selected students. It gave the country a new type of institution having no under-graduate students, with no problems of classes, dormitories or discipline: moreover it enabled Americans to receive the highest form of training and culture without going to Europe. By 1901 Clark men had won positions for themselves in the faculties or teaching staff of Harvard, Yale, Johns Hopkins, Columbia, Chicago, California. Toronto and in scores of other institutions.

At Clark as at Hopkins we see the determination to meet urgent contemporary needs by the application of science to useful arts. No tradition was to be respected which did not promote this end. Here too there was insistence on quality in teacher and student, on funds to carry on the work, on time and leisure for research and freedom to work in one's own way. The inscription at the entrance to the work-room of the school of geography in the University is typhical: "The very best kind of education is obtained in doing things one's self under competent direction and with good guidance." The teachers were friendly guides to their students and every student was made to feel that he stood for something. President Hall wanted to do everything possible for

instructors to do for the students who were received within the portals of the University. They should be guided to the best books and to the best methods of work known to the instructor. In fact he should share with his students all his hopes and plans for research. The very attitude of research is a great education to the advanced student; it stimulates effort, quickens initiative, strengthens the will and creates independent judgment and action which are the culmination of culture. Nothing can be more inspiring than the instruction given to a select few by an investigator who stands at the elbow of discovery, feeling the heat and light which attend it.

Hall complained that Americans had not yet understood the true spirit of teaching. "When we have a thoughtful investigating man who has come to be two and twenty, has the fulness of his power, and is eager to keep up his studies, we turn him out of our college, and say. 'we have nothing more for you.' And when we have a man who is determined to devote his life for others, we thank him and say 'we will make you a professor in a college; we will give you fifteen hundred dollars a year, while with your ability you would earn fifteen thousand somewhere else.' And then we set him to teaching boys of eighteen the difference between the subjunctive and the optative, or showing them the mistakes they have made in their German exercises where they have put in a masculine article instead of a feminine." It is true that the well-furnished bachelor of arts feels helpless when he is turned to creative research after long familiarity with passive receptiveness, he needs personal direction and management. "But when the new powers are once acquired they are veritable regeneration. scorns the mere luxury of knowing, and wishes to achieve, to become an authority and not an echo. His ambition is to know how it looks near and beyond the frontier of knowledge, and to wrest if possible a new inch of territory from the realm of chaos and old night, and this becomes a new and consuming passion which makes him feel a certain kinship with the creative minds of all ages, and having contributed ever so little, he realizes for the first time what true intellectual freedom is, and attains intellectual manhood and maturity. This thrill of discovery, once felt, is the royal accolade of science, which says to the novice, 'stand erect, look about you, that henceforth you may light your own way with independent knowledge'".

Scholars at Worcester have also felt the magic spell of Hall's inspiring personality and have regarded his seminars as the most striking feature of the Clark University. At Worcester the human side of University enterprise was uppermost and routine and red tape were at a minimum.

The University of Chicago which came into existence in 1890 as a result of the munificience of the merchant prince John D. Rockfeller has also made a distinct contribution to higher education in America. According to Harper, its first President, the main energies of the institution have been directed towards graduate work. According to Dr. Strong, one of its inspirers, a true University is an institution for advanced and professional studies. Its central feature is a comprehensive fellowship system; Oxford has 311 fellowships and 346 scholarships while Cambridge has 335 fellowships and 795 scholarships. President Harper, envisaged three divisions of University work:—1. Teaching and research 2. Extension work. 3. Publications.

Harper also aimed, as Gilman and Hall had done, at freeing students and faculty from the handicaps of traditional college and enable them to live and work in an atmosphere of scholarship and research. He too realised the importance of the human element and the necessity for adequate leisure for the teachers. Dr. Harper and the trustees of Chicago wanted to bring together the largest possible number of men who were already distinguished by their research, representing different types of training and different sets of ideas, thus providing richness and diversity to the ultimate constitution of the University. A noteworthy feature of Chicago was the presence of women in the faculty and the class room. Like Hall, Harper too fully understood the necessity for meeting the needs of the time and the importance of utilizing science for economic and social development. 'It is not enough that instructors in a University should merely do the class and lecture work assigned to them....The University, including every member of the University, owes to the world at large a duty which cannot be discharged in the ordinary class room exercise. The true University is the centre of thought on every problem connected with human life and work, and the first obligation resting on individual members which compose it is that of research and investigation.' Its true function is the resolving of the problems of civilization; and this requires men of the greatest genius and culture. Dr. Harper stood for absolute freedom from interference by church or state, though such freedom may be abused. He maintained that the ultimate worth of scholarship lay not in its prestige with scholars but in its value to human life. The University of Chicago paid more attention to publication and extension work than any other American foundation. It is remarkable that of the four Americans who won Nobel prizes in Science in the first 25 years of Nobel awards three were members of the faculty of Chicago. And no wonder the University was a great success from its very inception.

In spite of its large enrolment the authorities of the University declared as late as 1925 that the value of a University is to be mea-

sured not by numbers but by the quality of its work and its contributions to knowledge and educational training and practice. "The aim of the Graduate School (at Chicago) is two fold—first, research for the sake of the discoveries that will thus be made, and second, the education of students in methods of research, and teachers who will train others to follow in their footsteps.

It is the spirit of research, the eager and organized effort to enlarge the area of human knowledge, to replace guesses by certainties, to open new areas of knowledge, that is the most characteristic work of the modern University. We shall still try to know what men of the past thought, because we appreciate that all increase of knowledge comes by an evolutionary process advancing stage by stage, but our emphasis will always be on the facts accurately observed, and our ultimate appeal will always be to them."

American higher education has not greater achievements to its credit than Johns Hopkins, Clark and Chicago. And in essence the methods and organization of these three seats of learning followed similar lines. First came the insistence on the importance of original research, next, the recognition of the value of the personal element; and thirdly the efforts to make education meet the needs of the time. The special methods pursued were the visiting lecturer plan, the seminar system and the establishment of scholarly journals and the publication of valuable books.

If the Universities of India are to be able to give a training to young men which would fit them to occupy the highest positions in the realms of thought and action they must take a planned and concerted step forward along these lines. And the scope for research and the need for training are almost unlimited in India. Young men and women have still to go to foreign countries for receiving the highest training in the study and investigation of their subjects. The highest positions in Universities and public services have not yet been manned in any considerable numbers by those who have received all their education in India. And the problems that confront our country are many and baffling. It has been suggested that it is the task of the Universities to evolve a formula which will reconcile the claims of rival interests in a future constitution for the Government of India. It has been recognised on all hands that in the harnessing of science to industry, in the development of the material resources of the country, in improving the standard of life of the people, in discovering the cause and cure of diseases most prevalent in the land we have as yet touched only the fringe of the problem. Again there are the problems connected with a new interpretation of our history and culture.

It is sometimes contended that the study of English and foreign languages in India is valuable only for the information they convey. Even if this were so, these language enshrine the most advanced knowledge that humanity possesses in modern times. Apart from this the study of foreign literature should be a guide to the improvement and development of Indian languages. The importance of the study of foreign languages for Indian linguistics can scarcely be over-estimated. Whether creative work in English and foreign languages is possible or ought to be attempted by Indians is a much debated point. But there can be no question that Indians can attempt critical studies of foreign works and make thus a substantial contribution to their critical literature; and what is more the study of Indian literature in the light of foreign modes of critical approach will be of undoubted benefit to the appreciation and improvement of the languages of the land. A proper study of foreign languages would undoubtedly lead to a quickening of creative activity in the languages of our country. It seems desirable therefore that professors of English and foreign languages in Indian Universities should as far as possible be persons who have a fair knowledge of Indian literature in addition to acquirements in the foreign language and that professors of Indian languages should have proficiency in foreign languages. Consequently the scope for research and a new orientation of studies is as great in the study of languages as in other departments of learning.

# The Nayaks of Tanjore

By

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EDITED WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

By

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to the Danish proposal made to Malaya (Malliah Chetti) to occupy the port, paying the stipulated rent of 3,000 parados per annum to the Naik of Tanjore. It was also made clear that the Danes might claim the place within three years 'on reimbursing Malava, all his outlay.' The Hague Transcripts refer to the proposals made to the Dutch and Mallaya Chetty and add that these fell through, owing to the opposition of the Nayak of Tanjore. From William Bayley's account of the voyage in A.D. 1637, it is clear, that the Danes were still in occupation of Tranquebar. However, the sad plight to which the Danes were subjected to, by the absence of regular supplies of ships and money from home, did not seem to have improved the situation and the Danish authorities of Tranquebar were still entertaining the idea of either selling away the settlement or of leasing it out. In the beginning of 1640, the English Council at Surat suggested that Tranquebar should be acquired from the Danes 'if their poverty should induce them to part with it.' Another letter dated January 28, 1644 from Fort St. George refers to the miserable condition of the Danes at Tranquebar. The Dutch were, however, negotiating with the Danes for the purchase of Tranquebar, as they were anxious to prevent it from falling into the hands either of the English or the Portuguese. The Danes also seemed to have promised the Dutch to give them their first offer.<sup>29</sup> That Paul Hauseene, the Danish Chief at Tranquebar, had offered to deliver the fort to the Dutch on condition that the latter should pay the debts incurred by the Danes on the Tanjore coast and should restore it to the king of Denmark on demand is contained in a letter dated October 19, 1653. In 1654, a Danish ship containing cargo was captured 'by the Brahmans.' Since nothing more is known of Tranquebar, it is certain that it continued for sometime more under the Danes themselves. In 1669 after a lapse of twenty years a ship is said to have arrived at Tranquebar from Denmark.30

The English after their first attempt to found a settlement at Karikal in A.D. 1624, and which ended in a failure, seem to have given up altogether the idea of making further attempts to establish a factory in the dominions of the Nayak of Tanjore. However, their trade with the Danes at Tranquebar is recorded in their records, where it is mentioned that in 1643, ships loaded with arecanuts and calicoes had arrived from Tranquebar, about the middle of the same year. In that year the English

<sup>29.</sup> Foster: The English Factories, 1651-53. Introduction, p. 28.

<sup>30.</sup> Foster: The English Factories, 1668-69. Chokkanatha Nayaka's negotiation with Francois Martin in 1675, offering him both Negapatam and Tranquebar in return for his help in driving away the Dutch and the Danes from the kingdom of Tanjore, shows that Tranquebar was still under the Danes. Tijdschrift, p. 11. Cited above.

are said to have sent Mr. Greenhill to Tranquebar with 3,500 rials in money and coral to be invested in commodities. The fact that the English made a further attempt to found a factory at Dēvikōttah (at the mouth of the Coleroon) in 1664 and that they were again refused permission by the Nayak of Tanjore, is mentioned in a Dutch letter.<sup>31</sup>

## (c) The Condition of the Kingdom under him.

The long reign of Vijayarāghava from A.D. 1633 to A.D. was full of troubles and costly wars which impoverished the land and denuded it of men and wealth. The Nayaka comparatively speaking, may be said to have had a peaceful reign till A.D. 1642 and for the rest of his period, he had to struggle hard to maintain his position and dominion in tact. He was the last of the Tanjore Nayak line. His epigraphs do not take him beyond A.D. 1656,32 and from the provenance of these it may be said that he succeeded in keeping intact the territories left by his father Raghunātha Nayaka; but in the later years of his reign, his territories suffered a diminution on account of his wars with Madura. In the east, the ports of Negapatam and Tranquebar were held by the Portuguese, the Dutch and the Danes respectively, while on the south-west his epigraphs and the chronicles support his authority over a part of the modern Ramnad District. 33 An inscription coming from Nedungunram<sup>34</sup> in the North Arcot District shows that the place had continued to be under the Tanjore Nayaks and also under Vijayarāghava Nayaka in A.D. 1643.

Like his predecessors, Vijayarāghava also had numerous agents, who assisted him in the administration of his kingdom. A record coming from Ōlayāmputtur<sup>35</sup> and dated in the cyclic year Sarvadhāri corresponding to A.D. 1648, mentions one of such agents, who was called Vaidyanātha Aṇṇagal and who is said to have effected a parivartana (exchange of property) with the people of that locality. Another agent is mentioned in an inscription coming from Mudigondanallūr.<sup>36</sup> Nainiappa Nayanar, the agent referred to, made provisions for the maintenance of daily worship and festivals in the temple of Mudigondanallūr in lieu of the old right of the temple in collecting donation from

<sup>31.</sup> Foster: The English Factories, 1661-1664, p. 365.

<sup>32. 10</sup> of Appendix A of 1921-22.

<sup>33.</sup> There is an inscription of his to be found at Tirukkōshtiyur in the modern Sivaganga Zamindari.

<sup>34. 709</sup> of 1904.

<sup>35. 543</sup> of 1918.

<sup>36. 166</sup> of 1925.

the villagers for that purpose. A third agent is mentioned at Nedungunram, but his name is not known. Vijayarāghava Nayaka was tolerant of all religious faiths, but he specially favoured Vaishnavism by his liberal patronage. His inscriptions as well as the literature of the period show that he was a staunch Vaishnava devotee and this extreme devotion was due to the presence of Kumara Tatacharya, the great Vaishnava scholar, at 'Tanjore. Vijayarāghava made him the royal preceptor.<sup>37</sup> And speaking of the Nayak's regard and veneration towards his spiritual master, a Jesuit letter dated 1659 says 'that every December the then Nayak (Vijayarāghava) of Tanjore used to cause his guru to be carried several times round and round the town in a gorgeous palanquin borne by the ladies of the palace and preceded by another palanquin containing the guru's slippers and used to walk himself in front of the procession swinging a censer and making repeated obeisances to his spiritual master'.38 The Tanjāvūri Andhra Rājula Charitamu says that he used to feed daily about twelve thousand Brahmans and it is said that he himself partook of his food only after seeing that this feeding was actually over. It is also claimed in the chronicles that Vijayarāghaya paid daily visits to Srirangam to offer worship to Lord Ranganatha and that, when hostilities between Tanjore and Madura became intense he stopped going to Srirangam but, instead, erected a big tower in his own capital so that by climbing to its top, he could have a view of the towers of Srirangam. He is also said to have made large benefactions to the tutelary God, Rājagopālaswami at Mannargudi. The Raghunāthābhuudayam<sup>39</sup> says that he presented the God, Rājagopāla, with an armour studded with precious stones. He also built the prākāras of the same temple and added flower gardens and tanks to it. He founded an agrahara and named it after his father Raghunātha Nayaka. The present Rājagopālaswāmi temple at Tanjore was also built by him. Mr. K. Sitaramayya says that even though he was a staunch Vaishnava, yet he was tolerant of other religions and built several mantapas to Siva temples in the land.

According to the evidence contained in the Mannārudāsavilāsam<sup>40</sup> of Rangājamma, Vijayarāghava married Kāntimati, the daughter of one

<sup>37.</sup> The Mannārudāsa Vilāsam of Rangājamma. The work bears evidence to the close association of the Nayak with his master, Tātācharya

<sup>38.</sup> The Madura Manual. p. 160.

<sup>39.</sup> Sources of Vijayanagar History, p. 255. The same work gives an account of the decorated halls and royal mansions within the palace, p. 265.

<sup>40.</sup> Since the works refer to Vijayaraghava's marriage in Subhakrit, corresponding to A.D. 1662, the work must have been written about that time.

Rājachandra, who is said to have given away as dowry, ten lakhs of villages to his daughter. This marriage with Kantimati appears to have taken place at the instance of his master Tatacharya. That Vijayarāghava had more than one wife is supported by the evidence of the Jesuit letters and Mannārudās in his Hēmābja Nayika Swayamvaram says that he was the son of Vijayarāghava by his another wife called Rājagopāla Kanchika. The Nayaka was also a great patron of learning and man of letters. Numerous poets and poetesses lived and flourished in his court. Among his poets, Kāmarāzu Vēņkatapati Somayāji, the author of Vijayarāghava Chandrika, Konēti Dikshita, the author of Vijayarāghava Kaļyānam; were the important poets of his court. The Tanjavūr Andhra Vangmaya Charitam, which forms the basis for a study of South Indian Telugu Literature, says that Chengalvala Kālakavi, the author of Rājagopāla Vilāsam and Purushottama Dikshita, the author of Annadāna Nātakam: were poets. Kshētragña, the great South Indian musician and composer is said to have adorned the court of Vijayarāghava and flourished in that Mannārudās himself was an author and he wrote Vijayarāghavābhyudayam and Hēmābja Nāyika Swayamvara Nātakam. The name of Rangajamma figures prominently among his numerous poetesses. 41 She calls herself a wife of Vijayarāghava and prides herself as being able to compose a hundred verses at a time. 42 She was the daughter of Pasupulēti Vēņkatādri and Mangamāmba and wrote the Rāmāyana and the Bhāgavata sāram. Vijayarāghava, in appreciation of her scholarship and versatile learning, is said to have honoured her by performing a kanakābhishēkam (bathing in gold) on her. The reference to a number of Telugu poets in the Tanjore literature of this period, shows clearly that Vijayaraghava patronised them more and Sanskrit also received its due share and Vēņkatamakhi's Chaturdandiprakāsika was written during his reign. Vijayarāghava himself was an accomplished poet in Telugu and the Tanjavūr Andhra Vāngmayam says that he wore an anklet called Sāhitya Rāya on his left leg and had a banner containing the image of Sri Sarada as indicative of his patronage of learning. He bore the birudas of Sāhitya Bhōja, Sangīta Vēdi and Lakshavipra annadāta. 43 All his works refer to his interest in theatricals and the palace itself contained a big theatre

<sup>41.</sup> The Mannārudāsa Vilāsam mentions Champakavalli, Kastūri, Sasirēka, Mohanamūrti, Krishnāji and others besides Rangājamma.

<sup>42.</sup> The Mannārudāsavilāsam. Satalēkhini and Achyuta Vijayarāghava sārvabhauma Dharmapatniyāha Rangājamma.

<sup>43.</sup> The Mannārudāsavilāsam. Published by the Andhra Sahitya Parishad, Coconada.

(ranga), where numerous plays were enacted to the satisfaction of the Nayaka. Speaking of his reign, Jayanti Ramayya Pantulu<sup>44</sup> says that 'the Telugu Prabhanda Literature inaugurated by Allasani Peddanna, reached its glory under the careful nourishment and patronage of Vijayaraghava.' And the important contribution made to the southern school of Telugu literature during his reign, was the impetus given to the dramatic form of literature.

The internal evidence shows that his reign was noted for its literary activity and it is well known that he was loved and respected by his subjects for his pious and charitable works. In spite of all these finer shades of his character which represent him as a patron of the fine arts and a lover of music, the foreign evidence contained in the Jesuit letters shows that his later years were full of troubles and wars and also paints a black picture of him, charging him with neglect of duty, want of courage and oppression of his subjects. leadership and short-sighted policy are all portrayed in them. frequent departure of a number of his subjects from the realm and their migration to Madura and Mysore are ascribed to his neglect of duty in protecting his subjects from danger and to the oppression to which his people were subjected to by the cruel exactions of the Pradhāni. On account of this, 'the artisans suspended their work; the merchants closed their shops; most of the people left their homes and the kingdom showed the appearance of a desert.' From the letter of Andre Freire, it is known that Vijayarāghava soon remedied the sufferings of his people 'by giving him (Pradhāni) up to the people's anger about A.D. 1666.45 Even though his exactions can be justified by his purchasing peace with the Muhammadans at a heavy price, yet his weak character and lack of courage cannot be adequately explained and the extremely religious policy of Vijayaraghava only hastened the downfall of the Tanjore Navaks.

<sup>44.</sup> The Southern School of Telugu Literature. Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society, Vol. II, Parts 3 and 4.

<sup>45.</sup> La Mission III: pp. 201-2.

## CHAPTER IX

## CHENGAMALDAS (A.D. 1674 to 1675)

Soon after the fall of Tanjore and the death of Vijayaraghava and his son Mannārudās in the tragic battle of A.D. 1673, Chokkanatha Nayaka of Madura appointed Alagiri Nayaka his foster-brother, to the governorship of Tanjore. Alagiri assumed charge of Tanjore in A.D. 1673 and soon restored peace and order and reorganised the administration of the kingdom on a strong basis. As viceroy, he had to remit the surplus revenues to the Madura Nayaka, and he seems to have done so only in the first year of his rule. But in the succeeding year his ambition increasing with his power, he neglected to remit this sum in time to the court of Madura and even assumed a tone of equality in his correspondence with Chokkanatha Navaka.<sup>1</sup> The chronicles mention that he took among his officers one Venkanna, a Niyogi Brahman, who had served the late Vijayarāghava Nayaka as his Rāyasam (secretary). And it is said that it was his mischief that was responsible for Alagiri Navaka's independent and indifferent attitude towards his suzerain. However, Chokkanatha did not think of punishing Alagiri for his impudence, on account of his close relationship and liking for the man and so Alagiri was left alone. In the interval news was received that the old Nayak family was not totally extinct and that a boy of the late Nayak's family, who was saved from the catastrophe that befell Vijayarāghava and his family, was being brought up by a merchant at Negapatam.<sup>2</sup> And Venkanna, who was probably 'discontented with

- 1. The Jesuit letters do not refer to these incidents but say that Alagiri was ruling over Tanjore under Chokkanatha. Taylor's Mss. and the Tanjāvūrī Andhra Rājula Charitamu speak of his independence. Also see The Nayaks of Madura, pp. 164-170.
- 2. The Tanjāvūri Andhra Rājula Charitamu. says that Chengamaladās, at the time of his rescue, was a boy four years old and he is called as the younger son of Vijayarāghava. It adds that he was brought up by a wealthy merchant. Sources, p. 325. Another chronicle (Taylor's Mss. 11, p. 200) says that he was a petty merchant and that Chengamaladās was a child aged only two years, at the time of his rescue and that he was the son of Mannārudas (child of Mannārappa). Mr. Sathianatha Aiyar says that Chengamaladās must be a son of Mannārudās and not of Vijayarāghava, as the latter is described as an old man aged eighty at the time of his death. The Nayaks of Madura, p. 167, Note 38. Mr. K. Sitaramavya, (p. 338 to 340) is also of the same opinion. He says that Chengamaladās was a grandson of Vijayarāghava and adds that he must be at

his position and influence in the new regime,' thought of taking advantage of the presence of a member of the old family and also the feud between Alagiri and Chokkanatha, by working out a scheme, in order to restore the old dynasty and to bring about the downfall of Alagiri. Organising the necessary measures to 'facilitate his coup-d-etat, he hastened to Negapatam.'

Joining Chengamaladās (also known as Chengamala Nāyaka) Veņkanna made his way to the court of Bijapur and sought the sultan's help for re-establishing Chengamaladās on the Tanjore throne. Veņkanna was successful and the Bijapur Sultan, who was led to believe that Chengamaladās was the legitimate heir to the Tanjore throne, sent an army under his general Ekōji, alias Vyankoji, to assist Chengamaladās in his attempt to recover back his crown and petrimony and also to drive away the usurper, Alagiri. Capturing the fort of Ārni on his way, Ekōji marched on towards Tanjore. Alagiri being informed of Ekōji's advance, appealed in vain to Chokkanatha for help; and the latter bearing in mind Alagiri's past conduct refused to send any help. In the meanwhile Ekōji had entered the kingdom of Tanjore and was advancing towards the capital. Collec-

least twenty to twenty-five years of age since both Mannārudās and Chengamaladās are mentioned in the *Ushāparinayam*.

- 3. Taylor's Ms. says that Venkanna stayed at Negapatam till the boy was ten or twelve years of age, i.e., for about eight years. But the reference to Alagiri's fall in A.D. 1675 in the Jesuit letters disproves the statement of the chronicles. The Tanjāvūri Añdhra Rājula Charitamu does not speak of his stay at Negapatam. Moreover as Mr. Sathianatha Aiyar says (p. 167) 'Venkanna was too much of a politician not to realise that a moment's delay, would be dangerous to the success of his plans.'
- 4. Nelson (The Madura Manual, p. 194) says that 'Chengamaladas escaped from the palace during the confusion which ensued upon its destruction and fled to the court of Idal Khan (Adil Shah), who received him kindly and promised to assist him.' But he does not mention the source of this information.
- 5. Andre Freire's letter dated 1676 refers to the expedition led by Eköji, but it differs from the native chronicles in more than one respect. (La Mission III, pp. 247-249). The letter says that Idal Khan, informed of these events sent an army under Eköji to re-establish the son of the defeated king on the Tanjore throne. According to it, Eköji fought with the Madura troops sent under Alagiri and defeated them. The Tanjāvūri Añdhra Rājula Charitamu and the chronicles say that Eköji arrived at Ayyampēt and fought with the troops of Alagiri. As it is known for certain, that Cokkanatha did not send any help to Alagiri; the statement of the chronicles seem to be more probable. See also The Nayaks of Madura, pp. 167-170. Moreover the chronicles refer to the crowning of Chengamaladās and then only speak of Eköji's usurpation, but do not refer to the circumstances that led to it.

ting all the available forces, Alagiri met Ekōji near Ayyampēt and offered him battle. The defeat of the Tanjore army disheartened him and he is said to have fled to Mysore by way of Ariyalur to save his own life. And Ekōji entered Tanjore soon after and crowned Chengamaladās as the rightful king of Tanjore. The native chronicles speak of the lavish and munificent gifts and presents made to Ekōji by Chengamaladās; and it is said that Chengamaladās was also shown the place where the treasures were buried and that he unearthed a sum amounting to twenty-six lakhs of pagodas. Ekōji was also given the revenues of the districts of Kumbakonam, Maṇṇārkōil (Mannargudi) and Pāpanāsām, to cover the expenses of his expedition. The chronicles again speak of Ekōji's stay at Kumbakonam for some time.<sup>6</sup>

Chengamaladās was proclaimed ruler of Tanjore and he began to rule about A.D. 1674. According to the account of the chronicles, he was not allowed to rule peacefully even for a short time as there were internal dissensions among his followers. Chengamaladās acting on the advice given by his foster-mother who had rescued him from the tragedy in 1673 and brought him up faithfully, is said to have appointed the Chetti merchant of Negapatam, who had protected him in his exile, as his Pradhāni and Dalavāy instead of giving it to Venkanna, who was eagerly expecting to be raised to those offices. And the latter dissatisfied with his master's arrangement and 'displeased at the loss of his coveted prize,' approached Ekōji and induced him to take possession of Tanjore for himself. Emboldened by the co-opera-

- 6. The Madura Manual, p. 197. Mr. Nelson following closely the Jesuit evidence says that Ekōji instead of placing Chengamaladās on the throne, had himself usurped it and became an independent ruler. But all the chronicles are agreed that Ekōji's usurpation happened only some time later and was not immediate. Wilson gives a different account. The Historical Sketch of the Kingdom of Pāndya, pp. 55-56.
- 7. Mr. K. Sitaramayya says that Eköji and Venkanna conspired together against Chengamaladās and adds that the former's stay at Kumbakonam was perhaps due to his ambition to conquer and annex Tanjore. Mr. Sathianatha Aiyar following the chronicles (The Nayaks of Madura, p. 170) says that Eköji though ambitious, at first refused to invade Tanjore as he feared his master, the Sultan of Bijapur but the receipt of the news of the death of the Sultan emboldened him to take action. Mr. Sitaramayya says that the statement in the chronicles that he feared his master is not trustworthy since, there is nothing to support the death of the sultan of Bijapur in 1675. Adil Shah II died in 1673 and was succeeded by Sikander Shah who ruled from 1673 to 1686. He adds that Eköji himself must have been sent by Sikandar Shah and Eköji stayed at Kumbakonam only to give effect to his ambitious policy of conquest. Hence the death of a sultan and the determination of Eköji to march against Tanjore have no basis of authenticity and the latter must have acted of his own accord,

tion of Venkanna, Ekōji advanced upon Tanjore; and Chengamaladās informed of the advance of Ekōji, the Maratha general, escaped to Ariyalur. Tanjore now fell into the hands of Ekōji without any difficulty; Ekōji's occupation of Tanjore marks the beginning of the Maratha rule in the South. He restored peace and order and tried to make amends for the defect in his title by increasing the material welfare of his subjects. Fr. Andre Freire adds (in his letter dated 1676) that 'justice and wisdom of his government begin to heal the wounds of the preceding reign and develop the natural resources of this country . . . . '.

The Maratha occupation of Tanjore must be deemed to have taken place in the beginning of A.D. 1675 as it is mentioned that Ekōji took Tanjore in the month of Māgha of Saka 1596 corresponding to February-March A.D. 1675.9 Fr. Andre Freire's letter dated 1676 after men-

- 8. About this time Rāja Sūrya, the nephew of Tirumalai Sētupati of Ramnad, is said to have supported the cause of Chengamaladās. What became of this coalition is not known. But Rāja Sūrya was imprisoned and put to death subsequently. The Nayaks of Madura, p. 184. H. H. Wilson's reference to a Sētupati called Sūrya Dēva, who is said to have taken part in the fight along with Vijayarāghava in 1673 perhaps has reference to this Rāja Sūrya. The Historical Sketch of the Kingdom of Pandya, 1838, p. 55.
- 9. Inscriptions of the Marathas by Mr. T. Sambamurthy Rao. Nelson says that Ekōji marched upon Tanjore in the early part of 1675 and established his authority. The Madura Manual, pp. 194-5.

Additional Note by the Editor.—

"A statement given in the Marathi language by an old servant of the Tanjore palace, sometime before 1787 and of which a translation is printed in Appendix VI of Fullarton's A View of the English Interests in India mentions it as the 17th February 1675." The account was given by a writer under the Dabir and Manoji in the time of Pratap Singh and was given in its literal translation from the Marathi. It runs thus:—"The Yacojee Rajah was the first man who took possession of the fort and country of Tanjore from a Gentoo (Telugu) king; this event happened on the 7th day of February 1675, dated in Gentoo, Rauchina Nama Sumvacharum, Magah Suddha Septimee. It appears, from the books which are kept in the palace, that there were 5753, which said villages were divided into the five following subahs or districts; viz:—

Subah Trivady, Subah Combeconum, Subah Mayavaram, Subah Mannargoody, Subah Pattacotah and Subah Valumputt.

The country produced, in the year 1675, under the Yacojee Rajah, paddy cullums—32,050,000 (pp. 317-8 of A View of the English Interests in India, by W. Fullarton, London, 1781). Vyankoji Raja went from Tanjore to meet Shivaji in his camp to the north of the Coleroon in 1677 (September)—Shravan, Pingala, 1599 (Saka) according to the Jedhe Chronology, and after mutual greetings and

tioning the occupation of Tanjore by Ekōji, also supports this date. Thus Ekōji, who was sent out to assist Chengamaladās and to reestablish him on the throne, had himself usurped the throne and thereby brought to an inglorious end the Nayak dynasty of Tanjore, the last Nayak himself taking refuge in the west. What became of him is not known; and the traditions, varied as they are, do not admit of any verification. It is claimed by some that Chokkanatha gave Chengamaladās asylum and protected him. 10 Kavitvavēdi says that the descendants of the Tanjore Nayaks continued as jaghirdars under the Madura Nayaks and that a grand-daughter of Chengamaladās was married to Vijayaranga Chokkanatha Nayaka of Madura. 11

fraternising for eight days, Vyankoji got suspicious of the intentions of his brother and fled on a catamaran, across the river, without taking leave of his brother. Thereupon Sivaji seized his lands, 'Jagdeogad and the surrounding territory, and the whole province of Chidambar, and Vradhachal;" (See the Sabhasad of Krishnaji Anant. (cir. 1694) tr. of Mankhar).

A Tamil chronicler, Narayana Kone who wrote a detailed account of the history of the Carnatic with particular reference to the Gingee country and whose account was deemed to be fairly authentic and reliable, thus speaks of Vyankoji's usurpation at Tanjore:—"It is true that Shahji before his death had given to his younger son, Vyankoji (Venkoji), his jaghir of Bangalore. He had confided his son Venkoji to his Brahman minister, Raghunath Narayan Hanumante. For his part the latter considered Venkoji as his own son."

"Fired by ambition, Venkoji unjustly took possession eventually of the kingdom of Tanjore by force of arms. To pacify the country and make the population admit his authority, he had spent all the wealth amassed in the royal treasury (of Tanjore) by the previous king, Vijayarāghava Naicker. Far from succeeding, this subterfuge only seemed to alienate the neighbouring chiefs. He had to fight them incessantly and raise armies; which could not be done without enormous expenditure."

"Then famine having taken its part, it was not possible for him to levy heavier imposts on the inhabitants. Having deliberated he determined to confiscate the wealth of the temples which drew on him the hatred of Hanumante. He therefore took leave of his king under the pretext of making in his old age the pilgrimage to Benares. Really he went to see King Sivaji to inform him of the rapines and pillage (plunderings) of his brother." (Tamil Ms. Karnātaka Rājākkal Savistāra Charitam (in the Mackenzie collection)—Section VIII—and Guana Diagou's French rendering of the above—"Historie Distaillēē des Rois du Carnatic" par Narayanam Poulle—1939).

According to this chronicler, Vyankoji should have harried the whole country into poverty within a little over a year since Hanumante had left Tanjore even in the middle of 1676.

- 10. The Tanjore Manual, p. 753.
- 11. The Andhra Vangmayam, p. 214. Quoted also in Mr. Sitaramayya's work.

He further adds that Chengamaladās had a son called Vijayarāghava and a grandson by name, Vijaya Mannārappa. Still another view is that Chengamaladās went over to Ceylon along with his daughter, who was given in marriage to a Kandyan King. 12 Mr. Nelson gives some information apart from these traditional stories; but they are also not supported by any other plausible evidence. He says that Kilavan Sētupati, enlisted the co-operation of Chengamala Nāyakkan of Tanjore, who, it is said, was living then in perfect amity with the usurper Ekōji, against Madura. 13 However, an attempt was made by Kumāraiya, the Mysore general, to restore the old line of the Tanjore Nayaks, but it fell through for want of support and co-operation on the part of Chokkanatha, of Madura. 14

Chengamaladas was the last known member of the Tanjore Navak line and with his flight, the rule of the Nayaks came to an end. The Navaks of Tanjore, who rose to power and prominence under the powerful protection and patronage of the Vijayanagar Empire did not long survive the decline of that Empire. Ever since the accession of Sriranga Raya III in 1642, the fortunes of the Empire as well as that of Tanjore entered on a definite phase of decline; and the subsequent troubles caused by the invasions of Bijapur and Golconda ruined the life of the Tanjore kingdom. Tanjore could not continue for long, single-handed and unaided against these great odds, and so exhausted, she fell. The frequent depradations of the Muhammadan force dried the land of its resources. Besides, the traditional loyalty of Tanjore to the Empire made her an irreconcilable enemy to the neighbouring Madura Nayaks, who were always in a hostile attitude towards her. To these was added the succession of weak and feeble rulers like Vijayarāghava and Chengamaladās. And Vijayarāghava was to a large extent responsible for allowing the kingdom to drift away by his extreme piety, neglect of duty, and want of statesmanship. causes acting in unison and favoured by the political circumstances of the times brought about the downfall of the Nayak rule in Tanjore.

<sup>12.</sup> The Tanjore Manual, p. 753. Mr. Sitaramayya thinks that this is probable on the ground that a member of the Kandyan Royal family told him the same story. The Andhra Nayaka Charitam.

<sup>13.</sup> The Madura Manual, p. 213. Mr. Sathianatha Aiyar in his work makes no mention of this. Pp. 184-185.

<sup>14.</sup> The Nayaks of Madura, p. 182.

### CHAPTER X

### GENERAL FEATURES OF THE NAYAK RULE

The Tanjore Nayaks were technically and formally tributary vassals of the Vijayanagara Rayas and their vassalage is proved by their title Navak which signifies а captain  $\mathbf{or}$ governor. fief of the Taniore tributary Empire is testified clearly bv the Jesuit evidence. The present custom of appointing a governor only for a term of years was not then in general vogue and when once an appointment was made, it was continued without any break or change so long as the appointee remained loyal and faithful to the suzerain power. Thus gradually the system of hereditary succession began to take root even with respect to provincial governorships. Hindu kingship was never elective in practice and the appointment of Sevappa Nayaka as the governor of Tanjore by the Emperor Achyutarāya began practically a hereditary line. The Nayaks thus appointed, carried on the administration of the government as the Raya's deputy. As tributary rulers, they were obliged to pay an annual tribute to their overlords and to maintain an army. Whenever their help was requisitioned by the emperors they had to render necessary assistance and help and play their part as became loyal feudatories. As subordinates, the Nayaks had only limited powers regarding their relations with outside powers and neighbouring rulers. Above all, their subordination meant their comparative security from foreign aggression since the suzerain power looked after their interests and it also meant less expenditure on defence.

Though the Nayak was technically only a vassal, yet in his own jurisdiction he was the supreme and practically the uncontrolled head of the government and he enjoyed almost sovereign powers. The people looked upon him as God's nominee and there was always exhibited an affectionate reverence for his position. His words were final and none dared to find fault with his actions except on rare occasions, as it was believed according to the Hindu conception of state ideals, that the ruler could do no wrong. Even though the Nayak's power was not checked by any council of ministers or popular assembly, yet it could not be deemed to have been an autocracy or an irresponsible power. He had the usual checks and restrictions in the form of *Dharmaśāstras*, conventions and the traditional moral code as enjoined in the Hindu text-books on *Rājanīti* and *Dandanīti*. These were his guides and binding limitations in his work as administrator. Be-

sides, customary law, such as was embodied in the āchāra of the sishtās (conduct of the good) was much respected in the actual dispensation of justice; though it did not claim the same superiority as Dharma. As these laws were only to ensure a proper and good administration of the government and to put the king in the right path of Rajadharma, they were generally looked upon as inviolable checks upon the king's arbitrary power. The Nayak ruler, like other Hindu rulers, was a secular ruler as well as the protector of religion. The Navaks in general, do not seem to have transcended the limits imposed by the traditional moral code and the good and welfare of the people were never sacrificed for any selfish interests or motives. And since the Hindu polity never comprehended a constitutional monarch of the modern type, the welfare of the people depended in practice largely on the individual character of the ruler and hence sometimes good government was followed by grave misrule. In case of tyranny and oppression the subjects had no legal means of getting their grievances redressed and the idea of rising up in open rebellion was never thought of by the people except on very rare occasions of intolerable oppression. Under such circumstances, the people resorted to migrations to places beyond his jurisdiction. According to the Jesuit evidence, such migrations took place in the reign of Vijavarāghava Navaka on account of his heavy exactions to pay off the Muhammadan enemies. So also, in epochs of benevolent rule there were immigrations from other places into the country.

Practically the ruler's powers were limited by the prevailing moral codes; and the Nayak's rule was a benevolent despotism. Succession to the Nayakship was hereditary and the heir apparent called Yuvarāja, was given proper education and military training and was prepared in the art of government. The Raghunāthābhyudayam and the Sāhityaratnākaram refer to the early education of Raghunātha Nayaka in Rājanīti and in the art of handling the various weapons of warfare. Practical administrative training was also given to him by associating him in the working connected with the affairs of the administration. The ruling Nayaks gave abundant opportunity to their heirs, to get themselves fully acquainted with the functions of administration either by installing them on the throne openly or by associating them in rule. Such abdications to give full powers to the heirs and co-regencies, were resorted to when the ruler felt it was impossible for him to carry on the government, either on account of age or because of any crisis.

The Nayak was helped in the discharge of his duties by a number of officials, who formed a small council of advisers. Among them, the minister was the most important person. The office of 'Mantri' or 'Sachiva' was always held by men of great learning, integrity and inde-

pendence. According to the Hindu political idea the good of a state depended largely upon the king and his minister. And a king without a minister was compared to an elephant without its trunk. The Navaks of Tanjore had a council of ministers and the chief minister was called the Pradhāni.1 Under the Navaks this office was always held by Brahmans. Govinda Dikshita was minister to both Achyutappa Nayaka Raghunātha and the epigraphs tell us that he and his son was the Pradhāni as well as the agent (viceregent?) Navaks. Sāhityaratnākara The says that when Raghunātha started from his capital his famous expedition on his enemies, he entrusted Govinda Dikshita with the charge of the state. The powers enjoyed by the Pradhani and his influence, were second only to those of the king in importance. In his political status he was more even than the average Diwan and Prime-minister of the Indian States. The Nayak had great confidence in him and his advice was sought on all occasions. The Pradhāni was largely responsible for the shaping of the internal as well as the foreign policy of the state. Yagnanārāyana Dīkshita refers to the war council held by Achyutappa Nayaka and to the momentous part played by Govinda Dikshita therein.

Next in importance to the Pradhani was the Dalavay or the commander-in-chief of the forces. He was also called the Senapati; and he was responsible for preserving the internal peace and safety of the kingdom and also for defending it against external troubles and aggressions. The Dalayav seems to have combined in him the office of Pradhani and commander also under the Nayaks of Madura. But in Tanjore, the Dalavay was only in charge of the army and its management. He also tended advice to the king on the problem of defence of the land as well as on war. The Rayasam or Chief Secretary, corresponding to the Tirumandira Ōlai of the Cholas, was also an important officer under the Nayaks. He seems to have been the chief administrative officer, but did not enjoy the same importance and status as the Pradhani or Dalavay. He was the recorder and the executor of royal orders and was held responsible for the proper working of the civil departments of the state. Next in importance among the hierarchy of officials, was the officer called Attavanai or the chief

<sup>1.</sup> The Pradhāni is sometimes called the minister in charge of revenue. (The Nayaks of Madura, p. 237). Since the officer called Attavana is said to have been also in charge of this department, it is not possible to assign the portfolio of revenue to the Pradhāni of these times. See also, Studies in the Third Dynasty of Vijayanagara, p. 111.

accountant of the Revenue Department. He was the head of all the revenue officials who were called Sampratīs and Kaṇakkans (accountants). The Samprati had under his jurisdiction a number of Kaṇakkans, the accountants of individual villages. The head of the bhandāram (treasury) was called the Tōshikāna adhikāri and he was also an important official connected with the king's council of ministers. The Nayaks did not seem to have paid regular salaries or fixed amounts of remuneration to these officials and their establishments; their services were secured to the state by gifts of land known as mānya.

Yagnanārāvana Dikshita also refers to the system of espionage working under a regular department, then prevalent in the court of the Navaks. The spies had to make secret enquiries into the affairs of the people and study their disposition towards the state and other officials and also to report on the happenings in the neighbouring states. It is said that the news of the death of the emperor Venkatapati Rava I and the outbreak of the war of succession and the consequences thereof, were all quickly communicated to the Nayaka by these royal spies, who were men of great intelligence and skill. The reference in the Portuguese chronicles and in the English Factory Records to the Navak's warm reception of foreign ambassadors, shows that foreigners were treated with much friendliness and cordiality by the Nayaks. Father Nicholas Pimenta,<sup>2</sup> a Jesuit observer, tells us how cordially he was received by the Nayak of Tanjore. He says:- 'He (the Nayak) entertained us kindly and marvelled much that we chewed not the leaves of betel which were offered to us and dismissed us with gifts of precious clothes wrought with gold desiring a priest of us for his new city which (he) was building'. Captain John Bickley's account of the English voyage made from Bantam to Tanjore also contains references to the royal reception given by the king and his noblemen, to the English envoys at Tanjore.3

In the early part of their rule the Nayaks spent comparatively little on the defence of their kingdoms; but they always maintained an army. In course of time when the country was threatened by foreign invasions they had to devote more attention to defensive measures in order to ensure their own safety by erecting forts at places of strategic importance on the borders of the land. Thus the capital of Tanjore had first of all to be well fortified by the erection of a strong fortress with a deep moat full of water running round it. On the west of the

<sup>2.</sup> Purchas: His Pilgrims, Vol. X, p. 205

<sup>3.</sup> The English Factories, Vol. III (1624-29), pp. 13-14.

capital. Vallam was likewise fortified against the possible attacks of Madura rulers, and it was deemed to be a first line of defence for the Under Vijavarāghava these fortifications were further capital. strengthened and new fortresses were built at Pandanallur in the northeast. Arantangi on the south and at Pattukkottai and Tiruppattur on the south-west in order to prevent the sudden and unexpected attacks upon Tanjore by the Muhammadans, who had extended their power in the lower Carnatic and the Nayaks of Madura who always threatened the Vallam line of defence. As the safety depended upon the defence of these forts, considerable care and trouble were taken to maintain them in good order. Each fort was placed under the command of a loyal and trusted captain and was equipped with up-to-date weapons of offence and defence. The Jesuit letters speak of the artillery that were installed in these forts. Huge quantities of provisions also were stored up in these forts for the garrisons in case of siege. The Dalavav was the commander-in-chief and the commanders of these forts were his subordinates.

The Tanjore army was composed of infantry, cavalry and elephantry. Foreign mercenaries were also employed at times of need. The Sāhityaratnākara speaks of a camel corps forming a part of the Nayak's forces.4 The foot-soldiers carried with them long spears, broad swords, bows and arrows and the reference to agniyantras is evidence to the soldiers using firing guns. The use of muskets and cannon had become general in India in the sixteenth century, and had been familiarised by the Muhammadan powers of the Deccan and the European settlers of coast. The soldiers and helmets. wore armours The cavalry and the elephantry were all well caparisoned and were manned by trained soldiers. Each elephant was equipped with a howdah of iron-plates on its back. As these two arms formed important elements of the Nayak's forces, much attention was paid for their proper upkeep and maintenance. Portuguese accounts speak of the heavy prices which the Navaks paid the Moors for good cavalry mounts. Elephants were mostly bought from the Portuguese who imported them from Ceylon. According to an arrangement made by Antao Vaz Fereira in 1607, the Portuguese were allowed to sell the elephants captured in the forests of Cevlon, only to the Navak of Tanjore; and we find it stated 'according to the existing custom, the best purchaser being the Naik of Tanjore' in their records.5

<sup>4.</sup> Sāhityaratnākara, Chapter XIII, Sloka 5.

<sup>5.</sup> The Portuguese in Ceylon, Dr. Pieris. Also J. R. A. S., Ceylon Branch, Vol. 21, p. 102,

Nothing more is known of the way in which this huge army was officered or maintained. The king himself sometimes led the army to battle and took the field in person. Yagnanārāyana Dīkshita gives details of the materials required for erecting tents and also the other provisions that were carried by the soldiers. Reference has already been made to the soldiers taking with them a medicinal herb which had healing properties. No definite information is available from the sources regarding the navy of the Nayaks; however, the reference to small dhonies or junks in the Portuguese chronicles and which were used in the fighting on the Jaffna coast support the view that the Nayaks of Tanjore had small ships equipped with guns and soldiers with the aid of which they seem to have transported their troops to the coast of Ceylon and carried on their oceanic warfare.

Unlike the Madura Navaks the Navaks of Tanjore had no pālaiyams\* (i.e., feudal estates let out on condition of military tenure and with wide power of administration given to the holders) under them but there were numerous agents of the Nayak, who were in charge of small administrative divisions.<sup>6</sup> They were the official representatives of the Navak and the collector of royal dues and taxes. The kingdom was divided into a number of divisions called nādus; and each nādu was further divided into several māhānas or sēēmé. Each sēēmé was composed of numerous villages, which were called by several names such as ūr, kudi, mangalam, grāmam, kurichchi etc. The village was the smallest administrative unit of the state and it was governed by village officials. Each village had a headman, a kanakkan (accountant) and a talayāri or watchman. The local needs of the village were attended to by these officials with the aid of representative householders, who formed a small council akin to our modern Panchayats. As the Nayaks did not seem to have introduced any change with regard to the village administration, it may be held that the old Chola system of rural administration was continued. John Neiuhoff says that 'each village has two judges, who are much respected by the inhabitants.'

\*Definite conclusions on this point are not possible in the present state of our knowledge. Nayak rule, being feudatory in its origin; naturally tended to promote sub-infeudation of a kind. In the other Nayak states of Madura and Gingee, the grant of fiefs on a quasi-military tenure formed the general rule. The existence of fiefs like Papanad, etc., in Tanjore may point to some degree of prevalence of the same tendency, though it was largely limited by the nature of the village organisation.

6. The epigraphs mention a number of agents. One of such agents at Karaikal is called in the English Records, as the local governor.

The administration of justice was not based upon any elaborate establishment. In the villages, justice was administered by the village officials themselves with the aid of learned men and selected boards Arbitration, however, was largely in vogue. of arbitrators. disputes regarding ownership of property, were settled by the arbitrators. Dispute of a general nature involving social and religious rights were heard by the king, who was believed to be the fountain of justice. The Nayak was helped in his capacity as the final appellate authority by the Pradhāni and other learned men, who were summoned by the king on those occasions. In the absence of the ruler, the Pradhāni took his place and presided over the court generally called Dharmasala. 'Trials were held in public in the sense that people were allowed to attend and to witness the trail but not to offer their opinions. An inscription from Pattīswaram refers to a settlement made by the Pradhāni of a dispute in which the Pattunulkarars (weavers) and the Chettis (merchants) were involved. The petition or Valakkumurai made to the Pradhāni was the result of a dispute regarding the procedure in the receipt of betel leaves and arecanuts during marriages. The exact details of the settlement are not available to us, but the reference to the vow made by both the parties to supply a new cloth worth five panams to the goddess of the local temple in case of transgression of the terms of this settlement, shows that the dispute was settled in a manner that was satisfactory to the contending parties.7 Generally, punishments took the form of a fine or penalty but in extra-ordinary cases involving criminal offences, the culprit was put into prison where he was detained. The Jesuit letters refer to the prisoners, who were detained at the Vallam fort.

The coastal region was, at the several ports, in the hands of foreigners like the Portuguese, the Danes and the Dutch. The Nayaks do not seem to have possessed any control either fiscal or judicial over them. The Nayaks cared only for their revenue-returns from their trade operations, the regular payment of which maintained happy relations between them and the rulers of the land. A cowle given to the Dutch contains provisions by which Vijayarāghava Nayaka was obliged to hand over back to them such offenders, who might have escaped from their settlements in fear of punishment.

The main source of revenue was the land tax, besides taxes on various articles of merchandise. There were also taxes levied on different professions like the goldsmith's tax and the grazing tax.<sup>8</sup> According

<sup>7, 257</sup> of 1927.

<sup>8. 22</sup> of 1897 refers to the remission of taxes on goldsmiths. 460 of 1922 mentions the grazing tax of three panams per annum.

to the Jesuit evidence, the king took half of the produce of land as land tax. Payments were generally made in cash. A letter dated 1683 says that Ekōji was receiving money payments as revenue. Vijayarāghava's grant of a charter to the Dutch at Negapatam bears evidence to the existence of a mint at Taniore. The Dutch. who also permitted to issue coins of their own were asked to mint coins of the same weight and fineness as was done at the capital. However, sufficient details are wanting to explain in full the working of the revenue system, the nature of the taxes and their incidence. Another source of income was the rent paid by foreigners who had settled on the coast. The epigraphs mention a number of miscellaneous taxes as forming a source of the state revenue; but nothing is known about their character. Some of these taxes were made over to corporations and individuals in recognition of their meritorious services and also to temples and public charities. Lands also were gifted away to temples and charitable institutions free of taxes. The taxes were collected from the people by the village officials and remitted to the royal treasury.9 The first item of expenditure was the remittance of the tribute due to the suzerain power. It is not known for certain, how much Tanjore paid as tribute; and Father Vico in his letter dated A.D. 1611 says that Tanjore had to pay an annual tribute of six to ten million francs. 10 The ordinary items of expenditure other than the tribute, included the maintenance of the army, public works and charities of public utility and welfare. As the Nayaks had not many poligars under them, they had to maintain a large army at a considerable cost. Large sums of money were spent towards the maintenance, construction and renovation of temples as the State had to look after the spiritual needs of the people. Much was also spent on public charities such as the maintenance of feeding institutions, also on public works like digging of tanks and canals for purposes of irrigation and also in building flights of steps leading to the bathing ghats at many places, on the banks of the Cauvery. Though the irrigational system of the land was fairly well laid by the Cholas, yet the Navaks seem to have added more irrigational facilities to the agriculturists by spending large sums of money on such projects. The epigraphs and the literary evidence refer to the construction of a dam across the Cauvery by Achyutappa Nayaka. Likewise numerous tanks were dug up for storing up water against the possible failure of monsoons.

<sup>9. 194</sup> of 1922. Refers to the amount payable to the palace by the people (Uravar) of the Nodiyūr village.

<sup>10.</sup> La Mission du Madure, Vol. II, p. 124.

Commerce was carried on mainly by foreign merchants and the Navaks did not seem to have generally encouraged trade enterprise on the part of their subjects. The reference in inscriptions to the export and import duties shows that there was foreign trade but it was not conducted by the natives. There was however, a large volume of internal trade carried on by the native merchants. Large quantities of articles were transported from one place to another. Men and packanimals were employed in the transportation of goods from place to place and the internal means of communication were not at all suitable for the rapid transport of commodities. As the highways were infested with robbers, the merchants generally travelled in groups. The English Factory Records speak of the foreign trade carried on by the Portuguese and the Danes on the Coromandel Coast. Reference is also made to the excellent quality of the Coromandel cloth. 'The goods made in the Naick's country far exceeds Pulicat in colours, goodness and cheapness Negapatam was the most important trading centre under the Portuguese merchants. Although Caesar Federike speaks of it 'as a country of small trade,' Barbosa gives a good account of the trade carried on there and also its importance. He says that "a large number of ships from Malabar sail hither every year, most of them to take cargoes of rice by which they make great profits, and bring hither abundance of goods from Cambaya, copper, quicksilver, vermillion, pepper and goods of other kinds. In this province of Charamandel are also found many sorts of spices and drugs which come from the kingdom of Malacca, China and Bengal.' He also refers to the native Hindu merchants called Chettis, (the common caste title of the trading classes) and says that they were very cunning in every kind of traffic in goods. The English Records speak of pepper, calicoes, indigo used in Europe for dying, saltpetre, raw cotton yarn and fine cotton clothes as chief articles of export while the imports were broad clothes and other woollen stuffs chiefly of English manufacture, tin, lead, quicksilver, ivory from Africa, coral from the Mediterranean, gold and silver embroideries, sword blades, knives and glass. The foreign merchants are said to have made large profits.

Agriculture was the most important industry of the land and it flourished under the careful patronage and protection of the state. The state gave encouragement to this industry by providing irrigational facilities. Sugarcane also was grown on a large scale and the cultivation of cane fostered the manufacture of jaggery and sugar. However these industries were run only on a small scale. Fruit growing and gardening were other supplementary occupations of the people; and the Portuguese writers refer to the abundance of fruit that were available in the

land. The most important of the textile industries was the weaving of cotton cloth and the dyeing industry must have been highly developed, since the foreign evidence speaks in glowing terms, about the coloured and the painted cloth of the Coromandel Coast. Another industry that flourished under the Nayaks was the making of salt not only by those who lived near the coast, but also by inland people. The Nayaks fostered these industries as they were a source of revenue to the state. It may be said in passing that most of the articles needed for consumption were locally produced except a few luxuries like silk and glass, which were imported from outside.

The Nayaks continued the traditional Hindu attitude of religious toleration and impartial patronage by extending their patronage to all religious sects. Even though they were the followers of Vaishnavism yet, they supported all the Hindu sects. Sevappa Nayak's grant of lands in favour of a Muhammadan mosque at Tanjore, his permitting the Christians to come and settle in his country, his gifts to Siva temples and his grant of lands to the Madhwa teacher, Vijayındra Tirtha, these show the general attitude of the Nayaks and his religious catholicity. His successors also were great patrons of all these institutions like him. The reference in the chronicles to the mass feeding of Brahmans done by the Nayaks, again stands testimony to their high regard and respect with which they left undisturbed the traditional classes and castes of society. The Brahmans seem to have enjoyed special privileges and their services were utilised for the good of the administration and for the welfare of the people. The three important religious faiths that received royal patronage were, Saivism, Vaishnavism and the Dwaita cult of Madhwa. The Nayaks were close adherents of their faith and as enjoined in the scriptures, they made pilgrimages to holy places. Both the Raghunāthābhyudayam and the Sāhityaratnākara speak of the austere lives led by the Nayaks. social institutions of Sati and purdah were confined mostly to the royal and noble families. The Nayaks were all polygamists and the prevalence of Sati in the ruling family is proved by the foreign evidence of Jesuit letters. Both Rāmabhadrāmba and Yagnanārāyana Dīkshita refer to the presence of courtesans, who formed part of the society.

The Nayaks were great patrons of learning and it is said that about fifty four poets and men of letters lived and flourished during their time.<sup>11</sup> In spite of all this, yet it appears that the state did not take an active interest in imparting education to the public. 'There are no ins-

<sup>11.</sup> P. S. Sastri: Introduction to The Descriptive Catalogue of the Mss. in the Tanjore Serfoji Maharaja's Saraswathi Mahal Library at Tanjore.

criptions to show that they founded a public school, but at the same time it cannot be said that they were indifferent to the promotion of learning. Education was largely left to private enterprise but patronage was extended to them by grant of lands and other gifts. The numerous agraharas which they founded were all centres of learning but it was not open to all communities. Besides Sanskrit, Tamil and Telugu were also encouraged by them. They made liberal grants to mathas and temples which were also centres of learning. The presence of numerous poetesses shows the high level of culture and learning attained by women. The Nayaks attracted learned men from other parts by holding literary durbars frequently. It is said that the Telugu drama known as Yakshagāna had its origin during their time. The internal evidence bears ample testimony to the great interest evinced by the rulers in theatrical and other amusements such as the Bommalātta or figurine play.12 The Yakshagāna is a dramatic composition 'set to music and sung and acted upon the stage accompanied by instrumental music.' Rāmabhadrāmba also mentions skilled women artists, who were pastmasters in the art of dancing. Raghunātha is said to have witnessed such dance recitals and the palace itself contained a stage. There were also women, who could play on the musical instruments such as the Veena and the Mridanga and to the accompaniment of which the palace dancers danced in the presence of the king. Fine arts such as painting, sculpture and music reached a high level of perfection and excellence under them. The Raghunāthābhyudaya Nātakam of Vijayarāghava refers to the decoration of the palace walls with portrait paintings depicting historical events and the coronation durbars. The Nayaks' patronage of music and their high appreciation of it are all recorded in the chronicles. Raghunātha himself was a great lover of music and he was an accomplished Veena player. He wrote the Sangitasudhānidhi which was soon followed by the Chaturdandiprakāsika of Vēņkatamakhi. The latter is called the rejuvenator of Carnatic Music, while the former enriched the science of music by his original contributions such as the discovery of new ragas like Jayantasena and talas called Ramananda.

The Nayaks of Tanjore thus largely contributed to the advance and progress of the material welfare of their subjects and even though they were not able to make any substantial contribution either to the science of politics or administration, yet they occupy an honourable place among great patrons, for their deep love of learning, encouragement and patronage of learned men, music and painting. The most notable contributions of their benevolent rule are still discernible in the field of lite-

rature and music. The present magnificent Tanjore Palace Library is said to have been enlarged from the nucleus left by the Nayaks. The important results of their rule were the migration of a large number of Telugu speaking people into the Tamil land and the evolving of a colloquial form of Telugu with a large admixture of Tamil words. Though they were Telugus by birth, they soon endeared themselves to the Tamil people by their benevolence, justice and love. Their rule was equally noted for its moderation as for its equity and though they were foreigners in the Tamil country at the time of their advent, they made Tanjore their home and became quickly an integral element of the country and continued the traditional policy of protection of the subjects and patronage of religion, arts and letters. Thus the Nayak rule in Tanjore forms, from the cultural point of view, a most pleasing epoch in the history of the South Indian people.

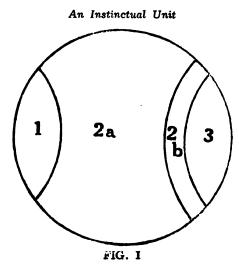
### The Hormic Theory

# (BEING AN EXPOSITION AND A CRITICAL EVALUATION WITH ORIGINAL SUGGESTIONS FOR THE IMPROVEMENT AND EXTENSION OF WILLIAM McDOUGALL'S PSYCHOLOGICAL THEORY).

By

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An instinct, then, is "an inherited or innate psycho-physical disposition which determines its possessor to perceive, and to pay attention to, objects of a certain class, to experience an emotional excitement of a particular quality upon perceiving such an object, and to act in regard to it in a particular manner, or, at least, to experience an impulse to such action." There are, then, three distinguishable elements in the innate mental structure designated instinctive. There is first, the perceptive aspect, secondly the central or emotional aspect, and thirdly the executive, active or behavioural aspect. If we keep our mind constantly alert and do not succumb to the usual temptations besetting the spatialisation of mental facts, then we can see clearly the significance of these three aspects as represented in the diagram below.



The Tripartite Conception of Instinctual Structure and Function
(1. The perceptual aspect, 2a. The emotional aspect, 2b. The Expressions of
Emotion and 3. The behavioural aspect).

Let us, for the sake of simplicity consider a fundamental instinct, the instinct of flight or escape, with its concomitant emotion of fear. In its most primitive and elementary form, as it operates in the minds of very young children, it is stimulated by sudden loud rasping noise, sudden loss of support or physical pain; these excitants of the instinctive structure of the mind generate the emotion of fear, and the resulting behaviour is the loud cry of the child. In the case of the adult, the "objects" which excite fear may be many and varied, their number and quality being determined by experience. But, running through all of

them we may detect one common characteristic, namely, anticipation of pain, physical or mental. Experience teaches the adult to be afraid of many things and persons, and often the springs of fear sink deep down into the unfathomable (or unconscious) strata of the mind. The person who is the "patient" may not know why he is afraid or even of what. Similarly, on the final behavioural side too the adult has learnt to check and control his actions so that he might put on the mark of courage. The natural reaction of the adult to any object exciting fear, is flight to a place of safety, and lying hid in that place. So, the first and third aspects of an instinct are subject to considerable modifications in adult experience, and the only aspect which remains constant is the central affective or emotional aspect. The emotion pertaining to or con-

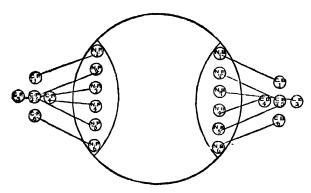


FIG. II.

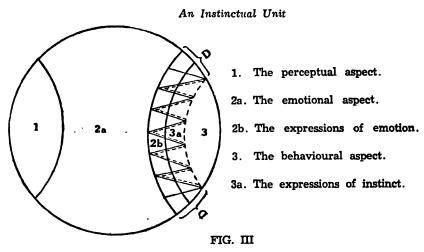
Conditioning of the perceptual and behavioural aspects of the instinctual structure of mind according to Pavlovian principles.

N.P. 1—6 are the natural stimuli which excite the perceptual aspect of the instinctual structure of the mind. C.P. 1—6 are the artificial or conditioned stimuli which replace N.P. 1—6 according to the principles laid down by Pavlov. N.B. 1—6 are the natural acts of behaviour.

C.B. 1-6 are the learnt or conditioned acts which replace N.B. 1-6 respectively.

comitant with the instinctive structure of mind has, therefore, been held by McDougall to be of considerable importance, as it enables us to identify the instinct at work. "....the afferent or receptive part and the efferent or motor part are capable of being greatly modified, independently of one another and of the central part, in the course of the life history of the individual; while the central part persists throughout life as the essential unchanging nucleus of the disposition. Hence in man, whose intelligence and adaptability are great, the afferent and efferent parts of each instinctive disposition are liable to many modifications, while the central part alone remains unmodified; .......... the emotional excitement,....., is the only part of the total instinctive

process that retains its specific character and remains common to all individuals and all situations in which the instinct is excited....each kind of emotional excitement is always an indication of, and the most constant feature of, some instinctive process."<sup>15</sup> An emotion, then, is the central, invariable, distinctive, characteristic aspect of every instinctive process. This simple relationship, which is scientifically accurate, between instinct and emotion, was perceived clearly for the first time by McDougall, and its formulation in clear psychological terms is one of the outstanding contributions of our author to psychological theory. We shall return later to a detailed discussion of this very important topic of the nature of instinct—emotion relationship. At this stage, however, in order to make the hormic picture of the structure of instinct complete in all its details, we must notice the connection between the expression of emotion, and the expression of the instinct in the form of action or behaviour.



The expressions of the emotions and the expressions of the Instinct.

(The dovetailing in the region marked DD is to be noticed.)

When an instructual structure of the mind is stimulated by an appropriate excitant, then, there surges up a specific emotion which has its own bodily counterparts. These expressions of the emotion, both internal and external, have been studied carefully and recent developments in endocrinology have served to throw valuable light on the whole problem of the utility of these neuro-muscular and glandular activities. In fear, for example, the occurrence of the heightened activity of the adrenals, and the heart; the cessation of digestive activities; the withdrawal of the blood stream from the face, stomach and inte-

stines, and its concentration in the muscles to be exercised in flight; and such other activities have been carefully studied, and it has been shown how these are all directed towards one definite aim, namely, that of helping and accelerating the activity appropriate to the instinct, of which the emotion is the central aspect. Flight, is the natural activity pertaining to the instinct of escape, and all the "expressions of the emotion" of fear are organised to serve the cause of "flight". The expressions of the emotions fit snugly into the activity of the instinct and further that activity. This observation is true generally of all instincts, and it is well to remember that sustained and patient experimentation is at the back of this hormic conclusion.

We should remind ourselves that our discussion is confined to the primitive, natural level of mental structure, and that the more sophisticated levels of behaviour will be dealt with later. No purpose will be served by confusing the higher sentimentative level of human behaviour with the primitive instinctual level, and applying the principles properly belonging to the latter for the elucidation of the former.

The picture, then, that we get of the elements of the hormic structure of the mind is that each one of these elements (or instincts) is excited by certain natural stimuli which in the course of experience may be replaced or added to by many others, having sometimes very remote and slender connections with the original excitants (and may be, no connection at all). The process of conditioning which has come to exercise a wide-spread (but not altogether healthy) fascination over the minds of psychologists belongs here. Conditioning is identical with the process of grafting in trees. Without the living stem the graft is worse than useless. The instinctive structure is the living dynamic stem in the grafting process known as conditioning.

The appropriate excitant having been received by the instinct, there surges up the emotion, the constant central aspect, whose expressions flow into the last or behavioural aspect and help to sustain or accelerate it. But, as in the case of the first aspect, the last also is subject to very considerable modifications through experience. It is supposed to be the high water mark of the so-called civilised behaviour of the modern age to inhibit completely the natural activity appropriate to the basic instincts of human nature. Such inhibition carries with it the inhibition of some of the more marked outward expressions of the emotion of that instinct.

#### Section X. The Hormic list of Instincts.

The significant question now arises, "How many of these basic elements (called instincts), which hormic psychology has isolated and

A Comparative Statement of Fundamental (mental) Structures as developed in McDougall's three great works. 16

	Social Psychology	An Outline	Energies	
	1	2	3	
1.	Flight (Fear)	(f) Escape (Fear)	(d) Fear	
2.	Repulsion (Disgust)	(e) Repulsion (Disgust)	(b) Disgust	
3.	Curiosity (Wonder)	(c) Curiosity (Curiosity)	(e) Curiosity	
4.	Pugnacity (Anger)	(b) Combat (Anger)	(j) Anger	
5.	Self-abasement (Subjection)	(h) Self-submission (Subjection)	(i) Submission	
6.	Self-assertion (Elation)	(i) Self-assertion (Elation)	(h) Self-assertion	
7.	Parental Instinct (Tender Emotion)	(a) Parental or Protective instinct (Tender Emotion)	(f) Protective or Parental instinct	
	Some other instincts of less well-defined emotional tendency.			
8.	Reproduction	(i) Mating (Lust)	(c) Sex	
9.	Gregariousness	(j) Gregariousness	(g) Gregariousness	
10.	Acquisition	(k) Acquisitiveness (Ownership)	(m) Acquisition	
11.	Construction	(1) Constructiveness (Creativity)	(l) Construction	
12.		(d) Food-seeking (Gusto)	(a) Food-seeking	
13.		(m) Appeal (Distress) Some Minor Instincts	(k) Appeal	
14.		(n) Laughter (Amusement)	(n) Laughter	
15.			(o) Comfort	
16.			(p) Rest or sleep	
17.			(q) Migration	
18.			(r) Simple bodily needs.	

<sup>16.</sup> The letters within brackets in columns 2 and 3 indicate the order in which the elements of mental structure are discussed in *An Outline* and *Energies* respectively.

analysed with such clarity, are there in the human mind?" McDougall has given different answers in his different epoch marking books, and this fact has been used as one of the arguments against the validity of the hormic theory. We are familiar with the phenomenon of the steady number chemical of elements. increase in the little over seventy, the number has come up to a little less than hundred. Yet, no one has felt the need for attacking the foundations of chemistry, because it has been adding to the list of its elements. If through addition to knowledge it is found that there is need to add to the basic elements of the constitution of human nature. one need not take any objection to the expansion of the list of instincts. If we keep this important consideration in mind we shall not easily be tempted to do injustice to the contributions of hormic psychology in this field.

The table (vide page 331) sets forth clearly the development of McDcugall's conception of the number and nature of the fundamental elements of human mental structure. In the earliest work, "An Introduction to Social Psychology" (1908), the list is short, containing only seven major instincts and four minor ones, the line of distinction being decided by the fact that the former have well-defined emotions, while the latter lack such clear identifying central affective tendencies. Distinctness of emotion is here made the test for the recognition of an independent instinct. In "An Outline of Psychology" (1923) the name instinct is still retained, though there are included in the list, which is nearly twice as long as the original list in the Social Psychology, many instincts which do not have any clearly distinguishable emotions. chooses to name the affective aspects of these, after the instincts themselves with the prefix "feeling of." It will also be noticed that there are not many changes in the names of the instincts. But, when we come to the Energies of Men (1932) we meet many fundamental changes. The term "instinct" is abandoned, and replaced by "propensity". A new conception, that of "ability," is introduced. The names have been altered. In many instances the propensities are given the names of the The "Emotion" test is abandoned, and the list is nearly emotions. trebled. Along-side these changes, a fundamental change in McDougall's view of instinct has occurred. A criticism of this change will constitute the main theme of one of the later parts of this monograph. At present. it is sufficient to note that that there is an evolution in the hormic conception of the instinctual structure of the mind.

#### Section XI. The Hindu and Hormic lists of Instincts.

We may, in passing, make a remark of great interest, and of some importance to our general theme. Ancient Hindu Psychology, working

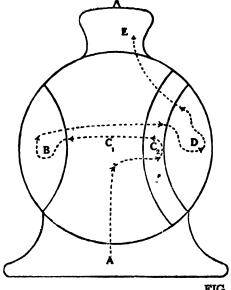
in the field of aesthetics; put forward a list of elements of human mental structure similar to McDougall's first list. In the Rasa (or aesthetic) scheme of the ancient literary critics eight Sthayi Bhavas (or fundamental propensities) were recognised. These were anger, fear, disgust, wonder, assertion, mirth, love and sympathy. The first eight elements mentioned in the first column of the comparative table seem to have been admitted by Hindu Psychology, except submission, which was evidently identified with fear. Sympathy is not considered to be a separate instinct by McDougall, but only a peculiar characteristic of all instincts. What was said in another context may be repeated here with profit. "The sthayi bhavas are the propensities of western psychology, and of these Krodha, bhaya, jugupsa, and vismaya may be accepted as being really elemental. Hāsya should be interpreted as laughter, and rati as simple sex passion (or lust). Soka is not elemental, and so it should be replaced by tender emotion which is the most fundamental component of the complex texture of soka. Utsaha should be replaced by self-assertion. With these modifications we may accept the foundation of the Rasa theory....There is remarkable resemblance between the two lists—the Hindu and the McDougallian....<sup>17</sup>

#### Section XII. Hormic Orientation to Psychological Studies.

We have not yet reached the point where the unique features of hormic psychology could be set forth and evaluated; but even at this early stage it is well to notice a most valuable contribution made by hormic psychology. McDougall's psychological theory has given a definite orientation to psychological studies. It has made it possible for the psychologist to organise the topics of his study round a central dynamic point. One of the major requirements of a well-developed science is that its parts (that is, the component topics of study which constitute the whole) should be throughly organised. A science which lacks internal organisation in its limbs is in a sorry plight indeed. And psychology was in this unenviable position far a long time. Through overemphasis on the cognitive aspects, the affective and conative parts were hard to fit into a purely intellectualistic psychology. Even the great work of James suffers from this defect. The two volumes of his work, "The Principles of Psychology", are in conflict with each other, because two conflicting principles govern the outlook in these tomes. The elementary text books, dealing with the so called faculties, lack internal cohesion. A well known and popular text-book like Angell's Psychology suffers from this defect. Starting with a consideration of

<sup>17.</sup> Naidu, P. S., "The Rasa Doctrine and the Concept of Suggestion in Hindu Aesthetics." Journal of the Annamalai University, Vol. X, 1940.

the general nature and aim of psychology, the author enters into a description of the nervous system, and then he places before us Chapters on Attention, Sensation, Perception, Memory, Imagination, Reasoning, Feeling, Emotion etc. Each chapter might very well constitute a monagraph. If we look at a recent book such as Professor Woodworth's Psychology, the situation is not any different. The order of chapters is changed, but the same incoherence persists. There is no binding principle or thread running through all the chapters, uniting them and conferring point and purpose on them. In other words, psychology as expounded by these authors lacks a great orienting principle. And McDougall's hormic theory, for the first time in the history of psychology, has endowed the whole science with an orienting concept, the concept being the hormic theory itself. Purpose is the orienting concept for which psychology has been waiting all these years. Its entry into our science has immediately given the proper direction to all the topics usually discussed, and has generated a vital and dynamic inter-relation beween them. The following diagram indicates at a glance the result of hormic orientation to psychological studies.



Major Topics of Study.

- A: Basic activity. Purpose, Instinct and Sentiment.
- C<sub>1</sub> & 2: Emotions and Feeling, and their expressions.
- B: Intelligence, Learning, Memory, Imagination, Observation (including Attention and Perception) and Thinking.
- D: Reflex, Habit and Voluntary Action
- E: Character and Personality.

FIG. IV

Reorganisation, according to Hormic Principles, of the ordinary topics of study in an introductory course in Psychology. (The dotted lines and arrows indicate the sequence of Topics.)

The central theme of the whole psychological study of men and

animals is purposive behaviour. Hence the opening chapters of a properly written book on psychology will deal with behaviour, and with the innate mental structure whose function is behaviour, that is, the instincts (or the basic elements of structure) and their emotions will be the main theme of the introductory chapters, and lest the confusion which persists should last longer, it will be shown how these basic elements are organised into sentiments, and how these sentiments are the immediate activating causes of behaviour. The detailed analysis of the structure of the basic innate elements of mental constitution will be made, and the relationship between the cognitive, affective and conative aspects will be clearly displayed. In the next section the general nature of emotion and feeling, and the affective tone of the working of instinctual structures—namely, pleasure and unpleasure—will be discussed. In the third section the various topics of traditional cognitive import will be dealt with, but at every stage, and even at the risk of causing inconvenience by monotonous repetition, it will be pointed out that sensation, perception, attention, learning, observation, memory etc., have no meaning and no function to fulfil apart from conation. All these processes will be displayed as merely the results of the flowering out of the first aspect of the instinctual structure of the mind. They are merely so many ways in which the first or perceptive aspect of the basic structure works. It is conation that confers meaning, continuity and value on these processes. As Alexander rightly pointed out "there is no element of cognition in the mental process itself." The discussion of the ubiquitous "conditioned Reflex" will belong here, and it will be shown how this type of reflex can flourish only on a conative basis. The last section will deal with the active side of mental structure. Will, choice, habit, decision etc., will be covered by this section. And finally the crowning problem of personality will be taken up and all the threads will be gathered up in the hormic discussion of character. Thus, nothing that was discussed by the older types of inchoate psychology will be lost sight of. All the topics will be preserved; they will be made living and dynamic members of a purposefully organised system of study controlled and animated by a single aim—the establishment of the hormic theory. Such a well oriented science of psychology has been made possible by the genius of McDougall and Freud.

#### CHAPTER II

#### INSTINCT, BEHAVIOUR AND SENTIMENT

#### Section I. The Hormic Theory again.

Even at the risk of causing some inconvenience to the reader by repetition, it becomes necessary to state the hormic theory again, because it has been misunderstood, sometimes wilfully, but often through ignor-The theory has been stated in a most admirable manner by McDougall himself in "An Outline of Psychology." "The view that all animal and human behaviour is purposive in however vague and lowly a degree, and that purposive action is fundamentally different from mechanical processes, may be conveniently called the hormic theory. The word "hormic" is from the Greek "horme" which means a vital impulse or urge to action. Professor T. P. Nunn expounds the theory clearly in his book "Education, Its Data and First Principles," and Mc-Dougall in quoting from this work says, "starting from the position that there is more than physics and chemistry even in the humblest animal, it (the hormic theory) comes to view the history of life as a striving toward the individuality which is expressed most clearly and richly in man's conscious nature, and finds, therefore, in that goal toward which the whole creation moves the true interpretation of its earlier efforts."

"We need a name for the fundamental property expressed in the incessant adjustments and adventures that makes up the tissue of life. We are directly aware of that property in our conscious activities as an element of "drive", "urge" or felt tendency toward an end. Psychologists call it conation, and give the name conative process to any train of conscious activity which is dominated by such a drive..... To this element of drive or urge, whether it occurs in the conscious life of men and the higher animals or in the unconscious activities of their bodies and the (presumably) unconscious behaviour of the lower animals, we propose to give a single name horme. In accordance with this proposal all the purposive processes of the organism are hormic processes, conative process being the sub-class whose members have the special mark of being conscious. ....the hormic processes undergo a "development in which they become organised into ever wider and more complex hormic systems. Beginning as a cell in his mother's body, a very part of her flesh, he (each man) becomes a "parasite" nourished by her blood and feeding on her food, yet already a being with a life and destiny of his own. The hormic processes, both conservative and creative, in which

that life consists, are still mainly unconscious though, as his nervous system determines and his sense organs form, his "Will to live" may be enriched by some vague conational, that is, conscious elements, while he still lies in his mother's womb. As soon as he has left her body and has entered on the long task of picking his way through the labyrinth of the outer world, the conational elements acquire a new significance, and their development becomes the centre of the Spectator's interest. Conation rises from the level of blind, or purblind, impulse to that of clear-eved desire and eventually from the level of desire seeking an immediate good to that of will fixed upon a distinct and perhaps ideal goal. Meanwhile, subserving this advance in the character of the horme, there is a parallel development in its organisation-showing itself first in the emergence of his physiological organs and in the correlation of their functions, then after birth, in the co-ordination of the powers of sense and movement in systems of ever-increasing complexity and effectiveness, and lastly in the gradual building up of great conative hierarchies, which determine the form of the man's individuality and are the measure of his life's achievement."

The general foundation for the hormic theory as sketched by Professor Nunn has been adopted by McDougall, and the structure built upon it by scientific methods has been discussed by us. Two points in the discussion have to be singled out for special mention and emphasis because the wide-spread misunderstanding of the hormic theory arises out of them. In the first place it should be remembered that McDougall uses the term instinct in a highly specialised and technical sense. Its connotation is as rigorously and clearly defined as that of force in physics or of species in biology. It is no excuse for muddled thinking to say that instinct is used very loosely in popular speech, and so McDougall should have avoided the term in his system. Force and species too are used vaguely and loosely in popular speech. Yet no scientist is worried by this double usage. Why should a concession conceded to the physical and biological sciences be denied to phychology? In a way McDougall did give in to his critics by removing instinct from his psychology and using propensity in its stead. But he need not have yielded even an inch of his hard won ground. It is this apparent climb down that is responsible for a great deal of confusion in the subsequent development of his system.

#### Section II. Instinct and its Motor mechanisms.

Instinct, as a fact of mental structure, embraces three aspects, the cognitive, the emotional and the behavioural, and no one of these taken by itself may be called "instinct". Popular misconceptions arise

out of a tendency to get pre-occupied with the last aspect alone. We can, however, understand this fallacy and sympathise with the deficient mentality behind it, for the popular mind is not gifted with powers of analysis, nor does it know how to argue from observed facts to causes which control the facts. But when scientists commmit the same fallacy we are puzzled and often discouraged. Long lists of instinctive activities are given by the behaviourists and others who place undue emphasis on the working of the neuro-muscular mechanism instincts. Hunting has been very widely described instinct; eating is another instinct; and so are swallowing and digesting. Commenting on this tendency to multiply the number of innate capacities McDougall writes, "they postulated strange instincts of all kinds as lightly and easily as a conjurer produces eggs from a hat or a phrenologist discovers bumps on a head."2 "Lightly to postulate an indefinite number of variety of human instincts in a cheap and easy way to solve psychological problems, and is an error hardly less serious and less common than the opposite error of ignoring all the instincts."3 It will be seen at once that hunting, eating, swallowing and digesting are merely so many stages in the last aspect of the food-seeking instinct. In the same way many reflexes and acquired motor skills are used in the service of the innate instinctive structure of the mind, just as a well organised rail-route may be used in the service of commerce, travel, business, pleasure and military transport. The muscular activities mentioned above are not instincts, but only parts of instinctive organisations which are mental in essence. If it be remembered that an instinct, as the term is used in hormic psychology, is a fact of mental organisation, this blunder of identifying motor activity with instinct can be easily avoided. An instinct does, of course involve, instinctive activity, but it embraces much else besides. It includes an emotion and a cognitive disposition. To neglect these two factors and to call the activity alone instinctive is inexcusable in hormic physology. McDougall is very clear on this point. "I see no reason" he says, "why these complex coordinated movements should be regarded as the expressions of so many distinct instincts. In my view they are essentially the expressions of motor mechanisms...... We have to regard such motor mechanisms not as instincts, but merely as the instruments of instincts".4

<sup>1.</sup> L. Bernard in his book on "Instinct" discusses the outrageous use which the term has been put to.

<sup>2.</sup> Social psychology, p. 7.

<sup>3.</sup> Ibid., p. 75.

<sup>4.</sup> An Outline of Psychology, pp. 116-117.

The relation between instinct and behaviour is of the utmost importance in hormic psychology. In the early days of his academic career McDougall looked upon psychology as "the positive science of the conduct of living organisms." Even the extreme behaviourist can find nothing in this definition that will not gladden his heart. The charge that the leader of the hormic school shifted attention from facts of human behaviour to preoccupation with abstractly over simplified elements and relations is without any foundation. In fact McDougall attaches such great importance to social behaviour that he lays it down almost as a dictum that no psychology can lay claim to recognition as a science unless it is in a position to explain the behaviour of man in the group. Behaviour, therefore, is of the utmost importance to the hormic psychologist. It is, however, not the behaviour of a machine or an automaton, but that of a living organism. This organism has a mind, and it is in this mind, its structure and dynamic working that the final explanation for behaviour should be found. When McDougall found that his emphasis on behaviour was likely to create the impression that he was a behaviourist, he made haste to clarify his position by demonstrating that behaviour as studied by the proper type of psychology points unmistakably to the existence of a behaving mind. Of the purposive nature of behaviour, and of the hormic nature of the energy activating the behaving mind we have said enough. We have now to study how the dynamic structure of mind, as sketched in the theory of instincts evolves, with the growth of experience, giving rise to highly complicated units which serve as the immediate stimuli to activity.

The topic is of such great importance to the contemporary psychologist that it will bear elaboration a little further. Instinct is not to be identified with the motor mechanism of instinct. The point that we are urging here is that psychologists are still committing today the old fallacy of identifying the motor mechanism with the innate mental structure which activates the mechanism. They refuse, (one is tempted to say wilfully), to read aright the findings of McDougall. They persist, despite McDougall's warning, in confounding structure with function, and in mistaking the part for the whole. Warren's Dictionary of Psychology makes the following observation in connection with the definition of Instinct:

'Contemporary uses of the term vary in all degrees between the extreme mechanistic meaning of a response pattern, and the extreme purposivistic meaning of an inner spring leading to accomplishment of a certain biological end." The antithesis between response and inner spring is meant to be extreme and exclusive. The two are poles apart. That the latter may be viewed as including the former is a possibility which

is ruled out by the definition. So great is the hold which this mechanistic view has obtained over the minds of psychologists that McDougall was forced to state his position in emphatic terms. "An instinct....is something very different" says our author, "from the instinct of the mechanistic behaviourist....; for them (the mechanists) an instinct is merely an "action-pattern", a system of reflex arcs in the nervous system which, on being appropriately stimulated, leads to nervous excitation through a fixed system of channels to a certain group of muscles and glands. In contrast to this, the instinctive disposition of the hormic psychology generates an impulse towards a goal of a certain type; and this impulse may express itself in strivings that may take a multitude of forms and bring into play a variety of muscular and other executive processes according to the circumstances; this variety being greater, the greater creature's power of intelligent appreciation of the circumstances and of intelligent adaptation of its actions to those circumstances".5

In driving the point home that "instinct" is not to be misunderstood as the action-pattern, McDougall points out that many different patterns may be used in the service of the same instinct, and the same pattern in the service of different instincts. Moreover, on the cognitive side too, we find the same principle in operation. So all behaviouristic conceptions, as well as those which are allied to them, break down completely. Instinct embraces the motor mechanism and much else besides. Its main spring is in the mind, not in the nervous system.

# Studies in Sanskrit Texts on Temple Architecture with Special Reference to the Tantrasamuccaya

By

N. V. MALLAYYA

#### STANZA 55.

#### Reference to Talas on the Basis of Dimensions

In this stanza, the author prescribes the dimensions which characterise Ekatalaprāsāda, Dvitalaprāsāda and Tritalaprāsāda. Ekatalaprāsāda will have a measure (breadth) beginning with three cubits and ending with ten cubits; Dvitalaprāsāda will have a measure beginning with five cubits and ending with twelve cubits and Tritalaprāsāda will have a measure beginning with seven cubits and ending with sixteen cubits. These measures may be tabulated as follows:—

- 1. Ekatala .. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10.
- 2. Dvitala .. 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12.
- 3. Tritala .. 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16.

From the above table it is clear that certain measures are exclusively characteristic in nature. For instance, the measures of 3, and 4 cubits characterize only Ekatala, whereas the other measures given to it are also allotted to Dvitela and Tritala. According to the author's prescription, Prāsādas which have the particular measures of three and four cubits will have only one tala; those that have five and six cubits of measure will have one or two talas; those that have the measures of seven, eight, nine or ten cubits will have one, or two, or three talas; those having the measures of eleven and twelve cubits will possess two or three talas; and those which have the particular measures of thirteen. fourteen, fifteen or sixteen cubits will have not less than three talas. Concerning the height, it will be recalled here that it is as has been directed in stanza 7. There different possible variations in height have been stated. The latter part of the stanza states that these Prāsādas having the various talas and measures must have height best suited to its measure. In addition to the varied proportions prescribed in stanza 7. the author here states a few more alternatives. The height prescribed may thus be increased or decreased, whenever desired, by one cubit or threefourths of a cubit, or half a cubit or quarter of a cubit. These numerous alternatives afforded are calculated to make selection of proportions easy and consistent with the proper orientation of the structure. The laying down of the additional alternatives corresponds to the treatment of Prāsādas having increasing number of talas, not so far dealt with.

In this verse are thus found prescribed measures relating to Prāsādas which have one to three talas. Other measures which refer to Prāsādas that have talas ranging from three to twelve are referred to

in connection with the treatment of the four classes of structures—Jāti, Chandas, Vikalpa and Ābhāsa<sup>536</sup>. The details connected with the construction of these four classes are not stated and the treatment on the whole appears casual. In stanzas 56 to 61 are contained directions for the raising of talas up to three, but not more. If we compare our text with other texts on this subject, it will be found that the Mayamata gives details for the construction of four talas, the Kāśyapaśilpa for sixteen and the Mānasāra for twelve. Each of these authors devotes a single chapter to the subject of each 'Tala' and gives a great amount of details pertaining to the construction of each tala, one above the other. Our author's detailed treatment of the subject, which is confined to the two talas, is probably commensurate with the demand of Kerala, where structures are rarely to be met with which fall under the Mahāprāsāda class.

The following authority quoted by Sankara<sup>537</sup> supports the measures laid down in the text:—

" मूमिलम्बिमिति प्रोक्तं त्रिचतुईस्तमानतः । द्विद्विहस्तविद्वद्वयैकमूमेर्मानं चतुष्टयम् ॥ पश्चषड्दस्तमारभ्य द्विद्विहस्तविवर्धनात् । द्वितले तु चतुर्मानं रुद्रभानुकरान्तकम् ॥ सप्ताष्टहस्तमारभ्य द्विद्विहस्तविवर्धनात् । पश्चदशविकारान्तं त्रितले पश्चमानकम् ॥"

Here four odd measures of 3, 5, 7 and 9 and four even measures of 4, 6, 8 and 10 cubits are suggested and the total alternatives thus secured come to eight. In the second case, the four odd measures indicated are 5, 7, 9 and 11 cubits and the four even measures are 6, 8, 10 and 12 cubits. In the third case of Tritalas, five odd measures of seven, nine, eleven, thirteen, and fifteen and five even measures of eight, ten, twelve, fourteen and sixteen cubits are suggested.

Also compare the following extracts from the Mayamata:—

" एकभौमं चतुर्मानं वक्ष्ये संक्षिप्य शास्त्रतः । त्रिचतुर्हस्तमारभ्य नवपङ्क्तयन्तविस्तृतम् ॥"588

<sup>536.</sup> Vide stanzas 62, 63, and 64.

<sup>537.</sup> Tantrasamuccaya with Vimarsini (T. S. S. Edn.), Part I, pp. 83-84.

<sup>538.</sup> Mayamata, Ch. XIX, st. 1 (T. S. S. Edn.).

- " द्वितलं पश्चधामानं वक्ष्ये संक्षेपतः क्रमात् । पश्चषट्सप्तमारभ्य द्विद्विहस्तविवर्धनात् ॥ सैकार्कमनुहस्तान्तमृत्सेषं पूर्ववद् भवेत ।''<sup>589</sup>
- " त्रितलं पञ्चधामानं संक्षेपाद् वक्ष्यतेऽधुना । सप्ताष्टहस्तमारभ्य द्विद्विहस्तविवर्धनात् ॥ पञ्चदशविकारान्तं व्यासतुक्षं तु पूर्ववत् ।"<sup>540</sup>

Also compare the Kāśyapaśilpa: —

" त्रिचतुर्हस्तमारभ्य द्विद्विहस्तविवर्धनात् ॥ नवपङ्क्तिकरान्तं तु हस्तेनार्ककरं भवेत् । एवमष्टविंधं मानं युग्मायुग्मं चतुश्चतुः ॥ पञ्चषड्ढस्तमारभ्य द्विद्विहस्तविवर्धनात् । तिथिद्विरष्टकारान्तमामासं त्रितलस्य तु ॥"<sup>541</sup>

The following extract, which confirms the varied heights prescribed in the latter part of the stanza, is also given by Sankara:—

" प्रत्युन्नतायतकरेषु च हस्तमाना-द्धीनं त्रिपादकरमर्धमथापि पादम् । तत्रैव वास्तुनि यथोचितमाचरेद्वै हा[ही]नं च वर्धनमनिन्द्यमनेकशास्त्रे ॥"<sup>549</sup>

This extract appears to have been taken from the Mayamata from a comparison of the same with what is stated below:—

" तत्युन्नतायतकरेषु च हस्तमाना-द्धीनं त्रिपादकरमधमथापि पादम् । तत्रैव वस्तुनि यथोचितमाचरेद् वै हानिं च वृद्धिकमनिन्द्यमनेकशास्त्रैः ॥"<sup>548</sup>

<sup>539.</sup> Ibid., XX, 1, 2(1).

<sup>540.</sup> Ibid., XXI, 1, 2.

<sup>541.</sup> Kāśyapaśilpa, XXIV, 1-3 (Ānandāśrama ed.).

<sup>542.</sup> Tantrasamuccaya with Vimarsini (T. S. S. Ed.), Part I, p. 84.

<sup>543.</sup> Mayamata (T. S. S. Ed.), Ch. XIX, st. 9.

#### STANZA 56.

#### Second Tala.

In this stanza, the author describes the method to be followed in the construction of the second tala. When a second tala is to be built the interior wall must first be raised in height. It will be remembered in this connection, that a sanctum generally is said<sup>544</sup> to possess two Bhittis (walls), Antara and Bahya (internal and external), provided the structure is not very small. The direction that the height of the internal wall should be increased implies that the sanctum which is to possess more than one tala must be of a considerably large size and must have the capacity for the disposition of the two walls, internal and external. On the inner wall thus increased in height must be situated a suitable plank which is capable of holding the extremity of the rafters. Where there are two and more roofs, such a plank serves to secure the upper extremity of the rafters of the lower roofs, for in the lower roofs there will be no Kūta which is calculated to secure the upper end of rafters.545 The reference to this plank Lupāgradhānī in the course of the description of Dvitala implies the existence of two rafters, lower and upper in Dvitala structures. The Lupas which are fixed into the Bahyottara and which hence start from it must be placed and secured into the Lupāgradhānī. That is to say, the top of the rafters of the lower roofs must be fixed into the plank Lupāgradhānī. In the above of these raiters should be placed Pattikas, and these having been fixed on to the rafters, the rafters, now joined to the Pattikas, should be covered with such materials as bricks and the like. This is the way of making the lower roof, and after finishing the lower roofing, the area should be levelled up with beams and planks. After levelling well the floor, construct the Gala. The 'Gala' here referred to and directed to be constructed, in other words, appears to be the storey. The description given in the succeeding three stanzas indicates that what is termed 'Gala' here refers to the floor that is built above. In a note under stanza 57, a Kerala commentator remarks that the height of the pillar of the storey may be called 'Gala'.546 In fact, the storeys built above, through the increase in height of the internal wall, present an appearance which gives an impression of Gala or neck. These seeming and so-called 'Galas,' which are in fact the storeys of the structure, should be distinguished from the structural Gala which forms one of the six main divisions of a tem-

<sup>544.</sup> Vide the Tantrasamuccaya, Patala II, sts. 19, 20.

<sup>545.</sup> For the function of Kūta vide Stanza 48.

<sup>546.</sup> Ms. R. No. 4,128, Madras Govt. Orient. Mss. Library, Madras.

ple. The regular and structural Gala comes above Prastara and below Sikhara and its disposition is defined in stanza 52 already described. Its close association with Sikhara must never be forgotten. The Sikhara rises from above the Gala. Hence the structural Gala must be recognised from its disposition which is immediately beneath that of Sikhara. The so-called 'Gala' which is a 'Tala' above the ground-floor will be recognised by the presence of a Prastara or ceiling above it. The structural Gala will have no Prastara or ceiling above it; on the other hand, it will have Sikhara rising from it.

#### STANZA 57.

#### The Dimension of Grīvā.

In this stanza, the author gives the characteristics of the Grīvā referred to in the previous stanza, Grīvā which is to be understood in the sense of the storey above. Nine alternative heights are prescribed for this Grīvā, relative to the height of the pıllar of the ground-floor. The nine proportions are:  $\frac{1}{2}$ ,  $\frac{3}{5}$ ,  $\frac{3}{3}$ ,  $\frac{3}{4}$ ,  $\frac{4}{5}$ ,  $\frac{5}{7}$ ,  $\frac{5}{9}$ ,  $\frac{7}{8}$ ,  $\frac{9}{11}$  of the height of the first pillar, i.e., the ground pillar. In other words, the height of the upper floor, which is the height of the pillar of that floor, is ½ etc., of the height of the pillar of the ground floor. With regard to the height of the storeys going up in order (such as the second, the third, the fourth etc.) this rule of proportion must be extended. The height of the third storey will be ½ etc. of the height of the pillar of the second storey; the height of the fourth storey will be ½ etc. of the height of the pillar of the third storey and so on, the height of the storey above being determined with reference to the height of the pillar of the storey immediately below it. Whatever the number might be, the storeys that mount up must keep the nine alternative proportions laid down with a view to determining the height of the storeys. In the last quarter of the stanza, the author tells us that there should be constructed a 'Prastara' or ceiling in each Tala. The Vivaraṇakāra remarks in this connection: 547 " प्रस्तरप्रिकेयेति प्रायुक्ताभिष्रेयते", meaning thereby that the previous description of Prastara furnished in stanza 53 should be recalled and read here while constructing the Prastara of each Tala. A quota-

<sup>547.</sup> Tantrasamuccaya Vivarana (Ms. R. No. 1994, Govt. Orient. Mss. Library, Madras).

tion from Murāri is cited by Śaṅkara in support of the proportion laid down by our author. It is as given below<sup>548</sup>:—

" त्रिकाचेकादशान्तांशा दारुतम्मे द्वयादिभिः । करुपयेक्ववधा श्रीवा विमानानां विधानतः ॥"

The authors of the  $Ma\tilde{n}jar\bar{i}$  and Nibandhana also give nine alternative proportions, four out of which agree with the proportions given by our author. The nine proportions stated in the  $Ma\tilde{n}jar\bar{i}$  and Nibandhana are  $\frac{1}{2}$ ,  $\frac{2}{3}$ ,  $\frac{3}{4}$ ,  $\frac{3}{5}$ ,  $\frac{4}{5}$ ,  $\frac{5}{7}$ ,  $\frac{7}{8}$ ,  $\frac{5}{9}$  and  $\frac{7}{11}$ . The four proportions  $\frac{2}{3}$ ,  $\frac{3}{4}$ ,  $\frac{4}{5}$  and  $\frac{7}{8}$  are the same as described by Nārāyaṇa and Murāri.

The Manjari states 549: --

'' रुद्रांशैस्सुषिरं दशांशवसवो वेदित्रसप्तेन्द्रियं दिक्सप्तत्रितयद्वयं हुतवहाः पञ्चांशतो निर्मिताः । पञ्चांशं सुषिरैस्समुज्ज्वलतरा पादार्धमेवं क्रमात् दारुस्तम्भविभागतोऽथ नवधा ग्रीवा विमानाश्रिता ॥''

The Nibandhana observes 550:-

" त्रिचतुष्पञ्चषट्ससमागेऽष्टांशे नवांशके । दशैकादशभागे च दारुस्तम्भे यथाक्रमम् ॥ द्वाभ्यां त्रिभिस्त्रिभिर्मागैस्त्रिभिर्में पञ्चसप्तभिः । पञ्चाष्टनवभिश्चेव नवप्रीवा विमानगा ॥"

The term 'Dārustambha' which is employed in all these extracts implies that when the height of the pillar is to be employed as a standard of measure, it is the height of the wooden pillar that is to be counted, for the height of the pilaster is less than that of the wooden pillar. The complete height which technically characterises the wooden pillar should be adopted as the standard with reference to which relative proportions are to be determined. When there is no wooden pillar, a slight convertion of the height of the pilaster to that of the regular and technical pillar would serve the purpose.

<sup>548.</sup> Tantrasamuccaya with Vimarśini (T. S. S. Ed.), Part I, p. 85.

<sup>549.</sup> Prayogamañjari, Pat. VI. (Ms. Adyar Mss. Library).

<sup>550.</sup> Śaivāgama Nibandhana (Ms. Tripunittura), Paţala XIII; for quotation vide Vimarśinī (T. S. S. Ed.), p. 85.

#### STANZAS 58 AND 59.

#### Ornamentations of the Grīvā.

The ornamentation of the Grīvā (that is to say the storey) forms the subject-matter of the verses 58 and 59. The Vivaraṇakāra makes the following introductory remarks: <sup>551</sup>

## " मीवोन्मानमात्रमुक्तम् ; तत्रापि विभागमाह—मीवायामुपरीति ".

For the purpose of furnishing room for the varied types of ornamentation, the height of the wall of the storey is required to be resolved into certain number of divisions and sub-divisions. The direction given is as follows: Leaving a height of 3 Dandas at the upper portion of the wall of the Grīvā (storey), the remaining lower portion must be divided into four main divisions. The first, third and fourth divisions thereof should each be divided in turn into 10 sub-divisions. In the first main division at the bottom, which is composed of 10 parts, there will be composed an Alingapattikā with 3 parts thereof, Antarī with 2 parts and a Prati accompanied by Vājana with 5 parts. The Ālingapattikā is so called because of the characteristic feature of its decorative motif, which, as the name Alinga indicates, bears the form of a linga. Having described the mouldings of the first division, the author in the succeeding verse (No. 59) mentions those ornaments which constitute the other divisions. The second main division, which is not sub-divided, will be given for the construction of a wall characterised by the wall ornamentations such as the 'Sālā', 'Kūta', 'Gavāksa' and the like. 'Śālās' and 'Kūtas' are in the form of miniature structures, and these are wrought on the wall with a view to adorning the same. 'Kūtas' and 'Sālās' are differentiated from each other from the point of view of their form and disposition. Kūta has the regular shape of the structure. will be square if the shape of the structure is square, and circular if the structure is circular. In its making all the parts will be repeated except the Adhisthana. 'Kūtas' are situated at the four corners of the wall. 'Sālā' is an elongated miniature structure, and as such possesses three Stūpikās. Its form is reminiscent of the old Aryan sacrificial hall. 'Śālās' are to be located at the main sides of the wall.552 The term 'Gavākṣa' refers to a particular kind of window which is perforated with designs in the shape of bull's eyes. It is also called 'Jālaka.' The Sama-

<sup>551.</sup> Tantrasamuccaya Vivarana (Ms. R. No. 1994, G.O.M.L., Madras).

<sup>552.</sup> For description of Kūta etc., vide stanza 40.

rānganasūtradhāra describes it as a perforated screen in the verse following 553:—

# " छिद्रैर्गवाक्षप्रतिमैश्छिद्रितं सर्वतस्तु यत् । फरुकं तद् गवाक्षः स्याज्जारुमित्यपि कथ्यते ॥"

It is a perforated window and is often employed as an ornamental motif to decorate the wall surface. It is this perforated window-motif that is referred to in the stanza.

It will be noted here, that the rows of mouldings which are worked under the second division where the 'Sālās' and 'Kūṭas' and 'Gavākṣas' and the like are said to be wrought, will seem to present to the 'Kūṭas' and 'Sālās' something of the appearance of a continuous base composed of different mouldings, especially in view of the fact that the 'Kūṭas' and 'Sālās' are described without any reference to the element of base.

Now, coming to the third and the fourth divisions, in the vibhāga which is subdivided into 10 parts, construct an *Uttara* with five parts, and with the other five parts make a *Valabhī* adorned with such figures as the *Bhūtamālās* and the *Gajamālā* (figures of Bhūtas or spirits, gajas or elephants, and the like arranged in a beautiful row). In the fourth division, which is also further divided into 10 parts, construct a *Kapota* with the 10 parts. The *Kapota* here described will be one that is associated with *Mukhapatṭikā* composed of 2 parts out of the 10 parts (*Kapota* is the cornice used as an ornamental moulding; *Mukhapaṭṭi* is the moulding in the form of a central band or belt running round and in front of whatever is associated with it; here it forms the belt or band of Kapota).

There remains now, above the four divisions of the lower portion, the upper portion, consisting of a height of 3 Dandas. In these three Dandas thus left at the top must be constructed a 'Grhapindi' with its own 'Pādas.' 'Grhapindi' accompanied by Pādas or Pillar ornamentations constitutes the final and finishing moulding adorning the summit of the wall. 554

<sup>553.</sup> Samarāngaņasūtradhāra, Vol. I, Ch. XVIII, stanza 34. (Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. XXV).

<sup>554.</sup> Most of the wall ornamentations that are here referred to such as Grhapindi with Pādas, Kapota, Valabhi, Valabhyuttara, as well as the Sālās and Kūṭas are the same as are found described in connection with the treatment of the wall decorations of Ekatala in the 'Alpaprāsādaprakarana.' The same ornamenta-

A reference to the Nibandhana and Mañjarī yields some additional information concerning the names of some of the divisions we have observed above. The second main division is termed 'Bhitti'; the third, 'Prastara'. In this 'Prastara', five parts constitute the 'Uttara', where three are secured inside and are called by the name 'Ghana'. The following statements from the Nibandhana and Mañjarī confirm and amplify the subject dealt with in the text of stanzas 58 and 59.

Thus the Nibandhana observes555:-

" प्रीवोश्चं त्रिंशधा मङ्त्तवा पश्चिमः प्रस्तरोत्तरम् । त्रिभागं घनमुद्दिष्टं तस्य द्वाम्यां च वाजनम् । वरुमिः पश्चिमिर्म्यः कपोते दशिवस्तृतः । तत्रास्यपिट्टका द्वाम्यां त्रिमिरालिङ्गपिट्टकाम् । द्वाम्यामथान्तिः पश्चमागैश्च त्रिघनाः प्रति । नन्यावर्ताममुलिकाकुञ्जराक्षगवाक्षकम् ॥ कारयेदुज्ज्वलं सम्यग्वेदिकोपिर जालकम् । द्वाम्यां त्रिभिश्चतुर्मिर्वा कुट्यस्तम्मे तु पञ्जरः ॥ गर्भार्धे द्वघंशपादौ स्यानिर्यहुस्य च विस्तरा । तावती च महानासिसिंहश्रोत्राभिनासिका ॥ दण्डमाना द्विदण्डा वा क्रूटोऽष्टांशेन सद्मनः । गृहिपिण्डिस्निमिर्दण्डेरुज्ज्वलां विद्विता पुनः । वलिमिर्द्विजमूताद्यौ तथा सिंहेमिकन्नरैः ॥"

The Prayogamanjari states as follows556:—

" त्रिंशक्कागविभक्तमत्र विधिवत् कृत्वोच्छ्यं प्रस्तरे
कृत्वा चोत्तरमत्र पश्चविहितं तेषां त्रिभागं घनम् ।
द्वाभ्यां वाजनमत्र पञ्च वल्लभिः भ्यःकपोतं दश
द्वाभ्यामास्यगपट्टिकां च विधिवत् तेषां कपोते ततः ॥

tions, in the case of the second Tala, are described with some modifications and additions, consistent with the proportionate nature and size of the wall surface of the second Tala.

<sup>555.</sup> Saivāgamanibandhana, Paṭala XIII, (Ms. from Tripuṇittura).

<sup>556.</sup> Mañjari, Paṭala VI, (Ms. Adyar Mss. Library).

आिक्सपिट्टकां भागेकिभिः द्वाभ्यामथान्तरीम् ।
पद्मभागैः प्रतिं कुर्यात् तेषां द्वाभ्यां च वाजनम् ॥
नन्धावर्तकगुलिककुक्षराक्षगवाक्षकान् ।
कुर्यादत्युज्ज्वलान् सम्यग् वेदिकोपिर जालकान् ॥
भित्तिस्मभिद्धभागैः त्रिभिरथ विहितः पञ्जरो व। चतुर्भिः
निर्व्यूहं गर्भधाझो दलमितमथवा पादमानं विदध्यात् ।
विस्तारात्तेन तुल्या नयनसुखमहानासिरत्युज्ज्वला स्यात्
सिंहश्रोत्राभनासी पुनरिप विहिता दण्डमाना द्विदण्डा ॥
प्रासादस्य तथाष्टदिस्रु विहितः कूटश्च शाला तथा
शाला स्याद द्विगुणायता शुभकरा विस्तारतस्वान्मिका ।
उत्सेषात् गृहिपिण्डरेष विहितो दण्डितकः प्रोज्ज्वलो
मूतेभद्विजम्मितश्च बल्भिः सिंहैस्तथा किन्नरैः ॥"

#### STANZA 60.

#### Special Ornamentations of the Second Tala.

In this stanza, the author lays down the rule pertaining to the disposition of 'Kūtas', 'Śālās' and 'Nāsikās' as well as the location of Mūrtis or images which are placed as ornamental figures on the sides of the wall of the second tala. Since the disposition of the 'Kūṭas' and 'Sālās' and 'Nāsikās' has already been described in connection with the treatment of the wall-decorations of the first tala, 557 the present treatment of the subject in a similar context would seem unnecessary. Concerning the propriety of the treatment the two commentators are at variance in their explanation. Sankara offers the remarks that what is laid down in this stanza is the special kind of ornamentation of the Dvitala, and this statement seems to us to have been occasioned by an additional reference made in the stanza about the location of deities on the main sides of tala.

<sup>557.</sup> Vide stanza 39.

<sup>558.</sup> Tantrasamuccaya with Vimarsini (T. S. S. Ed.), Part I, p. 86.

The Vivaranakāra on the other hand remarks<sup>559</sup>:—

" शालाकूटगवाक्षकादिरुचिरां वेदिं द्वितीय इति यत् सामान्येनोक्तं तद्विवृणोति तले द्वितीय इति ॥"

He thus would have us believe that the present stanza is given with a view to explaining in elaborate terms what has generally been referred to in the previous stanza about the 'Kūta' etc. According to this stanza, the 'Kūṭas' are to be constructed at the corners, and 'Śālās' on the main sides; and between the 'Kūṭas' and 'Śālās' should be made the 'Nāsikās', each in pairs. The ornamentation 'Nāsikā' is so called because it resembles in its design the nose. There will be in all in the second tala, four 'Kūṭas', four 'Sālās', and eight pairs or sixteen 'Nāsikās.' The last quarter of the stanza directs the making of four images of Brahmā, etc., on the four main sides of the tala. The deities are thus allotted the quarters in the Nibandhana. Brahmā or Siva in the East, Ācakṣāṇa (i.e. Dakşinamurti) in the South, Narasimha in the West and Kṛṣṇa or Skanda in the North. In addition to the Nāsikās that have been mentioned before, another 'Nāsikā' is prescribed to be constructed on the 'Sikhara'. This latter 'Nāsikā' is termed 'Mahānāsikā' by Sankara, and a reference in the Mañjari reveals that there are to be constructed on the 'Sikhara' four such 'Nāsikās' on the four sides.

States the Mañjarī in a place560:—

" स्थाप्या दिक्ष्वथ मूर्तयोऽत्र शिखरे नासीश्चतस्रोऽपीयेत्।"

With regard to the number of 'Kūṭas', 'Śālās' and 'Nāsikās', the Mañjarī states:—

" कुर्यात् कूटचतुष्कमूर्ध्वनिरुये शालाश्चतस्रोऽपयेत् । नास्यः षोडश .... ॥"

The author of the Nibandhana gives the same direction concerning the location and number of 'Śālās', 'Kūṭas' and 'Nāsikās'.

For says he<sup>561</sup>:--

" कर्षे कूटचतुष्कं च दिक्षु शालाचतुष्टयम् । नास्यः षोडश कर्तव्याः .... ॥"

<sup>559.</sup> Tantrasamuccaya Vivarana (Ms. R. No. 1994, G.O.M.L., Madras)

<sup>560.</sup> Mañjarī, Paṭala VI (Ms. Adyar Mss. Library).

<sup>561.</sup> Nibandhana Patala XIII (Ms. Tripunittura), vide Vimarsini, p. 86.

It will be noted in this connection that the main sides are allotted to 'Sālās' and 'Mūrtis'. If both 'Sālās' and 'Mūrtis' are to be located in the same quarters, the question arises: how are they to be disposed? In such a case where both are desired to be wrought, probably 'Sālās' will have to be wrought first and then the images placed in the 'Sālās'. In his work on Dravidian Architecture' Dubreuil gives a figure of the upper part of a modern temple of Tiru-pāppuliyūr, where is clearly exhibited the disposition of 'Kūṭas' and 'Sālās.' Dubreuil also refers to the employment of niches on walls which are intended to contain images of divinities sculptured in high relief, though often they are found to remain empty. The presence of deities on the wall sides, it follows from this observation, is an optional addition in the scheme of the sculptural and decorative motifs wrought on walls. The commentator Sankara retains in tact the two textual expressions and further remarks the same and further remarks.—

" पुनर्दिशास्त्रजाद्या ब्रह्मोद्या मूर्तीश्च (रचयेत्)।"

He construes वा with ासी: and adds

"पुनर्दिशास्त्रजाद्या ब्रह्माद्या मूर्तीश्च, तदृर्ध्वगर्ताशखरे महानासीश्च रचयेत्॥"

From the tenor of this interpretation it appears that the view of San-kara is in favour of constructing 'Sālās' as a necessary ornament and introducing Mūrtis as an optional addition. He reads the option with reference to the images to be placed, and retains the construction of 'Sālās' as a necessary wall ornament, to which sculptured figures of deities may be added, if desired.

Sankara thus understands that the representation of deities is not an alternative, but an additional case, as the term 'पृत:' indicates.

The statement of the Nibandhana<sup>565</sup> may be noticed in this connection:—

" द्वितीयम्मौ संस्थाप्य दिक्षु दिङ्मूर्तयोऽथवा (ऽत्रवा) । त्रक्षा वोमापतिः पाच्योमाचक्षाणस्तु दक्षिणे ॥ प्रतीच्यां नरसिंहस्तु कृष्णः स्कन्दोऽथवोत्तरे ।"

<sup>562.</sup> Dravidian Architecture, Fig. 5 opposite to page 14.

<sup>563.</sup> Ibid., page 14.

<sup>564.</sup> Tantrasamuccaya with Vimarśini (T. S. S. Ed.), Part I, p. 86.

<sup>565.</sup> Nibandhana, Pat. XIII (Ms. Tripunittura).

The Mayamata<sup>566</sup> observes as follows:-

" तले तले विमानानां दिश्च देवान् न्यसेत् क्रमात् ।
पूर्वायां द्वारपाली तु नन्दिकाली च विन्यसेत् ॥ ३९ ॥
दक्षिणे दक्षिणामूर्ति पश्चिमेऽच्युतमेव हि ।
अथवा लिक्कसम्भूतमुत्तरे तु पितामहम् ॥ ४० ॥
.... .... ।
एवं मूलतले प्रोक्तमुपर्युपरि वक्ष्यते ॥ ४३ ॥
पुरन्दरं न्यसेत् पूर्वे सुब्रह्मण्यमथापि वा ।
दक्षिणे वीरभद्रः स्यानारसिंहश्च पश्चिमे ॥
उत्तरे तु विधाता स्याद धनदो वा विधीयते ।
एवं द्वितलविन्यासं त्रितले तु मरुद्रणान् ॥

#### Gurudeva likewise says<sup>567</sup>:—

"तले तले विमानानां दिक्षु बेराणि विन्यसेत् ।
नन्दीश्वरमहाकालो पूर्वद्वाराधिपौ न्यसेत् ॥
दक्षिणे दक्षिणामूर्ति पश्चिमे लिङ्गसम्भवम् ।
विष्णुं वाष्यथ कौबेरे दुर्गा ब्रह्माणमेव वा ॥
रुद्रावतारकोडादिकथारूपाणि चैव हि ।
मूलभित्तौ च परितो विन्यसेदुक्तलक्षणम् ॥
अथोपरितलात् प्राच्यामिन्दं षण्मुखमेव वा ।
दक्षिणे दक्षिणामूर्ति वीरभद्रमथापि वा ॥
पश्चिमे नारसिहं चाप्युत्तरे चार्थदं विधिम् ।
द्वितीये तु तले चैवं तृतीये तु मरुद्रणान् ॥
तले तलेऽमरान् सिद्धान् यक्षविद्याधरानपि ।
गन्धवनिष्यप्सरसः सिद्धान् नागांस्तथा मनीन् ॥
गन्धवनिष्यप्सरसः सिद्धान् नागांस्तथा मनीन् ॥

<sup>566.</sup> Mayamata (T. S. S. Ed.), XIX, 39, 40, 43, 44, 45.

<sup>567.</sup> Gurudevapaddhati (T. S. S. Ed.), Uttarārdha, Paṭala XXXII, stanzas 21, 22, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30.

प्रथमंश्चेव दैत्यादीन् षोडशप्रतिमास्तथा ।
कण्ठादघः प्रतेरूष्ट्वं कोणे कोणे वृषान् न्यसेत् ॥
सर्वेषामपि देवानां कोणे कोणे स्ववाहनम् ।
कण्ठादघश्चान्त्यतले प्राकारादौ च विन्यसेत् ॥
इत्येवमादिभिर्युक्तं विमानं सम्पदां पदम् ॥"

Kāśyapa<sup>568</sup> also refers to figures of deities to be sculptured on the various talas in their different quarters:—

" तलं प्रतिविमानादि उन्नतं त्वथ वक्ष्यते ।

स्कन्दं वै पूर्वदिग्मागे दक्षिणाम् तिदक्षिणे ॥

पश्चिमे विष्णुम् ति वा लिक्कोक्कवमथापि वा ।

धातारमुत्तरे विप्र भारस्थाने तु वर्जयेत् ॥

एवं धरातलोध्वें .... .... ।

स्कन्दं वै पूर्वदिग्मागे शकं वा सितरोहितम् ॥

हित्तिर्विधीनव्जकासीन एक एव समन्वितम् ।

दक्षिणे दक्षिणामूर्ति वीरभद्रमथापि वा ॥

पश्चिमे नारसिंहं तु सौम्यमूर्तिमथापि वा ।

उत्तरे तु विधातारमञ्जं वा द्विजसत्तम् ॥

प्रस्तरोपि कर्तव्यमेकद्वित्रितले तथा ।

चतुर्भूम्यादिभूमासु महेशस्तु यथेष्टगः ॥

उमास्कन्दादिसहितो महेशः परिकीर्तितः ।

अन्यदेवाश्च गन्धर्वाः सिद्धा दैत्या मरुद्गणाः ॥"

The above quotations from allied works furnish detailed information in respect of the employment of the various deities and their vehicles for the purpose of the adornment of the wall-surface in the different talas.

<sup>568.</sup> Kāśyapaśilpa (Ānandāśrama Series), Paṭala XXVII, 56, 57, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64.

## **BHĀVANĀVIVEKA**

BY

MANDANAMIŚRA

WITH

VIŞAMAGRANTHIBHEDIKĀ

BY

NĀRĀYAŅA

Edited with Introduction

BY

V. A. RAMASWAMI SASTRI

AND

K. A. SIVARAMAKRISHNA SASTRI

नन्वेवं भावनाया अपि साध्यरूपायाः 'प्रतीतेर्भावनान्तरा-पातः, तदपि <sup>२</sup>तथैवेखनवस्था। <sup>३</sup>यदपि मतं <sup>४</sup>व्यापारो हि <sup>५</sup>सा, रूपमेव तस्याः <sup>६</sup>तादृशमपराधीनोपजननम् , प्अतो रूपात्तथात्व-

सिध्यतु, परवस्त्वर(स्तात्त्व)र्थभेदोऽपि साधयिष्यते । तसान्न कचिद्भावाभावे करोतेः प्रयोग इति न तस्य घात्वर्थसामान्याभिघायित्वम् , अपि तु भावनाभिधायित्वमेवेति द्वितीयश्लोकोन क्तमपि दूषणं परिहृतम् ॥

इदानीं 'सर्वत्र यदि धात्वर्थे भाव्यस्यै(व्यं सै)वास्तु भावना ' इति पूर्वोक्तं दूषण-मुत्थापयन् पूर्वपक्षवादी चोदयति---नन्वेवं भावनाया अपि साध्यरूपायाः प्रतीतेः भावना-न्तरापातस्तदपि तथैवेत्यनवस्थेति ॥ अयमभिप्रायः— ८यथा तिङन्तेषु धात्वर्थस्य साध्यता-प्रत्ययः प्रत्ययाभिधेयभावनासंस्पर्शकृतो न स्वाभाविकः सम्भवतीति प्रत्ययाभिधेया भावना अभ्युपगता, तथा भावनाया अपि साध्यरूपताप्रतीतिर्भावनान्तरसंस्पर्शकृतेति भावनान्तर-कल्पनाप्रसङ्गः, तस्यो अपि साध्यताप्रतीतिर्भावनान्तरसंस्पर्शक्रतेति अनवस्था स्यादिति। अनवस्थादोषपरिहारं शक्कते-यदिप मतं व्यापारो हि सा, रूपमेव ९तस्याः तादृशमपराधी-नोपजननम् । अतो रूपात्तथात्वसिद्धिर्नान्यसंस्पर्शव्यपेक्षितेति ॥ अयमभिप्रायः--खयमेव व्यापाररूपो(पा) भावना, साध्यस्वभावत्वात्। तथाहि—१०रूपमेव हि तस्यास्ताहशम-पराधीनोपजननम् ---११अपराधीनमस्या उपजननम् । नह्यस्या भावनान्तराधीनं जन्म घटा-दीनामिव। यथा संवेद्यानां विषयाणां ज्ञानात्संवेदनमन्यज्ञायते १२ न तथा संवेदनस्यान्य-

<sup>&#</sup>x27;प्रतीतेः ' नास्ति—ग, घ, ङ. ٤.

तथेत्यनवस्था-क, ख, ग, घ, ङ.

यदि मतं-क, ख, ग, घ, ङ.

व्यापारोऽपि सद्रुपमेव-क, ख.

सा सहत्यमेव-ग, घ; साहत्यमेव-ड.

तादृशं पराधीनोप--ग, क; तादृशमप-रानीप--धः

अतः खरूपात्—ग, घ. o.

तथा तिङन्तेषु---छः ۷.

तस्यां---द्दुः ۹.

<sup>&#</sup>x27;रूपमेव हिं ' नास्ति—च. १०.

न च पराधीनं--- छ. ११.

१२. -मन्यज्ञायते--च-

सिद्धिः नान्यसंस्पर्शव्यपेक्षितेतिः, घात्वथेंऽपि तिहि तथा अस्तु। तथा हि— सोऽपि वस्तुतस्तथाभवन् न वा आपादित-तथाभावः खराब्दैः व्यापारात्मोपादीयते; प्यञादिष्वपि कारक-सम्बन्धोपपत्तेः, अन्यथा अव्यापारे कारकसम्बन्धायोगात्, अव्यापार्दिसम्बन्धिनः कारकत्वानुपपत्तेः, क्रियासम्बन्धप्रभावितत्वा-

तोऽन्यत्संवेदनम् , स्वभावत एव तथात्वात् । एवं स्वभावत एव भावनायास्साध्यताप्रतीतेः भावनान्तरसंस्पर्शानपेक्षत्वान्नानवस्थापसङ्ग इति । एतिन्नराकरोति—धात्वर्थोऽपि तिर्हं तथा अस्ति ॥ एतदेव पपञ्चयित —तथा हि—सोऽपि वस्तुतस्तथाभवन् ७न वा आपादित-तथाभावः स्वराब्दैः व्यापारात्भोपादीयते इति ॥ अयमर्थः—यथा भावना (स्व)रूपादेव साध्या न भावनान्तरमपेक्षते, धात्वर्थोऽपि तिर्हं तथा अस्तु । तथा हि—सोऽपि वस्तुतस्तथा भवन् —साध्यस्तभावो भवन् , न वाः—अतथाभवन् , स्वराब्दैरेवापादिततथाभावः आपादितसाध्यभावः व्यापारात्मोपादीयते —यथा ध्वनिश्चैत्यादयः क्षिग्ध(सिद्ध)स्तभावा अपि शब्दैरापादितसाध्यभावा व्यापारात्मतयोपादीयन्ते 'ध्वनित्व घण्टा', 'श्वेतते प्रासादः' इति । एवञ्च सित घञादिष्वपि कारकसम्बन्धोपपत्तिरित्याह—ध्वादिष्वपि कारकसम्बन्धोपपत्तिरित्याह—ध्यादिष्वपि कारकसम्बन्धोपपत्तिरित्या। अयमर्थः —देवदत्तेन काष्ठैः स्थाल्यामोदनस्य पाकः इति पाकराब्दार्थेन काष्ठादोनां कारकत्वेन सम्बन्धो दृश्यमान एवमेवोपपद्यते इति । अव्यापारात्मिनि तु धात्वर्थे नायं सम्बन्ध उपपद्यत इत्याह—अन्यथा अव्यापारे कारकसम्बन्धायोगादिति ॥ अव्यापारे

१. सिद्धेः—ख, ग, घ, ङ.

२. व्यपेक्षेति—ख, ग, घ, ड.

३. 'तर्हि' नास्ति—ड∙

४. सोऽपि तथामनजना आपादित—कः नस्तुतः सोऽपि तथामनन् ना आपादित— स्त्रः नस्तुतः सोऽपि तथा अतथा ना मनजापादित—गः, भः, कः

५. घननादिष्वपि-ग, घ, कु.

६. संबन्धिना आकारत्वा-स्त्रः

७. न वा तथा भवन् भावलशब्दैः — चाः

८. पिरिति—छ.

त्कारकभावस्य । बुद्धिभेदस्तु पाकादिषु 'प्रत्ययोपात्तेन 'सिद्ध-भावेनाभिभवात्, 'अनिभभवाच पचलादौ । 'तचानिभभूतं रूपमन्यथाशक्यनिदर्शनं' व्यापारान्तरसंस्पर्शनैव निदर्शयन्ति भावनाया इव । नच 'सिद्धसाध्यतयोरैकशब्द्यं' विरुद्धम् भेदाभेद-

धात्वर्थे कारकसम्बन्धस्यायोगादित्यर्थः । एतदेव प्रपञ्चयति — अध्यापारसम्बन्धिनः कारक-त्वानुपपत्तेः क्रियासम्बन्धप्रभावितत्वात्कारकभावस्येति ॥ एतदुक्तं भवति — व्यापारसम्बन्धिन एव कारकत्वम् न सिद्धपदार्थसम्बन्धिनः, राजपुरुषादिष्वदर्शनात् । नच घञन्तादिषु तिङ्गि-ध्येयो व्यापारोऽस्ति । तस्माद्धात्वर्थ एव धातुना व्यापारात्मा अभिधीयते कारकसम्बन्धोपरुञ्चेरि-त्यभिप्रायः। नन्वेवन्तर्हि घञन्ते तिङ्ग्ते च धात्वर्थविषयः सिद्धसाध्यरूपेण बुद्धिमेदो दृश्यमानो विरुध्येत, उक्तन्यायेन सर्वत्र साध्यताप्रतीतिप्रसङ्गादित्याशङ्क्ष्याह — बुद्धिमेदस्तु पाकादिषु प्रत्ययोपादानेन(त्तेन) सिद्धभावेनाभिभवाद्यनभिभवाच पचत्यादाविति ॥ अयमाशयः — घञाद्यन्तेषु घञादिप्रत्ययोपात्तेन सिद्धभावेन धात्वर्थसाध्यत्वस्याभिभवात् अनिभभवाच पचत्यादौ नोभयत्र बुद्धिमेदो विरुध्यत इति ॥ यच्चार्थमेदनिदर्शनं कारणमुक्तम् , तद्प्यन्यथा-सिद्धत्वान्न धात्वर्थातिरिक्तप्रत्ययाभिध्यभावनासद्भावसाधनायारुमित्योह — तच्चानभिभृतं रूप-मन्यथाशक्यनिदर्शनं व्यापारान्तरसंस्पर्शेनैव निदर्शयन्ति भावनाया इवेति ॥ अयमर्थः — यद्धात्वर्थस्यानभिभृतं साध्यं रूपम् , न तद्धापारान्तरसंस्पर्शमन्तरेण शक्यते निदर्शयितुमिति व्यापारान्तरसंस्पर्शेनैव १०निदर्शयन्ति, न व्यापारान्तरसंस्पर्शनन्तरेण शक्यते निदर्शयितुमिति व्यापारान्तरसंस्पर्शनैव १०निदर्शयन्ति, न व्यापारान्तरसत्त्वस्त्या, भावनाया इव — यथा भावनां

१. प्रत्ययोपादानेन—क, ख, ग, घ, ङ.

र. सिद्धभावनातुमवात्—ग, घ, छ.

इ. अनिमनात्वसादी—क, ख; अनिम-मनति चेलादी—ग, घ, डः

४. न चानिस-ग, घ, छ.

<sup>-</sup>५. शक्यनिरूपणं-क, ख; शक्यम् घदर्शनंग, घ, कः

६. 'एव' नास्ति—क, स्त्र, ग, घ, कु. निदर्शनेन—ग, घ, कु.

७. निदर्शयति—ग, घ, ङ.

८. सिद्धतासाध्यतयोः — क, स्त्रः . सिद्ध-साध्ययोः — ग, घ, कु.

९. ऐका धिकरण्यं ---क, स

१०. निदर्शयति—क्टु.

# योरिव गोत्वादिषु, भिन्नप्रकृतिप्रत्ययोपादानत्वात्। १भाव्यरूप-प्रतीतिनिदर्शनाभ्याश्च<sup>२</sup> धात्वर्थस्य <sup>३</sup>तिङन्तेषु भावनामिच्छतो

करोतीति व्यापारान्तरसंस्पर्शेनैव तस्या अनिममृतं साध्यरूपं ४दर्शयन्त्यन्तरेणापि व्यापारान्तरस् , तथेहापीति । नन्वेकघात्वर्थसम्बन्धिनोः सिद्धसाध्यत्वयोरेकेन पाकराब्देनाभिधानं विरुद्धमित्याशङ्कयाह—न च सिद्धसाध्यतयोरेकशब्दं विरुद्धम् भेदाभेदयोरिव गोत्वादि- प्विति ॥ अयमर्थः—गोत्वादिषु भेदाभेदयोरेकशब्दावगम्यत्वं यथा न विरुध्यते तथेहापि सिद्धसाध्यत्वयोरित्यर्थः । शब्दभेदेनापीह विरोधस्सुपरिहर इत्याह—भिन्नप्रकृतिप्रत्ययोपादानत्वादिति ॥ पच्यादिकया प्रकृत्या साध्यतोपादीयते, प्रत्ययेन तु घञादिना सिद्धता । अतः शब्दभेदान्न विरोध इत्यर्थः । उक्तब्चेदमियुक्तैः—

' साध्यत्वेन क्रिया तत्र धातुरूपनिबन्धना । सिद्धभावस्तु यस्तस्थाः स घञादिनिबन्धनः ॥' इति ॥

हष्टक्क गोत्वाश्वत्वादिशब्देषु प्रकृतिप्रत्ययभेदेन भेदाभेदाभिधानम्। तत्र हि प्रकृतिभूतेन गवादिशब्देनाभेद उपादीयते, गौः शाबलेय इति व्यक्तिसामानाधिकरण्यदर्शनात्।
त्वतलादिना तु प्रत्ययेन गोत्वादेः सामान्यस्य शाबलेयादिव्यक्तिभ्यो भेद उपादीयते, शाबलेयस्य गोत्विमिति वैयधिकरण्यदर्शनादिति। एवं ६प्रतीतिभेदिनदर्शनयोरन्यशासिद्धत्वान्नार्थभेदिसिद्धिरित्युक्तम्। इदानी तथा अभ्युगमेऽप्यनिष्टमापद्यत इत्याह—भाव्यरूपप्रतीतिनिदर्शनाभ्यां च धात्वर्थस्य तिङन्तेषु भावनामिच्छतो धात्वर्थस्य कर्मत्वप्रसङ्गः, करणत्वं

१. साध्यमावरूप--- जा, का साध्यरूप्यप्रती- ४. दर्शयनन्तरेणापि-ति--- चा- ५. 'इति ' नास्ति--- छा-

२. 'च ै नास्ति—क, स्तः ६. प्रतीतिः—छः

**३.** 'तिकन्तेषु' नास्ति—कः

धात्वर्थस्य 'कर्मत्वप्रसङ्गः, 'करणत्वं न स्यात्। तसाद्धात्वर्थे एव व्यापारात्मा 'स्वदाब्दोपादानः 'फलभवनसमर्थो भावना किया 'चेति साम्प्रतम्॥

#### तदेतदसमञ्जसम् --

ण्हरूयमाने वस्तुभेदे नेष्टा शब्दार्थमात्रता। प्रत्ययार्थेनाभिभवः सिद्धे तद्भावनिश्चये ॥ ३२॥

न स्योत् इति ॥ अयमर्थः — धात्वर्थस्य साध्यताप्रतीत्या अर्थमेदनिदर्शनेन च प्रत्ययाभिधेयां भावनामिच्छतां भावनायां कर्मत्वं धात्वर्थस्यानिष्टं प्रसज्यते, करणत्वं चाभिप्रेतं हीयते, कर्मत्वेन प्रतीतिभेदार्थभेदनिदर्शनयोरभ्युपगमात् इति । उपसंहरति — तस्माद्धात्वर्थ एव व्यापारात्मा स्वराब्दोपादानः फल्भवनसमर्थो भावना क्रिया चेति साम्प्रतमिति ॥ तस्मात् उक्तेन न्यायेन धात्वर्थ एव भावना ; क्रियापि धात्वर्थ एव, न ततोऽर्थान्तरम् ; स एव तु फल्भवनसमर्थतयोपादानाद्भावनेत्युच्यते, व्यापारात्मनोपादानातु क्रियेति (इति) सर्वमुपपन्नम् ॥

# तदेतत्सिद्धान्तवादी दूषयति — तदेतदसमञ्जसम् ;

९ ह्रयमाने वस्तुभेदे नेष्टा शब्दार्थमात्रता । प्रत्ययार्थेनाभिभवः सिद्धे सद्भावनिश्चयः(ये) ॥ इति ॥

- १. कर्मता-ख-
- करणत्वं तु न स्यात्—कः, स्तः ; न करण-त्वं स्यात्—गः, कः
- ३. धातुशब्दो—ख, ग, घ, छ.
- ४. फलमावनी-क, स
- ५. 'च' नास्ति-क, खः

- ६. 'असमञ्जसम्' तथाहि—क, ख, ग, घ, ङ.
- ७. विधमाने-क, स्त्र-
- ८. निर्णये—क ; निर्णयः—स्त्र, ग, इ.
- ९. दश्यमाने बस्तुमेदे इति—च

# 'दर्शयिष्यते सन्यापारात्मनो धात्वर्थाद्भेदवती क्रिया। अतो न सन्दसामर्थ्यविलसितमेवैतदिति युक्तम्'। १असति वस्तुनि तथा

अयमर्थः —यदुक्तं पूर्वपक्षवादिना शब्दोपकिष्टियत एवार्थभेदो न वास्तव इति, तद्युक्तम् । वस्तुभेदे दृश्यमाने शब्दार्थत्वमात्रस्य बाद्यवस्तुशुन्यस्यानिष्टत्वात् । दृश्यते च धात्वर्थात्मत्ययार्थस्य भेदः प्रतीतिभेदनिदर्शनाभ्यामिति । यच सिद्धान्तवादिना अनवस्था-परिहाराय स्वयं व्यापारस्त्रपत्वाद्भावनायाः साध्यताप्रतीतो न व्यापारान्तरापेक्षेत्युक्ते पूर्वपक्षवादिना तत्साम्यं धात्वर्थस्यापादयतोक्तम् — धञाद्यन्तेषु धात्वर्थसाध्यत्वस्याप्रतीतिः प्रत्ययार्थेन सिद्धभावेनाभिभवादुपपद्यत इति, तद्य्यनुपपत्रम् । सिद्धे हि धात्वर्थस्य साध्यस्थावे प्रत्ययार्थेन सिद्धभावेनाभिभवाभिधानं युक्तम् । सिद्धे हि धात्वर्थस्य साध्यस्थावे प्रत्ययार्थेन सिद्धभावेनाभिभवाभिधानं युक्तम् । न च तत्सिद्धौ प्रमाणमस्तीत्यभिम्पायः । एतद्विष्टणोति — दर्शयिष्यते द्यव्यापारात्मनो धात्वर्थोद्वेदवती क्रिया । अतो न शब्दसामर्थ्यविरुसितमेवैतदिति युक्तमिति ॥

अयमभिप्रायः — कर्तृकर्मसमवेतसंयोगविभागात्मकगुणविशेषादव्यापारात्मनो धात्व-र्थाद्भिना परिस्पन्दादिशब्दवाच्या किया प्रतिपादियाष्यते —

- ' धातूनामभिधानीयान्कर्तृकर्मसमाश्रयान् । रुब्धात्मनोऽक्रियारूपान्विशेषान्प्रतिजानते ॥'
- ' उदासीनत्विवच्छेदरुक्ष्यं धात्वर्धकारणम् । स्पन्दव्यापारपर्यायं करोत्यर्थे प्रचक्षते ॥' इत्यत्र ।

दर्शियच्यते व्यापारात्मनो धात्वर्थाद्मेद-वतीति, अतो — कः; दर्शियच्यते व्यापा-रात्मनो धात्वर्थात्ममेदवदिति किया—सः;

२. विलसितमेवेदं युक्तम्—क, खाः, विल-सितमिति युक्तम्—ग्, 🚁.

३. असिकिहितवस्तुनि-स्त्र.

४. 'युक्तम् ' नास्ति—चः

नाम भवेत्। सम्बन्धग्रहणापेक्षत्वाच १ राज्यस्य न १ वस्तुखरूप-क्लप्त्यै विभवः। १ निश्चिते च धातुभिः ४ भाव्यताया इहोपादाने अभिभवाभिधानं युक्तम्। ५न च तथा, प्रमाणाभावात्, साधन-

अनेन (अतो न) शब्दसामर्थ्यविरुसितमेवेदम्—तिङन्तेष्वर्थमेदप्रदर्शनं (इति) युक्तमिति ॥
मवेदपि कदाचिदसति वस्तुनि शशश्वक्रादो<sup>६</sup> शब्दसामर्थ्यविरुसितत्वकरूपना। नेह
वस्तुनोऽभावः सिद्ध इत्येतदाह—असति वस्तुनि तथा नाम अभवेदिति ॥ नचैतदभ्युपगमक्षमम् , कचिदपि वस्तुरूपपरिकरूपनायां शब्दस्य सामर्थ्याभावादित्येतदाह—सम्बन्धमहणापेक्षत्वाच शब्दस्य न वस्तुस्वरूपक्टप्त्ये विभव इति ॥ सम्बन्धमहणापेक्षया हि शब्दः
कार्य जनयति, त्न सत्तामात्रेण , तच्च शब्दस्य ज्ञापकत्वेऽवकरूपते, न कारकत्वे। न हि
बीजादीनामङ्करादिकारकाणां सम्बन्धमहणापेक्षा दृश्यते। अतोऽर्थस्य ज्ञापक एव शब्दः,
न तिन्नर्भाणप्रभुरित्यभिप्रायः। खपुष्पादिष्यपि बहिस्सन्त एवार्थाश्यव्देरभिधीयन्ते,
वाक्यार्थात्मना असतामपि तेषां पदार्थात्मना कथिब्वच्छब्दाद्बुद्धेश्च मेदेन सद्भावोपपत्तेरिति ॥

एवं श्लोकस्य पूर्वार्धे व्याख्यायाधुना परार्धे व्याचष्टे—निश्चिते च धातुमिर्माव्यताया इहोपादानेऽभिभवाभिधानं युक्तम् । न च तथा, प्रमाणाभावादिति ॥ अयमर्थः—साध्यस्वभा-वेऽपि धात्वर्थे घञादिप्रत्ययाभिहितेन सिद्धभावेनाभिभवात्साध्यताया अप्रतीतिर्युक्तेति यदुक्तम् , तदनुपपन्नम् । धातुभिः साध्यताया उपादाने निश्चिते एतदेवं स्यात् । नच तिनश्चितम् , प्रमा-

१. 'शब्दस्य ' नास्ति - क, खः

वस्तुरूप—क, ख; वस्तुरूपक्लसो—
 ग, ङ; वस्तुक्ल्स्ये—घः

३. निश्चिते तु-ना, घ , निश्चितेमिर्मावना-हेयोपादाने सति मानामिमनामिश्वानम्-कः

४. भाव्यतयोपादाने—क, स्तः भाव्यतये-होपादाने—ग, घ, कः

५. न चेह तथा-ग, घ.

६. शृहारादी-छ.

७. भवेदपीति---छ.

८. 'न' नास्ति—चा.

९. वार्तामात्रेण-छ.

# ैविक्किचन्ति पचन्तीति न विशेषः ४प्रकल्पते । ऋते व्यापारनानात्वात्कर्तृभेदोऽपि वै क्कतः ॥ ३३ ॥

णाभावात् इति ॥ ननु घञन्तादिष्विप कारकसम्बन्धो दृश्यते काष्ठैः पाक इति । स चैवमुपपद्यते यदि धातुः साध्यतामाचक्षीत, नान्यथा । निष्ठ तत्र प्रत्ययवाच्या भावना अस्तीत्युक्तमित्या-शङ्क्ष्याह—साधनसम्बन्धस्य गम्यमानभावनाविषयत्वात्तथापि निदर्शनात् शङ्कुल्या 'खण्डः ह्(ती)ति ॥ अयमभिप्रायः—यद्यपि पाकः इत्यादौ नाभिधीयते भावना, तदभिधायक-शब्दाभावात् , तथाप्यर्थोद्गम्यते, पाकस्य तदविनाभावात् । गम्यमानभावनाविषयत्वेनापि कारकसम्बन्ध उपपद्यते । यथा 'शङ्कुल्या खण्डः ' इत्यत्र शङ्कुल्या दृतः खण्डः इति गम्यमानकरोत्यर्थविषयः शङ्कुल्याः करणभावः, तथेहापि स्यादिति ।

तदेवं भेदप्रतोतिनिदर्शनयोरन्यथानुपपत्त्या धात्वर्थातिरिक्ता भावना अस्तीति साधि-तम् । इदानीं एतदेव परपक्षेऽनिष्टपसङ्गापादनद्वारेण दर्शयति—

> <sup>६</sup>विक्कियन्ति पचन्तीति न विशेषः प्रकल्पते । ऋते व्यापारनानात्वात्कर्तृभेदोऽपि वै कुतः ॥ इति ॥

अयमर्थः — यद्येक एवार्थः साध्यतया धातुनोपादीयेत, ७न च परं व्यापारं प्रत्यय भाचक्षीत, तदा (वि)क्किदिपचिभ्यां विक्कित्तेरेवोपादानादर्थान्तरस्य चाभावात् विक्कियन्ति

१. संबन्धस्य च-स्बन्

५. 'न' अधिकं वर्तते—ह्य.

२. तथा दर्शनात्—ग, घ, क.

६. विश्चियन्तीति—चः

३. किञ्च-विक्षियन्ति-स्त, ग, घ, कु.

७. नचापरं--हुड.

४. प्रकरप्यते—ग, घ, 👺

न तावत्तिङन्तेषु घात्वर्थ एव व्यापारात्मोपादीयते, विक्कि-चन्ति पचन्तीति 'घात्वर्थाभेदात्प्रत्ययाभेदप्रसङ्गात् । कर्तृभेदा-बैवमिति चेत्—न, व्यापारभेदमन्तरेण तदनुपपत्तेः । यथा साध-नानां नियोक्तृत्वे कर्तृलक्षणे यज्ञदत्तादय एव कर्तारो न तण्डुलाः, अभिधीयमानव्यापारत्वे तु तण्डुला एवं। अनेन भिनत्ति, पदलति,

पचन्तीति प्रतीतिविशेषो न स्यात् । (वि)क्किदौ तण्डुलाः कर्तारः, पचौ तु देवदत्तादयः कर्तारः इति प्रतीतिमेदो भविष्यतीति चेन्न । धात्वर्थाद्यतिरिक्तेन(क्तात्) विना कर्तृभेदस्यानुपपत्ते-रिति श्लोकस्यार्थः । अस्यैव प्रपञ्चः—न ताविष्ठङन्तेषु धात्वर्थं एव व्यापारात्मोपादीयते विक्किद्यन्ति पचन्तीति धात्वर्थाभेदात्प्रत्ययामेदप्रसङ्गादिति । अनेन श्लोकपूर्वार्धस्यार्थः पपिश्चतः । नात्र तिरोहितिमव किश्चदित्त । उत्तरार्धव्यावर्त्यामाशङ्कां दर्शयति—कर्तृभेदान्त्रैविमिति चेदिति ॥ अयमर्थः—कर्तृभेदात्क्रियामेदः, ततश्च विक्किदिपच्योर्थभेदः । तथा हि—पचन्तीत्यत्र देवदत्तादयः कर्तारः, विक्किद्यन्तीत्यत्र तु तण्डुलाः। अतः कर्तृभेदाद्यापार-भेदः ततश्च बुद्धिभेदोऽप्युपपद्यते इति । अत्रोत्तरमाह—न, व्यापारभेदमन्तरेण तत्र कर्तृभेदस्यानुपपत्तेन कर्तृभेदात्प्रत्ययभेद उपपद्यत इति । एतदेव प्रपञ्चयति—यथा साधनानां नियोक्तृत्वे कर्तृलक्षणे यज्ञदत्तादय एव कर्तारो न तण्डुलाः । अभिधीयमानव्यापारत्वे तु तण्डुला एवेति ॥ अयमर्थः—अत्र कर्तृभेदं वदता इदं वक्तव्यम्, कि साधनानां नियोक्तृत्वं कर्तृलक्षणम् ? कि वा धातुन। अभिहितव्यापार-त्वम् ? आद्ये कर्णे यज्ञदत्तादय एव कर्तारो न तण्डुलाः, तेषामचेतनत्वात् साधननियोगा-त्वम् ? आद्ये कर्णे यज्ञदत्तादय एव कर्तारो न तण्डुलाः, तेषामचेतनत्वात् साधननियोगा-

१. धात्वर्थमेदात् -- ख.

 <sup>-</sup>पत्तः । तयाहि साधननियोक्तृत्वे क्त,
 स्व ; साधनानां नियोक्तृत्वे -- ग, घ, ङ.

कर्तारो न अभिषीयमान—स्त्र; कर्तारो
 न तण्डुलाः । अग्रुणतया धातुना अभि-मान—ग, घ, ङः

४. एव कर्तारः। एतेन—क, ग, घ, छ; एव। एतेन—स्त्र.

५. विदलति—ग, घ, कु.

छिनत्ति, द्विधाभवतीत्यादयो व्याख्याताः। तसाद्धात्वर्धातिरिक्तो व्यापार उपेयः, यत्कृतोऽर्थभेदः कर्तृभेदश्च ॥

अपरः कल्पः—स्यान्मतं 'कर्मसमवायिक्रियेष्वेव धात्वर्थाति-रिक्तो व्यापारो गम्यते। कर्तृस्थिक्रियेषु कथम् ११। उच्यते—

योगात् । द्वितीये तु कल्पे उभयत्रापि तण्डुला एव कर्तारः स्युः । (वि)क्किदिना पिना च विक्कित्तिलक्षणस्य तद्यापारस्याभिधानात । विक्कियन्ति पचन्तीत्यत्रोपदिष्टं बुद्धिमेदाभावप्रसङ्गं विषयान्तरेऽतिदिश्चिति अनेन भिनत्ति, दल्लि, छिनत्ति, द्विधाभवतीत्यादयो व्याख्याता इति ॥ उपसंहरति तस्माद्धात्वर्थातिरिक्तो व्यापार उपयो यत्कृतोऽर्थभेदः कर्तृभेदश्चेति ॥ तस्मा-दक्तदोषपरिहाराय धात्वर्थव्यतिरिक्तो व्यापारोऽभ्युपगन्तव्यः, येनार्थभेदः कर्तृभेदश्च भवेत् । कथं पुनः व्यापारान्तराभ्युपगमेऽर्थभेदः कर्तृभेदश्च १ उच्यते । यद्यपि क्किदेः पचेश्च विक्कि-तिलक्षणोऽर्थः समानः तथापि विक्कियन्तीत्यस्मिन्पदे विक्कित्तिपदार्थाव(द)धिकः ध्याल्युदर-परिश्रमणादिलक्षणः तण्डुलसमवाय्यन्यो व्यापार उपादीयते । अतो विक्कित्तिवत्सोऽपि प्रतीयते । तण्डुलानां च कर्तृत्वं गम्यते । पचन्तीत्यत्र देवदत्तादिसमवाय्यिषश्रयणादिलक्षणो विक्कित्तिव्यतिरिक्तोऽन्योऽपि व्यापारो विक्कित्तिवदुपादीयते । देवदत्तादयश्च कर्तारः प्रतीयन्ते । एवं भिनत्ति, दल्रिते, छिनत्ति, द्विधा भवतीत्यादि द्रष्टव्यम् । अतोऽर्थभेदकर्तृभेदावस्मत्यक्ष एवोपपद्येते ॥

इदानीं 'ऋते व्यापारे' त्यादिश्लोकोत्तरार्धव्याख्यानान्तरं विकल्पेन दर्शयितुमाह— अपरः कल्प इति ॥ अपरो व्याख्याप्रकारः प्रदर्श्यत इत्यर्थः। तत्र प्रथमं <sup>६</sup>तद्यावर्त्या-माशक्कां दर्शयति—स्यान्मतं कर्मसमवायिकियेष्वेव धात्वर्थातिरिक्तो व्यापारो गम्यते,

१. कर्मसमवेत<del>्यः</del>

४. विधकस्थाल्यु---छः

२. व्यापारोऽम्युप—ग, घ, ङ.

५. लक्षणतण्डुल<del>---</del>ह्य-

३. कथमिति—क, ख, ग, घ, ङ.

६. तावद्यावर्ली—च.

# ऋते व्यापारनानात्वात्कर्तृभेदोऽपि वै कुतः?।

'ऋत्विजो यजन्ति' 'यजते यजमानः' इत्यगुणतो धातुना 'अभिधीयमानव्यापारस्य कर्तृत्वात् सङ्कल्पविशेषस्य व्य यज्यभि-धेयस्य यजमानव्यापारत्वात् 'यजन्ति याजकाः' इत्यनुपपत्तिः। धात्वर्थातिरिक्तव्यापारप्राधान्यविवक्षायां वृत्पपद्यते। नन्वनभि-

कर्नृस्थिकियेषु कथिमिति॥ अयमर्थः—विक्कियन्ति पचन्तीत्यादौ बुद्धिमेदलक्षणो (यो) हेतुः विक्कित्त्यादिधात्वर्थातिरिक्तव्यापारप्रसाधनायोपन्यतः, स न सार्वित्रकः। ये कर्मसमवायि-क्रियाः पचत्याद्यः तेष्वेवानेन हेतुना धात्वर्थातिरिक्तो व्यापारो गम्यते। ये पुनः कर्तृष्यि-क्रियाः आस्ते, शेते, भ्यजतीत्येवमादयः तेषु कथं धात्वर्थातिरिक्तो व्यापारो गम्यते? निष्ट् तत्रायं हेतुर्वियत इति। एतित्रराकरणाय श्लोकोत्तरार्धमवतारयति—उच्यतेः—ऋते व्यापारनानात्वाप्तं कर्तृमेदोऽपि वे कुतः इति॥ यजत्यादो व्यापारनानात्वादते कर्तृमेदः ऋत्विग्यजमानमेदेन दश्यमानो नोपपद्यत इति। अस्यार्थस्य स्पष्टीकरणायाह —ऋत्विजो यजन्ति, यजते यजमानः इत्यगुणतौ धातुना ६अभिधीयमानव्यापारस्य कर्तृत्वात्सङ्कर्पविशेषस्य च यज्यभिषेयस्य यजमानव्यापारत्वात् यजन्ति याजका इत्यनुपपतिः। धात्वर्थातिरिक्तव्यापारमाधान्यविवक्षायान्तूपपद्यतः इति॥ अयमर्थः—'ऋत्विजो यजन्ति', 'यजते यजमानः ' इत्यृत्विजां यजमानस्य च यजत्यर्थे कर्तृत्वं दश्यते। तत्र धात्वर्थातिरिक्तव्यापारान्तरस्यामिषेयस्यानभ्युपगमे यजन्ति याजका इति नोपपद्यते। कृतः? अगुणतो धातुना अभिधीयमानव्यापारस्य कर्तृत्वात्। यस्य हि व्यापारो धातुना प्राधान्येनामिधीयते स कर्तेति

१. विधीयमा(न)व्यापारस्याकर्तृ—कः

२. 'च' नास्ति—क, स्त्र-

३. 'तु' नास्ति—ड∙.

४. यजतीसादयः—स्त्रः

५. नानात्वादिति—च.

६. अभिधेयस्य--- छ-

७. 'च ' अधिकं वर्तते—च, छः

८. इसर्थः—चः

धानेऽपि व्यापारभेदस्य द्रव्यपरित्यागसङ्गलपमात्रस्याभिधानेऽपि यजितना स्वातन्त्र्यविवक्षाभेदात् कर्तृभेदः करणभेद इवातिदाय-विवक्षाभेदादुपपचते। किमिदं स्वातन्त्र्यम् १ साधनानां रिनयोक्तृ-

कर्तृ रुक्षणम् । साधननियोगस्य व कर्तृ रुक्षणत्वे तण्डु रुद्धानामचेतनानां कर्तृत्वाभावप्रसङ्गात् । अत्र च द्रव्यत्यागसङ्कर्णे यज्यभिधेयो यजमानस्य व्यापारः नर्त्विजाम् । अतः तेषां घातुना अभिधीयमानव्यापारस्य कर्तृ रुक्षणस्य (अ)भावात् 'यजन्ति याजकाः ' इत्यनुपपत्तिः । यदा पुनः धात्वर्धातिरिक्तो व्यापारः तिन्निर्वर्तन भसमर्थः प्राधान्येन प्रतिपाद्यते तदोपपद्यते, यजमानगतसङ्करपविशेषनिर्वर्तन भसमर्थस्य व्यापारस्य ऋत्विक्ष्विप भावात् तत्र तेषां कर्तृत्वोपपत्तेरिति । अतत्र चोदयति नन्वनिभधानेऽपि व्यापारसेदस्य द्रव्यपरित्यागसङ्करपमात्रस्याभधानेऽपि यजतिना स्वातन्त्र्यविवक्षाभेदात् कर्तृ भेदः करणभेद इवातिशयविवक्षाभेदाद्यपद्यत इति ॥ अयमर्थः अनिभधानेऽपि व्यापारभेदस्य, द्रव्यपरित्यागसङ्करपमात्रस्याभधानेऽपि यजतिना स्वातन्त्र्यविवक्षाभेदात्कर्तृभेद उपपद्यते । यदा यजमानस्य स्वातन्त्र्यं विवक्ष्यते तदा यजमानस्य कर्तृत्वम् , यदा तु ऋत्विजां स्वातन्त्र्यं विवक्ष्यते तदा तेषां कर्तृत्वम् , यथा साधकतमत्वविवक्षाभेदात्करणभेदः — अनिभिष्ठां कर्रणत्वं परिशोः साधकतमत्वं विवक्ष्यते तदा 'परशुना छिनति ' इति परशोः करणत्वं प्रतीयते । यदा तु इस्तस्य, तदा तस्य करणत्वम् , हस्तेन छिनति । एवमत्रापि धात्वर्थातिरिक्तव्यापारा(न)भिधानेऽपि धात्वर्थ एवैकिसिनस्वातन्त्र्यविवक्षाभेदाद्यिजां यजमानस्य च कर्तृत्वग्रुपपद्यत इति ॥ नेऽपि धात्वर्थ एवैकिसिनस्वातन्त्र्यविवक्षाभेदाद्यिजां यजमानस्य च कर्तृत्वग्रुपपद्यत इति ॥

एतिनराकर्तुं स्वातन्त्र्यरूक्षणं प्रच्छति — किमिदं स्वातन्त्र्यमिति । अत्र परं(रः)

१. व्यापारमेदस्य लातन्त्र्यविवक्षामेदात्कर्तृ-

मेदः--ग, घ, छ.

२. नियौजकत्वम् — 😎 ·

इ. कर्तृलक्षणत्वेन-च-

४. नरिवजादतः--वः

५. समर्थ- चा.

६. समर्थव्यापारस्य च

७. 'तत्र' नास्ति—चः

८ यथा हि—च

त्वम् । काष्टादीनि पचन्तीति कथम् ? नियोज्यान्तराभावात् १नियोगविवक्षया प्रयोगो न स्यात् । तस्मात्प्राधान्येन प्रतिपाच-मानव्यापारता खातन्त्र्यमिलास्थेयम् । तथा चोक्तम्—'श्यालीस्थे यत्ने कथ्यमाने स्थाली खतन्त्रा ' इति ॥

परिहारमाह—साधनानां नियोक्तृत्विमिति ॥ कारकान्तरिनयोक्तृत्वं स्वातन्त्र्यमित्यर्थः । एतत्स्वातन्त्र्यस्वर्थणं दृषयितुमाह—काष्ठादीनि पचन्तीति कथिमिति ॥ काष्ठादीनि सर्वाणि कारकाणि पचन्तीति प्रयोगोऽस्मिन्पक्षे कथम् १ न कथित्वदण्युपपद्यत इत्यर्थः । का अत्रानुपपत्तिरिति चेत् तत्राह—नियोज्यान्तराभावाित्रयोगिविवक्षया प्रयोगो न स्यादिति ॥ अयमर्थः—काष्ठादीनीत्यादिशब्देन सर्वेषां कारकाणां नियोक्तृपक्षिनिक्षेपात् नियोज्यान्तरस्यामवित् स्याप्यामवे च नियोक्तृत्विविवक्षानुपपत्तेः योऽयं सर्वेषां काष्ठादीनां नियोगिववक्षया प्रयोगः पचन्तीति कर्तृपत्ययान्तस्य शब्दस्य, स न स्यात् । तस्मान्नदं स्वातन्त्र्यस्यापयागः पचन्तीति कर्तृपत्ययान्तस्य शब्दस्य, स न स्यात् । तस्मान्नदं स्वातन्त्र्यस्यस्यति । कि पुनस्तदित्यपेक्षायामाह—तस्मात्प्राधान्येन प्रतिपाद्यमानव्यापारता भस्तातन्त्र्य-मित्यास्थेयमिति ॥ एतदेव च स्वातन्त्र्यस्थलेणं महाभाष्यकृताप्यक्षिकृतमित्याह—तथा-चोक्तम्—स्थास्थि यत्ने कथ्यमाने स्थास्थे स्वतन्त्रेति ॥ अत्र हि स्थास्थेगतस्य व्यापारस्य प्राधान्येन कथने सति स्थास्याः स्वतन्त्रता भवतीत्यिभधानात्प्राधान्याभिहितं(त)व्यापारस्य स्वातन्त्र्यस्थल्यामक्रित्ति। गन्यते ।

नन्वसिन्नपि स्वातन्त्र्यरूक्षणे काष्ठादीनि पचन्तीति प्रयोगानुपपत्तिः समाना, प्राधा-न्याभिहितव्यापारत्वस्थापि तत्राभावात् । अप्रधानापेक्षं हि प्रधानम् । न चेह कस्यचिद्पि व्यापारोऽप्राधान्येनाभिधीयते, सर्वेषां काष्ठादिव्यापाराणां तुल्यवदिभधानात् । तसान्नेदमिष

नियोक्तुत्विवक्षया—क, खः नियोक्तुत्विवक्षाप्रयोज्ये—ग, घः नियोक्तृत्वविवक्षाप्रयोगो—कः

स्थालीस्थे प्रयत्ने—ना, घ; स्थालीस्था-यत्त्वेन कथ्यमाने —कः

४. खातन्त्र्यमिलस्त्वयमिति—ह्य

२. 'इस्रास्थेयम् ' नास्ति—गः घ, ङः

भवतु व्यापारभेदः, (स च) १घातूपादान एवास्तु । २तथा च १पचिना ४देवदत्तादिव्यापारोपादानात् ५विक्किदिना चानुपादानात् १६विक्किचन्ति ' 'पचन्ति ' इत्यर्थभेदकर्तृभेदौ । ७यजिना च

स्नातन्त्र्यं कर्तृरुक्षणं सम्भवतीति । अत्रोच्यते । अगुणभावमात्रमिह प्राधान्यमुच्यते, तच काष्ठादि व्यापारेष्वप्यस्तीति 'काष्ठादीनि पचन्ति ' इति प्रयोगोपपत्तिरिति ॥

इदानीं प्रतिपादितं व्यापारमेदमभ्युपगम्य तस्य प्रत्ययाभिष्ठेयतामसहमानः १परः प्रत्यवतिष्ठते—भवतु व्यापारमेदः, (स च) धातूपादान एवास्त्वित ॥ अत्रायमर्थः—भवतु व्यापारद्वयाभिष्ठेयत्वं पच्यादौ ; तच्च धात्वभिष्ठेयमेवास्तु न प्रत्ययाभिष्ठेयम् , प्रत्ययाभिष्ठेयस् , कर्ता कर्तृसङ्क्ष्या वेत्यभिप्रायः । अस्मिन्निष पक्षे 'विक्किद्यन्ति' 'पचन्ति' इत्यर्थ-भेदकर्तृभेदौ न विरुध्येते इत्याह—तथा च पचिना देवदत्तादिव्यापारोपादानाद्विक्किदिना चानुपादानात् 'विक्किद्यन्ति ' 'पचन्ति ' इत्यर्थभेदकर्तृभेदाविति ॥ अयर्मथः—योऽयं देवदत्ताद्याप्रितो व्यापारोऽधिश्रयणादिः सोऽपि पचिनोपादीयते, न तण्डुरुष्ठाश्रितविक्कित्तिनात्रम् । (वि)क्किदिना तु विक्कित्तिमात्रमेवाभिधीयते, न पुनर्देवदत्तव्यापारोऽधिश्रयणादिर-पीत्यर्थभेदकर्तृभेदावुपपद्येते इति । भवत्ये(त्वे)वं कर्मस्थिकियेषु पचत्यादिषु कर्तृभेदः। कर्तृस्थ-कर्तृभेदः व्यापादेषु 'यजते यजमानः' 'यजन्ति याजकाः' इत्येवं प्रतोयमानः कर्तृभेदः कथमुपपद्यते । निष्ठ तत्रैवंविघो भेदहेतुरस्तीत्याशक्कापाकरणायाह—यजिना

१. धात्त्क एव सः—कः, स्वः; धात्पादान एव तु सः—ग, घ, कः

२. तथा हि—ग, घ.

a. पचितना—क, ख-

४. देवदत्तन्यापारो-क, ख, ग, घ, ङ.

५. 'विक्किदिना चातुपादानात्' नास्ति—
 कः ; विक्किदिना अतुपादानात्—स्य ;
 विक्कितिना अतुपादानात्—स्य ;

६. विक्रियन्तीलर्थ-क, ख.

७. यजतिना—ग, घ, ङ.

८. व्यापारेष्वस्तीति—च.

९. परं<del>---छ</del>.

१ऋत्विजां व्यापारस्य १तादथ्यीदिभधानाद्दत्विजां कर्तृत्वोपपत्तिः। १यथोक्तम्—'तदिभसिन्धपूर्वकं प्रेषणमध्येषणं वा ४युक्तं तत्सर्वं ५पच्यर्थः' इति ॥

#### <sup>६</sup>नैतत्सारम्—

## एतिनराकरोति--(नैतत्सारम्)---

- १. ऋत्विग्व्यापारस्य—क, ख, ग, घ, ङ.
- २. तादर्थामिश्रानात्—क, खः; तादर्थेना-
- ३. तथा चोत्तम् स्व, ग, घ.
- ५. पचलर्थः-स्त

- ६. तश-क, ख.
- ७. सामर्प्यादिमि--छ.
- ८. प्रेषणं—च.
- ९. विचार्यत्वमस्य-- छ.
- १०. 'यजलर्थे'—नास्ति—चः

## विक्कित्तिमात्रसङ्गलपविशेषेकावलम्यनौ । 'ज्ञायमानतदर्थत्वा'केष्टावन्याभिधायिनौ ॥ ३४ ॥

र्भ पाकः ' 'यागः ' इति ४विक्कित्तिमात्रं सङ्गल्पमात्रं चा-चक्षाते भपचियजी, न हतदितिरिक्तं कर्तृव्यापारम् , पाकस्य ५किये-

# < <tr> <विक्कितिमात्रसङ्गरपिवशेषैकावरुम्बनौ</th> । ज्ञायमानतदर्थत्वानेष्टावन्याभिधायिनौ ॥ (इति) ॥

विक्कितिमात्रं सङ्कल्पविशेष श्रेकोऽवलम्बनं ययोस्तावेतौ विक्कितिमात्रसङ्कल्प-विशेषेकावलम्बनौ पचियजी। विक्कितिमात्रमिति मात्रशब्देन विक्कितिव्यतिरिक्तस्य देव-दत्ताद्याश्रितस्याधिश्रयणादेः पचिवाच्यत्वं व्यावर्तितम्। सङ्कल्पविशेषेकेत्यत्रैकशब्देन तद्यति-रिक्तस्यित्वग्व्यापारस्य यजिवाच्यत्वं व्यावर्तितम्। कथं पुनरन्य(न)योरेतावन्मात्रार्थत्वमव-धारितम् । घञन्तयोस्तथात्वावधारणात्। ननु घञन्तयोस्तावन्मात्रार्थत्वेऽपि तिबन्तयोर्थान्तर-वचनत्वं कसान्नेष्यते । यथा अक्षादिशब्दानां कचित्पयोगेऽवगतादर्थादर्थान्तरवचनत्वं प्रयोगान्तरे गृह्यते तद्वदित्याशङ्कापाकरणायोक्तम् — ज्ञायमानतदर्थत्वादिति ॥ स एवार्थस्तदर्थः स ज्ञायमानः प्रत्यभिज्ञायमानः घञन्ततिबन्तयोः प्रयोगयोः पचियज्योर्दश्यते । अतो नान्यार्थन्वाचिनाविष्यविति स्रोकस्यार्थः । अस्यैव स्पष्टीकरणायाह — पाकः ', 'यागः ' इति विक्कितिमात्रं सङ्कल्पमात्रं चाचक्षाते पचियजी, न तदितिरिक्तं कर्तृव्यापारम् , पाकस्य किये-त्यनिदर्शनात् इति ॥ अयमर्थः— 'पाकः ' इत्यत्र तावत्प्रयोगे (पचिः) विक्कितिमात्रमाचष्टे,

१. यजमानतदर्थत्वात्—क, ख.

नेष्टापत्त्यमिभायिनी—क.

इ. मावाभिधायिनी पाको याग इति---ग, घ, ड.

४. विक्कितिमात्रं चाचक्षाते — स्वः; विक्किति-संकल्पमात्रवादिनीति — इः.

५. पचतियजती--ग, घ.

६. तदतिरिक्तौ कर्तृव्यापारी-स्व, ग, घ, ङ

७ किया सिद्धेलनिदर्शनात्—ग, क; कि-यासिद्धेलनिसदर्शनात्—श्व.

८. विक्रिचीति—च

९. श्चेंकावलंबनं—छ.

न तद्यतिरिक्तमधिश्रयणादिकं कर्तृव्यापारम् ; 'यागः ' इत्यस्मिन्प्रयोगे यजिरिप यजमानगतं द्रव्यत्यागसङ्गल्पमात्रम् , न तद्यतिरिक्तमृत्विम्व्यापारम् । कथं गम्यते ? पाकस्य क्रिये-त्यर्थभेदिनदर्शनाभावात् । यथा 'पचित ' इत्यस्य पाकं करोतीति भेदेनार्थो निदर्श्यते न तथेह निदर्श्यते, किन्तु एक एव विक्कित्तिरिति । अतस्तत्र विक्कित्तिमात्रमर्थ इति ॥

का पुनिरयं विक्कित्तिनीम ? यत्र पांकशब्दो वर्तते । उच्यते । उदकसंसक्ताम्न्यव-यवाभिघातेन तण्डुलेषु कर्मोत्पद्यते ; ततश्च तदवयवेषु विभागलक्षणो गुणविशेष उत्पद्यते ; पुनश्च तेनैव हेतुना प्रशिथिलसंयोगलक्षणो गुण उत्पद्यते ; स विक्कित्तिशब्देनोच्यते पाक-शब्देन च । तस्य चौदनं प्रति प्रत्यासन्नत्वात्करणत्वमुपपद्यते १कर्मफलत्वाच तस्य तद्द्रारेण काष्ठादिभिः कारकैः सम्बन्धः इति ॥

अन्ये तु मन्यन्ते — तण्डुलावयवगतं २कर्मैव विक्केदनमिति, साक्षात्कारकसम्बन्धोप-पत्तेः । तस्य चौदनं प्रति करणत्वं संयोगविभागद्वारेण समर्थयन्ति ।

ननु विक्कित्तिरेव चेत्पाकशब्दस्यार्थः कथं तदभावे प्रयोगः ? दृश्यते चेष्टकाः 'पचन्तीति । न चेष्टकासु विक्केदनमस्ति । तस्मादेक एव पाकशब्दस्यार्थो माद्यः । उच्यते— पच्यमानद्रव्यावयवसंयोगिवभागौ पिचने व्यभिचरित, इष्टकादिष्विप तयोभीवात । विक्कित्तिस्तु पच्यर्थिवशेषः । न सर्वः पच्यर्थो विक्कित्तिरेव । निह यत्र पिचः प्रयुज्यते तत्र सर्वत्र विक्किदिः प्रयुज्यते, किन्तु संयोगिवभागिवशेष एव तण्डुलाद्यवयवसमवायिनि प्रयुज्यते 'विक्किद्यन्ति तण्डुलाः ' इति, न पुनः 'इष्टका विक्किद्यन्ति ' इत्यादिप्रयोगो दृश्यते । अत्र पचेः विक्कित्तिमात्रार्थत्वाभिधानं विशेषािमप्रायं दृष्टव्यम् ।

अपरे तु सन्तापनं पच्यर्थमाहुः। कि पुनः सन्तापनं नाम ? अग्निना तण्डुला-दीनां संयोगः। अस्मिन्नपि पक्षे, विक्कित्तिरपि तद्विशेष एव। सर्वथापि तण्डुलादिकर्मकारक-

१. कर्मत्वाच-छ.

#### त्यनिदर्शनात्।

## तथा 'पच्यन्ते तण्डुलाः खयमेव''यजते यजमानः' इति,

समवायी पचेरर्थः १, न देवदत्तादिसमवाय्यिषश्रयणादिः । कथं पुनस्तण्डुरुविसमवायिनि पच्यर्थे देवदत्तस्य कर्तृत्वम् १पचित देवदत्तः १ (इति) १ इति चेत — उच्यते । असमवे-तस्यापि देवदत्ते पचत्यर्थस्य तदधीनात्मरुगमवन्त्वात् १ तत्कर्तृ (क)त्वं न विरुध्यते । कथं पुन-रिक्रयात्मके पच्यर्थेऽभ्युपगम्यमाने तस्य कारकसम्बन्ध इति चेत — अस्योत्तरं १परोपाधि-कियारूपः १ इत्यत्र वक्ष्यते । अतः पाकयोगशब्दयोः विक्कित्तिमात्रं सङ्करूपमात्रं चार्थः नान्यः कर्तृव्यापार इत्यनवद्यम् ।

ननु घञन्तस्य पच्यादेः विक्कित्तिमात्रार्ध्ययेदिऽपि आख्यातसम्बन्धिनस्तस्य विक्किन्यादिग्यतिरिक्तः कर्तृव्यापारोऽप्यर्थे एव । तथा पचतीत्युक्ते न विक्कित्तिमात्रं प्रतीयते, किन्तु तद्व्यतिरिक्तः कर्तृव्यापारोऽधिश्रयणादिः । ततः सोऽपि तदर्थ एव भवितुमर्हतीति यत्कैश्चिदुच्यते, तित्रराकरणायाह—तथा 'पच्यन्ते तण्डुलाः स्वयमेव', 'यजते यजमानः' इति श्तनमात्रस्थेव तद्व्यापारत्वाभ्युपगमादिति । अयमर्थः—'पच्यन्ते तण्डुलाः स्वयमेव'' इति कर्मकर्तृविषयोऽयं (यः) पचिः, यश्च 'यजते यजमानः ' इति यजमानकर्तृविषयो यजिः, तावाख्यातपत्ययान्ताविप विक्कित्तिमात्रं सङ्गल्यमात्रं चाचक्षाते इत्यभ्युपगन्तव्यम् । तत्र हेत्वपेक्षायामुक्तम्—तन्मात्रस्थेव तद्व्यापारत्वाभ्युपगमादिति ॥ तन्मात्रस्य विक्कित्तिमात्रस्य सङ्गल्यमात्रस्य च, तद्व्यापारत्वाभ्युपगमात् कर्तृव्यापारत्वाभ्युपगमात् । निह तत्र तद्व्यतिरिक्तः कर्तृव्यापारोऽभिषेयोऽभ्युपयेते भवता । असाभिस्तु तत्रापि विक्कित्त्यादिधात्वर्थे-कार्थसमवाय्यन्यः कर्तृव्यापारः प्रत्याभिषेयः उपेयत एव । तस्मात्मचियज्योधनन्तयोः

१. पचेरथों हि देव-च.

२. लामत्वात्—छ.

 <sup>&#</sup>x27;तन्मात्रस्यैव' इलारम्य 'यश्च यजते यज-मानः इति' पर्यन्तो प्रन्थः नास्ति च-मातृ-कायाम् ।

तन्माश्रस्यैव 'तद्यापारत्वाभ्युपगमात्। तथा च 'पचित देव-दत्तः', 'यजन्ति याजकाः' इति प्रज्ञायमान<sup>२</sup>तदर्थस्य नार्थान्तर-विषयत्वं युक्तम्।

्षञ्यभिचाराद्धि भ्तावन्मात्रमर्थः,नाधिकम् , व्यभिचारात् , शब्दान्तरनिबन्धनत्वाच, भ्रत्ययागमे हि प्रतीयमानः तदर्थे एव

आख्यातप्रत्ययान्तयोरि कर्मकर्तृ [विषययो] येजमानकर्तृ विषययोः विक्कितिमात्रसङ्कर्य-दिवशेषैकालम्बनत्वस्याभ्युपेयत्वान्नार्थान्तरवचनत्वमन्यत्रापि युक्तमिति। एतद्दर्शयति— तथा च पचित देवदत्तो यजन्ति याजकाः इति प्रज्ञायमानतद्रथस्य नार्थान्तरिवषयत्वं युक्त-तिमि। अत्र प्रज्ञायमानतद्रथत्वं हेतुत्वेनोक्तम्। पाको यागः, पच्यन्ते स्वयमेव तण्डुलाः, यजतेयजमानः इत्यत्र यावर्थी पचियज्योः समिधगतौ विक्कित्तिमात्रसङ्करूपमात्रलक्षणौ, तावेव प्रज्ञायेते 'पचित देवदत्तः' 'यजन्ति याजकाः' इत्यत्रापि। अतस्तादर्थ्यमेव युक्तमिति॥

ननु तादर्थ्यं भवतु, तावन्मात्र(त्रार्थत्व)न्तु कसात् ? अधिकार्थत्वेऽपि १तादर्थ्यां-विरोधादित्याशङ्क्ष्याह — अव्यभिचाराद्धि तावन्मात्रमर्थों नाधिकम् , व्यभिचारादिति ॥ पचि-यज्योर्विक्कित्तिसङ्कल्पमात्रमेवार्थः, अव्यभिचारात् । नाधिकमधिश्रयणादिकं कर्तृव्यापार्रूपम्; व्यभिचारात् । यो हि शब्दो यमर्थं न व्यभिचरति स तदर्थों प्राह्यः । यश्च यं व्यभिचरति न स तदर्थों प्रहणमहीति ॥ इतोऽपि न विक्कित्त्यादिव्यतिरिक्तः कर्तृव्यापारो धातोर्रथः इत्याह — शब्दान्तरनिबन्धनत्वाच, प्रत्ययागमे हि प्रतीयमानः तदर्थ एव कर्तृव्यापार इति ॥ धातोः शब्दान्तरं प्रत्ययः स एव १०निबन्धनः कर्तृव्यापार[ः] प्रत्ययस्य यतः, अतोऽपि नासौ धातोर्थः । शब्दान्तरनिबन्धनत्वं कर्तृव्यापार(प्रत्यय)स्य कुतो ज्ञायत इत्यपेक्षायामुक्तम् —

१. तद्यापाराम्युपगमात् — ख.

२. तदर्थस्यानर्थान्तर-क, घ; तदर्थस्यार्था-न्तर-स्व.

३. अन्यभिचारादेतन्मात्रमेव---

४. तन्मात्रमेव तदर्थी--स्त्र, ग, घ.

५. प्रत्ययावगमेऽपि--क, स्त.

७. कर्तृत्विवययोः---च.

८. विशेषेकावलम्बनत्वस्य — छ.

९. तादर्थविरोधात्—न्न.

१०. निबन्धनं कर्तृव्यापारं-- छ.

# कर्तृच्यापारः । १प्रधानानाश्च प्रायेण प्रत्ययार्थत्वात्प्राधान्यादिप प्रत्ययार्थत्वम् ।

मत्ययागमे हीत्यादि । यदा ह्याल्यातप्रत्ययः प्रयुज्यते तदा वकर्तृव्यापारः प्रतीयते, नान्यत्(दा)। अतोऽन्वयव्यतिरेकाभ्यां स तदर्थ एव भवितुमर्हतीत्यर्थः । इतोऽपि प्रत्ययार्थः कर्तृव्यापार इत्याह—प्रधानानां च प्रायेण प्रत्ययार्थत्वात्प्राधान्यादि प्रत्ययार्थत्विति ॥ अयमर्थः— आख्यातप्रत्ययान्ते पदे कर्तृव्यापारः प्राधान्येन प्रतीयते, न पाचकादिष्विवोपसजनतया । प्राधान्याच प्रत्ययार्थत्वमवगम्यते, प्रधानानां प्रायेण प्रत्ययार्थत्वदर्शनात् । यथा पाचक-शब्दात्कर्तुः प्रधानन्यं प्रतीयते, यथा चौपगवशब्दादपत्यस्य । प्रायेणेत्यनेनै व्तद्रश्यिति— बाहुल्येन प्रत्ययार्थस्य प्राधान्यं दृश्यते, न पुनः सर्वत्र । कचित्तु प्रकृत्यर्थस्य प्राधान्यं प्रत्य-यथा शुक्कतरः शुक्कतम इति ॥

नन्वेवन्ति अनैकान्तिकं प्राधान्यं कथं कर्तृव्यापारस्य प्रत्ययार्थत्विनश्चयहेतुत्वे-नोच्यते ? नैष दोषः । सम्भावनामात्रहेतुताभिप्रायेणास्योक्तत्वात् । आख्यातप्रत्ययस्यापि भावनां प्रति व्यभिचाराद्धातोरिव तदभिधायकत्वमनुपपन्नमिति शङ्कते—अस्त्यादिषु व्यभिचार इति चेदिति ।। अस्ति भवतीत्यादिषु प्रत्ययस्य भावनां प्रति व्यभिचारः । निह तत्र भावना सम्भवति, भाव्याभावात् । न च भाव्यानपेक्षिणी भावना सम्भवति । भाष्यस्त्यर्थस्य कर्तैव भाव्य इत्युपपद्यते, कर्तृकर्मणोर्भेदप्रसिद्धेः । अतो व्यभिचारात्र प्रत्ययस्य मावनार्थत्वं सम्भ-

यथोक्तम्—
 'तथा कमनतोर्नित्यं प्रकृतिप्रस्ययांशयोः ।
 प्रस्ययभुतिनेलायां माननात्मा प्रतीयते ॥'
 —अयं प्रन्थः 'कर्तृन्यापारः' 'प्रधानानां
च प्रायेण' इस्तनयोर्भध्ये दृइयते—ना, घ,
 इ. मातृकास्त. महोन्नेकटीकायां अस्य-

मन्यस्यावतारिका एवं दृश्यते—' अत्र वृद्धानुमति दृशयति—यथोक्तमिति।'

२. तदा पूर्वापर: प्रतीयते--च.

३. प्रधान्यात्--छ.

४. 'एतत्' नास्ति--छ.

५. न चास्त्यर्थस्य -- इड.

# अस्त्यादिषु व्यभिचार इति चेत्—न, 'वस्तुतोऽ'भावेऽपि चान्दात्प्रतीतेः। अन्यथा <sup>३</sup>अस्ति ४भावः सत्तेत्यभेदात्।

वतीति। एवमाशङ्कां दर्शियत्वा निराकरोति—न, वस्तुतोऽभावेऽपि शब्दात्प्रतोतेः, अन्यथा अस्ति भावः सत्तेत्यभेदादिति॥ नेति प्रदर्शितां प्रत्ययस्य भावनाव्यभिचाराशङ्कां प्रतिषेधिति। कथम् १ अस्तीत्यादौ यद्यपि वस्तुतो भाव्याभावात् भावना न ५ सम्भवति, तथापि सा शब्दात्प्रतीयते। अतश्रबद्धवाच्या सा तत्रापि विद्यत एव। एतदुक्तं भवति—विषय्यान्तरपरिदृष्टायो भावनाया इहाध्यारोप इति। एवमस्य प्रन्थस्यार्थः श्रुत्या प्रतिभाति। स चायमनुपपन्न इति कैश्चिद्वघाख्यातृभिः परित्यक्तः, अन्यश्च ६परिगृहोतः।

का पुनरस्यानुपपत्तिः ? उच्यते । अध्यारोपकरुपना हि प्रतीतिवैरुक्षण्ये सित सम्भवति । नचेह तदस्ति इति । कः पुनरस्यार्थः ? उच्यते । अस्त्यादिष्वप्यस्त्येव भावना । भाव्यन्तु कर्तुर्घटादेः सत्तैव प्रकृत्यर्थभृता ।

ननु कि सत्तासामान्यस्य भाव्यत्वम् शकिं वा विशेषस्य श न तावत्सामान्यस्य ; नित्यत्वात् । विशेषस्य चेत्तर्हि घटस्यैव भाव्यत्वमुक्तं स्यात् । तस्य चास्त्यर्थे कर्तृत्वान्न कर्मत्वं सम्भवति । उच्यते—पूर्वावस्थो घटः कर्ता उत्तरावस्थो घटस्तु कर्मेति न विरोधः इति ॥

१. वस्तुतोऽपि--ख.

२. भावेऽपि शब्दात्तथाप्रतीतेः——स्त्र.

३. आस्ते--- ड॰.

४. मानसन्तत्समेदात्-कः ; मानसत्तायमेदात्-स्वः मानः सत्तेत्समेदः प्रसन्येत-गः, घः । स्रमेदादमेदः--कः.

५. 'न' नास्ति—च.

६. अन्यश्च गृहीतः---छ.

७. नित्येष्वकारादिषु — छ.

किश्चिकिरूपियंतुं शक्यते। अतस्तत्र भावना नास्तीति कथमाख्यातप्रयोग इति। तत्र समारोपेण प्रयोग इति चेत्—घटो भवतीत्यत्रापि तथा स्यात्। निह तत्रात्र च प्रतीतिर्मियते। अपि च करोत्यथों हि भावना। नचेह करोतिः प्रयुज्यमानो दृश्यते। निह किं करोतीति पृष्टे अस्ति भवतीति वा प्रतिवचनं दृश्यते। यदि पुनरस्त्यादिः करोतिना एकार्थः स्यात् तदा तत्समानाधिकरणोऽपि कदाचित्प्रयुज्येत पचत्यादिवत्। न च प्रयुज्यते। तस्माना-स्त्यादिषु भावना। किन्त्वन्यत्र परिश्दृष्टेवोपचर्यते। नचैतावता सिद्धकर्तृविषयस्य।प्याख्यात-' प्रत्ययस्यौपचारिकत्वम्, तत्र करोत्यर्थस्य प्रतीयमानत्वात्।

एवमस्य मन्थस्य कथिश्वयथाश्रुतेऽप्यर्थे महणयोग्ये सत्यपि कैश्चिद(यम)न्यथा व्यास्व्यातः—वस्तुतः तदभा(तोऽभा)वेऽपीति । कर्तृव्यतिरिक्तभाव्याया भावनाया अभावेऽपि शब्दात्यतीतेरस्त्यर्थस्य कर्तुर्घटादेरेवावस्थान्तरिविश्वष्टस्य भाव्यत्वसम्भवाच्छब्दाद्भावनामतीतिरुपपद्मत इत्यर्थः । कथन्तर्धत्र करोतेः प्रयोगाभावः १ स्थूल्दृष्ट्ययेह १भावनामतीतेरभावात् ।
अत्र हि कर्तव्या(तृव्य)तिरिक्तभाव्याभावेऽपि कर्तुरेव घटादेः केनचिद्वस्थाभेदेन भाव्यत्वसम्भावनानिरूपणद्वारेण भावना सूक्ष्मदृष्ट्या दृश्यते । न पुनः सिद्धकर्तृविषय इव स्थूलदृष्ट्या ।
स्थूलदृष्ट्यनुसारी हि प्रायेण लौकिकः शब्दव्यवहारः । तस्माद्धटोऽस्तीत्ययमर्थः—४घटः
स्वात्मानं सन्तं करोतोति । कथं ५तर्धसतो घटस्य कर्तृत्वम् १ अत्यन्तासत्त्वानभ्युपगमात् ।
कथन्तिर्दि नित्येष्वाकाशादिष्वस्त्यादेः प्रयोगः १ उच्यते । तत्र भावनाया अभावनिश्चयाद्धात्वर्थमात्रविवक्षया प्रयोगः । प्रकृतेश्च केवलप्रयोगानिहत्वात्पत्ययस्य प्रयोगः । अपि च योऽपि
भावनाया अपि घार्तुनेवाभिधानं मन्यते, तस्याप्येष दोषस्समान एव । अस्त्यादौ धातोरिपि
प्रत्ययस्येव भावनां प्रति व्यभिचारात् (इति) अरुमितवाचालतया ॥

१. दष्टेहोप—छ.

२. मावनात्रतीत्यमावात् — 🐷.

३. लीकिकशब्द—**—क**.

४. घटस्यात्मनः सन्तं — च.

५. तर्बासते कर्तृत्वं—च

### **PRAMEYAMĀLĀ**

BY

#### **VĀTSYA VARADAGURU**

#### EDITED WITH TRANSLATION AND NOTES

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यच्चोकं — विशेषणान्तरिविशिष्टे वस्तुनि विशेषणान्तरान्वयाद्विशेषणानामन्योन्यसमवायपसङ्ग इति; तदसत् ; विकल्पासहत्वात् । किं पदार्थेस्मरणदशायामन्योन्यसमवायपसङ्गः ?
अथ परामशेदशायाम् ? आहोस्विद्वावयार्थाभिधानदशायाम् ? न तावत्प्रथमः कल्पः ।
स्मरणदशायां पृथक् पृथक् पदार्थस्मरणेन मिथोऽन्वयपसङ्गाभावात् । नापि द्वितीयः ;
एकस्मिन्वस्तुन्यविरुद्धानेकविशेषणसमवायस्य प्रत्यक्षावगतस्य यथावस्थितवस्तुपरामशिदशायां परामृश्यमानत्वात् । नापि तृतीयः ; वाक्यार्थाभिधानदशायां सेंवः पदेर्पुगपदनेकविशेषणविशिष्टेकवस्तुविषयेकज्ञानजननेन कमाभिधानप्रयुक्तान्योन्यसमवायपसङ्गाभावात् । यथैव द्वे चक्षुषी जातिगुणाद्यनेकविशेषणविशिष्टेकवस्तुविषयामेकां धियं युगपज्जनयतः, तथैवानेकानि पदानि युगपदेव तत्तद्विशेषणविशिष्टेकवस्तुविषयोमेकां धियं युगपज्जनयतः, तथैवानेकानि पदानि युगपदेव तत्तद्विशेषणविशिष्टेकवस्तुविषयोमेकां धियं युगपविभागसिद्धिरिति चेतः उच्यते; ज्ञाताज्ञातविभागो द्वुदेश्योपादेयविभागः; सच युगपत्पतिपादनेऽपि नापैति । एकेन वाक्येनेकस्य वस्तुनोऽनेकविशेषणान्वयं युगपत्पतिपांचे तत्रैकविशेषणान्वयः प्रागेव ज्ञातः, विशेषणान्तरान्वयस्त्वज्ञात इति ज्ञाताज्ञातविभागपरामर्शः परामर्शदशायां हि संभवत्येव ।

यद्ण्युक्तं — विशिष्टैक्यपितिपादने विशेष्यैक्यविद्विशेषणिक्यं प्रसज्यत इति ;
तदि न साधीयः ; भवत्पक्षेऽप्यसत्यत्वादिपितियोगिरूपिवशेषणिक्यपसङ्गात् । प्राति
पदिकानां तत्तत्पतियोगिविशिष्टस्वरूपपरत्वेऽपि समानविभक्तेः प्रातिपदिकार्थैकदेशम्तविशेष्यमात्रैक्यपस्त्वव्युत्पत्त्या न विशेषणिक्यं प्रसज्यत इति चेत् ; तदस्मत्पक्षेऽपि समानम् । आवयोविशेषस्तु प्रागेवोक्तः । 'काष्ण्येपीतिमरक्तिमादिव्यावृत्तं
शौक्ल्यम् ' इत्यादिषु प्रतियोगिमेदस्य तत्तद्व्यावृत्तस्वरूपस्य च शब्दोपात्तत्वाक्त लक्षणाप्रसङ्गः, सत्यादिवाक्येषु न तथेति विशेषः । एवं तावच्छौक्ल्यादिदृष्टान्तवाक्यात् सदादिदाष्टान्तिकवाक्यस्य शब्दद्वारकं वैषम्यमुक्तम् । अधद्वारकं च वैषम्यं द्रष्टव्यम् । कथमिति चेत् ; इत्थम् ; शौक्ल्यादेः कस्यचिद्व्यस्य द्रव्यान्तराद्व्यावर्तकत्या धर्मान्तरानपेक्षत्वम् । ब्रद्मणस्तु न तथात्विमिति स्वरूपितिरिक्तव्यावर्तकभर्मिपक्षा अस्त्येव । किञ्च
शौक्कवादिस्वरूपस्पुरणे हि न कार्ण्याद्यध्यासप्रसङ्गः । अतस्तत्र संवरूपमेव सकले-

तरन्यावृत्तिरिति युक्तमभ्युपगन्तुम् । ब्रह्मस्वरूपस्फुरणेऽपि तदितराध्यासाभ्युपगमाद्रजता-दिन्यावर्तकाधिष्ठानस्वरूपातिरिक्तग्रुक्तित्वादिवत्सर्वाध्यासाधिष्ठानब्रह्मस्वरूपातिरिक्तसक्रलेतर-न्यावृतिरूपधर्मोऽवश्याभ्युपगन्तन्यः ।

यचोक्तं — विशेषणभेदे विशेष्यभेदपसङ्ग इति; तदयुक्तम्; विशेषणभेदमात्रस्य विशेष्यभेदकत्वाभावात्। 'देवदत्तरस्यामो युवा' इत्यादिषु विशेषणभेदेऽपि विशेष्यभेदमयदर्शनात्। तत्र विशेषणभेदस्य स्वतः प्राप्तं विशेष्यभेदकत्वं प्रत्यक्षेणापोद्यत इति चेन्न; धर्मिवाचिपदै-क्यात् समानविभक्तिनिर्देशाच्चेक्यप्रतीतेः। 'खण्डो मुण्डः पूर्णश्वङ्गो गौः' इत्यत्र धर्मिवाचिप-दैक्ये समानविभक्तिनिर्देशे सत्यपि विशेषणभेदाद्विशेष्यभेदः प्रतीयत इति चेत्, नैवम्; यतः स्वतः प्राप्तं तयोर्विशेष्यभेदपतिपादकत्वं प्रत्यक्षेण तत्रापोदितम्। परोक्षेऽपि खण्ड-त्वादिविशेषणभेदे विशेष्यभेदपतीतिर्दृश्यत इति चेत्, परोक्षेऽपि श्यामत्वादिविशेषणभेदेऽपि विशेष्यभेदपतीतिर्दृश्यत इति समानश्चर्यः। को निर्णायक इति चेत्, यज्ञातीयविशेषणानां नियमेन भिन्नाश्रयत्वं प्रत्यक्षेण दृष्टं, तज्ञातीयविशेषणानां परोक्षेऽपि विशेष्यभेदपात्तिवश्वर्यभेदानिम् । यज्ञातीयविशेषणानां तु भिन्नाश्रयत्वनियमो न दृष्टः, तज्ञातीयविशेषणानां तु भिन्नाश्रयत्वनियमो न दृष्टः, तज्ञातीयविशेषणानां परोक्षेऽपि विशेष्यभवन्यने स्वाप्तव्यत्वन्यमे । यज्ञातीयविशेषणानां तु भिन्नाश्रयत्वनियमो न दृष्टः, तज्ञातीयविशेषणानां धर्मिवाचिपदैक्ये समानविभक्तिनिर्देशे च एकविशेष्यसमवे-त्वं युक्तम्; यथा नील्वादीनामिति ।

यचोक्तं—वाच्ये प्रधानांशस्य प्रतिपादनान्न रूक्षणेति ; तदप्यसत् ; विशेषणद्वारेण विशेष्यपर्यवसायिनश्शब्दस्य द्वारानभिधाने द्वार्थभिधानासिद्धेः । अरुक्षिणिकत्वेऽपि विशिष्टाभिधानस्वरसस्य शब्दस्य विशेष्यमात्रपरत्वे स्वारस्यहानिरवर्जनीया । सा च विरोधाभावे न युक्ता ।

यच ' विषं भुङ्क्ष्व' इत्यादिषु सर्वपदलक्षणा दृष्टेति ; तच तत्र विधिपत्ययांशस्य मुख्यत्वादयुक्तम् । तत्र विधिपत्ययन्यतिरिक्तशब्दलक्षणा च मुख्यार्थत्वे प्रमाणान्तरिवरो-धात्त्वीक्रियते । प्रस्तुते तु विरोधाभावात्र सा युक्ता ।

यचोक्तं—समानविभन्त्यवगतैन्यविरोधाद्विशेषणपरित्याग इति ; तद्प्ययुक्तम् ; प्रातिपदिकावगतविशेषणान्वयविरोधादैनयपरित्यागापत्तेः । तथाहि—यदि समानविभन्तय- न्वयावगतः वादैक्यं न हातुं शक्यते, तर्हि प्रातिपिदकान्वयव्यितरेकावसितिविशेषणान्वयः कथिमव हातुं शक्यते ? यथा 'नीलमुत्पलम् , इत्यादौ । तत्र विशेषणान्वयस्तु प्रत्यक्षसिद्ध-त्वादङ्गीकियत इति चेत् , तत्रैक्यपतीतिरिप तथैवेति किमिति न स्यात् ? समानविभक्ति-निर्देशे परोक्षेऽप्यैक्यपतीतिर्दश्यत इति चेत् , तथैव प्रातिपिदकपयोगे परोक्षेऽपि विशेषणान्वयपतीतिर्दश्यत एव । तस्मादैक्यपतीतिश्शाब्दी चेद्विशिष्टभतीतिरिप शाब्येवेति न किथिद्विशेषोऽन्यत्राभिनिवेशात् । तस्मात्सत्यादिवाक्यं सत्यत्वादिविशिष्टमेव ब्रह्म प्रति-पादयतीति सिद्धम् ॥

।। इति वत्सकुरुतिरुकश्रीवरदगुरुविरिचतायां श्रीभाष्यप्रमेयमारु।यां अलण्डवाक्यार्थभङ्गः ॥

# ॥ अथ त्रिविधपरिच्छेदराहित्यम् ॥

ननु 'सत्यं ज्ञानमनन्तं ब्रह्म ' इत्यत्र अनन्तपदेन देशकाल्यस्तुपरिच्छेदराहित्यं विविक्षितम् । तत्र वस्त्वन्तरसद्भावो वस्तुपरिच्छेद् इति ब्रह्मव्यितिरक्तं वस्त्वभ्युपगच्छतो भेदवादिनो न ब्रह्मानन्त्यसिद्धिः । अद्वैतवादिनस्तु ब्रह्मव्यितिरक्तवस्त्वन्तराभावात्तस्यैव ब्रह्मानन्त्यसिद्धिरिति चेत् ; तन्न ; भवतोऽपि ब्रह्मव्यतिरेकेणाविद्यामभ्युपगच्छतो ब्रह्मानन्त्यासिद्धेः । अविद्याया मिध्यारूपत्वान्न दोष इति मा वोचः ; मिध्यारूपत्वेऽपि तथाविधा-यास्तस्या ब्रह्मव्यतिरेकस्यावद्याश्रयणीयत्वात् । इत्तरथा ब्रह्मणोऽविद्यात्वमविद्यायाश्य ब्रह्मत्वं वा स्यात् । न ह्यनिवेचनीयजहरूपाया अविद्यायास्सच्चिद्वपस्य ब्रह्मणश्च तमः-प्रकाशयोरिवेतरेतरभावस्सम्भवति । तदुक्तं भवदीय एव भाष्ये 'युष्मदस्मत्प्रत्ययगोचर्योविषयविषयिणोस्तमः प्रकाशयोरिव विरुद्धस्वभावयोरितरेतरभावानुपपत्ते सत्याम् ' इति ।

अथ मतम्—सजातीयवस्त्वन्तरसद्भावो वस्तुपरिच्छेद इति ब्रह्मणश्चाविद्यासजातीय-त्वाभावादपरिच्छेद इति । यद्येवं, भेदवादिनोऽपि ब्रह्मच्यविरिक्तस्य कृत्स्नस्य वस्तुन-स्तद्धमत्वाद्धमणस्तद्धर्मितया तद्विजातीयत्वादपरिच्छेदसिद्धिरिति समानश्चचः । अथ ब्रह्मण-स्तद्यतिरिक्तस्य च धर्मधर्मिभावेन विजातीयत्वेऽपि सत्यत्वप्रमेयत्वादिना आकारान्तरेण सजातीयत्वमस्त्येवेति नापरिच्छेदसिद्धिरिति मन्यसे, एवं तर्हि जडत्वस्वयम्प्रकाशत्वादिना विजातीयत्वेऽप्यनादित्वभासमानत्वादिना आकारान्तरेण सजातीयत्वमविद्याब्रह्मणोरस्तीति तुल्यं चोद्यम् । एतच्चोद्यपरिजिहीर्षया सर्वथा सजातीयवस्त्वन्तरसद्भावो वस्तुपरिच्छेद इति वचनं भेदपक्षेऽपि समानम् ।

किश्च यथा देशकारूपरिच्छेदौ स्वव्यितिरिक्तदेशकारुसद्भाव इति नाङ्गीक्रियते, तथा वस्तुपरिच्छेदोऽपि स्वव्यितिरिक्तवस्तुसद्भाव इति न युज्यते वक्तुम् । देशकारुपरिच्छेद्दे योरिप तथात्वमभ्युपगम्यत इति चेत् , तथा सित घटादीनामिप देशकारुपरिच्छेदौ न स्याताम् । तेषां कारूपनिकदेशकारुावच्छेदो विद्यत इति चेत् , तिईं ब्रह्मणोऽपि तदवच्छेद्द्रस्यात् ; कारूपनिकदेशकारुयोविद्यमानत्वात् । वास्तवदेशकारुगवच्छेदो न घटादीनामपीति तेभ्यो ब्रह्मणो न कश्चिद्विशेषोऽन्यत्राभिनिवेशात् । किश्च ब्रह्मव्यितिरिक्तस्य तद्गुणविभूतिभूतस्य वस्तवन्तरस्यानन्यथासिद्धानेकपमाणसिद्धस्य अन्यथासिद्धानन्तपदमात्रेण न बाधशङ्कावकाशः । न ह्यकपदस्वारस्यानुरोधाय सर्वशब्दस्वारस्यभङ्को युक्तः । तस्मान्न वस्त्वन्तरस्य द्वावो वस्तुपरिच्छेद इति वक्तुं युक्तमिति ।

एवं स्थिते वस्त्वन्तरप्रतिघातो वस्तुपरिच्छेद इति केचित् । यथा सूर्यालोकादेः स्वतस्त्रवेप्रदेशप्रवेशाहिस्यापि कुड्यादिभिः प्रतिहतिर्देश्यते । देशपरिच्छेदस्तु स्वत-स्त्रवेप्रदेशप्रवेशानिर्हता ; यथा घटादेरिति । एवंविधो वस्तुपरिच्छेदो ब्रह्मणो नास्तीति ब्रह्मणोऽनन्तत्वसिद्धिरिति ।

अन्ये त्वाहुराचार्याः—वस्तुपरिच्छेदो वस्तुनः परिमाणमिति । परिमितस्य हि वस्तुनः परिमितदेशवृत्तित्वम् । अवच्छेद्यस्य हि वस्तुनः परिमितत्वं वस्तुपरिच्छेदः ; अवच्छेद्यस्य देशस्य परिमितत्वं देशपरिच्छेद इति नानयोरैक्यम् । किन्तु वस्तुपरिच्छेदो देशपरिच्छे-

दस्य हेतुरिति हेतुहेतुमद्भावमात्रमेव ; यथा घटादेः परिमितत्वेन तदवच्छेदकस्य देशस्य परिमितत्वम् । अतो वस्तुपरिच्छेदो वस्तुनः परिमाणम् । तदभावाच ब्रह्मणोऽनन्तत्व- सिद्धिरिति ।

त्रय्यन्तिनिष्णातास्त्वाचक्षते - देशिवशेषयोगितया निषेषो देशपरिच्छेदः; यथा इदिमइदिमह न भवतीति । काल्डिवशेषयोगितया निषेषः काल्डपरिच्छेदः; यथा इदिमदानील भवतीति । वस्तुविशेषात्मतया निषेषो वस्तुपरिच्छेदः; यथा इदिमदल्ल
भवनीति । नित्यस्य विभोस्सर्ववस्त्वात्मकस्य ब्रह्मणस्तदभावादानन्त्यसिद्धिरिति । तथाहि—
पुरुषस्क्तनारायणानुवाकादिषु तावत्परस्य ब्रह्मणः 'स भूमिं विश्वतो वृत्वा ' 'सर्वे व्याप्य
नारायणस्त्रियतः ' 'येन सर्विमिदं प्रोतम् ' 'विश्वतः परमं नित्यम्' 'नित्यं विभुं सर्वगतम्'
इति सर्वदेशकाल्परिच्छेदाभावमुक्तवा, 'पुरुष एवेदं सर्वम् ' 'यद्भृतं यच्च मन्यम् ' विश्वमेत्रेदं पुरुषः ' 'स ब्रह्मा स शिवः ' 'स वै सर्विमिदं जगत् स च मृतं स भन्यम् ' इति
सर्ववस्त्वात्मकत्वेन वस्तुपरिच्छेदाभाव उक्तः । 'पुरुष एवेदं सर्वम् ' 'यद्भृतं यच्च मन्यम् '
'स वै सर्विमिदं जगत् स च मृतं स भन्यम् ' इति काल्ज्यवर्तिसर्ववस्त्वात्मकत्वाभिधानेन
लर्थात्काल्परिच्छेदाभावश्च प्रतिपादितः । तथा भगवता पराशरेणापि ' अपक्षयविनाशाभ्यां परिणामिद्धिजन्मिभः ' 'सर्वत्रासौ ' इति स्कोकद्वयेन काल्तो देशतश्च परिच्छेदाभावमिभधाय, 'तदेव सर्वमैवैतत् ' इति सर्ववस्त्वात्मकत्त्वा वस्तुपरिच्छेदाभावः प्रतिपादितः ।

यतु—वस्त्वन्तरप्रतिहृतिः वस्तुनः परिमाणं वा वस्तुपरिच्छेर इति, तत् तयोर्देशपरिच्छेदान्तर्भविन पृथगिभधानम्न प्रयोजनविद्त्यनपेक्षितोक्तेर्वस्त्वन्तरात्मतया निषेधरूपस्य परिच्छेदस्यानिभधानेनापेक्षितार्थावचनादारम्भणाधिकरणभाष्यविरोधाच त्रय्यन्तविदो
न बहुमन्यन्ते । आरम्भणाधिकरणे हि देशकालपरिच्छेदयोः प्रतिपदार्थे तारतम्यं वस्तुपरिच्छेदस्य चैकरूप्यं भगवता भाष्यकारेणाभ्यधायि । वस्त्वन्तरात्मतया निषेधो वस्तुपरिच्छेद इति च तत्रैवोक्तं 'भेदवादिनस्तु ' इत्यादिना । अतो वस्त्वन्तरात्मतया निषेधो
वस्तुपरिच्छेदः ; तदभावाद्द्रक्षणोऽनन्तत्वम् । 'अनश्रम्नन्यः ' 'अन्योऽन्तर आत्मा '

इत्यादिषु स्वरूपिववेकपरेषु वाक्येषु वस्त्वन्तरात्मतया निषेधो दृश्यत इति चेत् ; अभि-प्रायापरिज्ञानात् । एतदुक्तं भवति—वस्त्वन्तरसामानाधिकरण्यायोग्यत्वं वस्तुपरिच्छेदः । ब्रह्मणम्तु सर्ववस्तुशरीरकत्वात्सर्ववस्तुसामानाधिकरण्ययोग्यत्वेन तदभाव इति ।

> ।। इति वत्सकुरुतिरुकश्रीवरदगुरुविरचितायां श्रीभाष्यप्रमेयमालायां त्रिविधपरिच्छेदराहित्यम् ॥

## ॥ अथ सर्वशरीरत्वम् ॥

ननु सर्वस्य ब्रह्मशरिरत्वन्न सम्भवति ; तल्लक्षणासिद्धेरिति चेत् , न ; तदसिद्धे-रेवासिद्धेः । तथाहि भगवान् भाष्यकारः—'चेष्टेन्द्रियार्थाश्रयश्शरीरम् ' इति न्यायस्नोक्तं शरीरलक्षणत्रयं लौकिकवैदिकसकल्शरीरन्यापित्वाभावेन जीवशरीरविशेषमात्र-लक्षणविवक्षयोक्तं मत्वा सकलशरीरन्याप्तं लक्षणान्तरत्रयं दर्शयति 'यस्य चेतनस्य ' इत्यादिना । यस्य चेतनस्य यद्व्यं सर्वात्मना स्वार्थे धारियतुं शक्यं, तत्तस्य शरीरम् ; यस्य चेतनस्य यद्व्यं सर्वात्मना स्वार्थे धारियतुं शक्यं, तत्तस्य शरीरम् ; यस्य चेतनस्य यद्व्यं शेषतैकस्वरूपं, तत्तस्य शरीरमिति त्रीणि शरीरलक्षणानि अन्योन्यनिरपेक्षाणि दश्यन्ते । लोकवेदयोहिं शरीरशब्दपयोगो यद्यद्वस्तुविषयो दश्यते, तत्र सर्वत्रानुगतमेव शरीरलक्षणं वक्तन्यम् । लोके तावदत्यन्तिवलक्षणाकारेषु कृमिकीटपतक्षनरपशुप्रभृतिष्वगौणः प्रयुज्यमानश्शरीरशब्दो दश्यते । श्रुतिस्मृतीतिहासपुराणेषु परमात्मन्यतिरिक्तस्य कृत्सनस्य चिदचिद्वस्तुनः परमात्मानं प्रति शरीरत्वं 'यस्य पृथिवी शरीरम् ' 'यस्यात्मा शरी-रम् ' 'सोऽभिध्याय शरीरात्स्वात् ' 'जगत्सर्वे शरीरं ते ' 'तानि सर्वाणि तद्वपुः ' इत्यादिभिन्ध्यपदिश्यते । चेष्टाश्रयत्वादीनामेव शरीरलक्षणत्वस्वीकारेण जगद्वक्षणोश्शरीर-शरीरिभावपतिपादकानामेषां बहूनां वचसामौपचारिकत्वाक्रीकारे जीवशरीरेष्वि द्विपात्त्व-दिक्तन्वरक्षणत्वस्वीकारेण कित्यस्य दिवानानेव शरीरलक्षणत्वस्वीकारेण विश्वश्रणत्वस्वीकारेण

तस्रक्षणरहितजीवशरीरान्तरेषु लोकवेदयोशशरीरशब्दप्रयोगस्यौपचारिकत्वेन पसज्येत । तदप्रसक्तिश्च सर्वत्र शरीरशब्दप्रयोगसाम्यात् । तदत्रापि समानमन्यत्रा-भिनिवेशात् । यस्य इति षष्ठग्रन्तेन प्रतिसम्बन्धिवाचिना पदेन शरीरत्वं न घटत्वादिवद-प्रतियोगिकम् ; किन्तु पुत्रत्वादिवत्सप्रतियोगिकमिति दशैयति । श्रुतिषु 'तस्माद्वा एतस्मादात्मनः' इत्यादिषु केवलात्मशब्दपयोगोऽपि तद्यतिरिक्तस्य वस्तुनस्तच्छरीरत्वं विव-क्षितमिति ज्ञापनाय । 'चेतनस्य' इति पदं 'घारयितं शक्यम्', 'शेषतैकस्वरूपम्' इति रुक्षण-द्वये प्रभापभावतोः शरीरशरीरिभावन्युदासार्थम् । लक्षणत्रयेऽप्यात्मधर्मभूतज्ञानस्य शरीर-त्विनृत्त्यर्थञ्च । चेतनस्य-चैतन्यविशिष्टस्येत्यर्थः । यदिति धर्मिनिर्देशः । द्रव्यशव्देन जीवग-तिकयादीनां शरीरत्वं व्युद्स्यते । सर्वात्मनेति कादाचित्कनियाम्यत्वादिमतां गर्भदासवस्त्रा-भरणगृहक्षेत्रादीनां शरीरत्वं निवर्त्त्यते । सर्वात्मना-यावद्व्यभावीत्यर्थः । अत एव सृष्टचपव-र्गादिभिरावापोद्वापवशादव्यवस्थितांशविशेषसम्बन्धानियतसमुदायाकारक्षेत्रज्ञसमष्टिधार्यप्रकृतौ द्वितीयरुक्षणस्यातिव्याप्तिपरिहारश्च । स्वार्थ इति तत्तच्छरोराविषयेषु कार्येषु तस्य तस्य शरीरस्य नियाम्यत्वाभावेन रुक्षणस्यासम्भावना निराक्रियते । स्वार्थ-स्वविषये, तत्तच्छरीरा-साधारणे कार्य इत्यर्थः । नियन्तुं धारयितुं शेषभूतमिति पदैः अनियाम्याधार्याशेषभृतेषु परमात्मादिष्वतिव्याप्तिर्निषिध्यते । शक्यमिति रुग्णादिशरीरेषु नियमनाद्यदर्शनेन लक्षण-स्याव्याप्तिः परिद्वियते । तेषु हि तच्छरीरिकर्तृकनियमनादिकार्याभावेऽपि तच्छक्तिविषयत्व-मस्त्येव । कार्यानुद्यस्तु रोगादिप्रतिबन्धात् । यथा अग्न्यादेश्शक्तिप्रतिबन्धाहाहा-दिकार्यानुदयः । शक्यं-शक्तिविषयीभूतमित्यर्थः । तच्छेवतैकस्वरूपमिति भिन्नवाक्यतया निर्देशस्तु स्वोर्थे शक्यमिति पूर्ववाक्यस्थपदद्वयानन्वयात्। वेदान्तिनस्सत्कार्यवादितया हस्ताद्यवयवानां समुदितानामेवावयवित्वेन शरीरत्वात्र तेष्वव्याप्तिश्शक्कनीया । नियाम्यत्वा-दिकं हि समुदितानामेव दृश्यते ; न विभक्तानाम् । एविमन्द्रियेष्विप नातिव्याप्तिः । मृतशरीरस्य चेतनवियोगक्षण एव विशरितमारभ्य क्षणान्तरे विशीर्णत्वेनाशरीरत्वात्राव्याप्तिः। तत्र शरीरशब्दव्यवहारस्तु पूर्वे शरीरतया क्रुप्तसङ्घातैकदेशगोचरत्वेनौपचारिकः । चेष्टाश्रय-त्वादिरुक्षणान्तरवादिनोऽपि समानमेतत् । कदाचिचेष्टायोगव्यवच्छेद एव रुक्षणतया विवक्षित इति चेत्, तथाप्यन्तर्यामिन्नासणद्वयद्ववारुोपनिषत्प्रमृतिषूपनिषद्वागेषु स्मृतोति-

हासपुराणेषु च पृथिव्याद्यक्षरतमः पर्यन्तबह्वर्थविषयतया बहुशः प्रयुज्यमानस्य शरीरशब्दस्य लाक्षणिकत्वकरूपनाद्वरं मृतशरीरमात्रविषयतया प्रयुज्यमानस्य शरीरशब्दस्य लाक्षणिकत्व करूपनम् । किश्च मृतशरीरस्यापि परमात्मापेक्षया शरीरत्वमस्त्येव । जीवात्मापेक्षया शरीरत्वं लाक्षणिकम् । तस्मादिदमेव समीचीनं शरीरलक्षणत्रयम् । न्यायसूत्रे तु जीवशरोरविशेषगोचंर लक्षणमुक्तमिति बोद्धव्यम् ।

यथा न्यायिवदामेव प्रमासाधनप्रमाणत्ववचनं जीवगतप्रमासम्बन्धिप्रमाणमात्र-, रूक्षणिववक्षयोक्तम् ; न पुनर्जीवपरमात्मगतप्रमासम्बन्धिप्रमाणरूक्षणिववक्षयेति व्याख्यातं तज्ज्ञैः । अतस्यूक्तं 'यस्य ' इत्यादिना माण्येण रूक्षणत्रयम् । तत्र तृतीयरूक्षणिववेकार्थं शेषरूक्षणं व्याक्रियते । 'शेषः परार्थत्वात् ' इति शेषशेषिभावपरं जैमिनीयं सूत्रं परेरन्यथा-व्याख्यातं मत्वा यथावद्याच्छे—' परगतातिशयाधानेच्छयोपादेयत्वमेव यस्य स्वरूपं स शेषः परश्लेषी ' इति । अस्यार्थः—अन्यस्य प्रयोजनमेव यस्य प्रयोजनं स शेषः ; अन्य-श्लेषीति । अत्र परशब्दोऽन्यपर्यायः । परातिशयशब्दयोः कर्मधारयसमासशङ्कामात्रनिवृत्त्यर्थं गतेतिपदम् । अतिशयः—विशेषः, किश्चित्कार इति यावत् । 'नाकिश्चित्कृर्वतश्लेन्यम् ' इति हि मीमांसकानां प्रसिद्धिः ।

भनेन।तिशयशब्देन स्वरूपाननुक्छिवन।शाद्याधायकानां शेवत्वशङ्काव्युदासः। प्रकित्वनाश्यस्य हि कर्मणः स्वगतिवनाशाधायकप्रकं प्रति न शेवित्वम्। भाधानशब्देना-तिशयं प्रत्यनिधकरणतया हेतुत्वं विवक्ष्यते। भनेन परगतमितशयं स्वित्मनापादिय-तुमच्छयोपादेयस्य शेविणः शेवत्वशङ्कानिवृत्तिः। इच्छयेति परगतातिशयस्येच्छाविषय-तया प्रयोजनत्वमुच्यते। तच 'परार्थत्वात्' इत्यर्थशब्देनोक्तम्। अर्थ्यत इत्यर्थः, इष्यत इति यावत्। अनेन स्वित्मन्नप्यतिशयाधायके मृत्यादौ रुक्षणस्यासम्भवशङ्कानिवृत्तिः। उपादेयत्वं—स्वोकार्यत्वम्। इच्छास्वीकारौ च शेविणः शेवस्य वा अन्यस्य वा यथा-सम्भवम्। यत्र शेवी वा शेषो वा चेतनः, तत्र तयोरन्यतरस्येच्छास्वीकारौ। यत्र तूभयम-चेतनं प्रभाप्रभावद्यागतदङ्कादिकं, तत्रोभयव्यतिरिक्तस्य चेतनस्यैवेति। परिनन्नप्यतिशयाधायकस्य स्वामिनः परं प्रति शेवत्वच्युदासः। स्वरूपिति स्वरूपितिरिक्तगुणाद्यपाः

धिनिरासः । स्वरूपं-स्वरूपप्रयुक्तम् ; न गुणादिधर्मप्रयुक्तमित्यर्थः । एवश्च सर्वशेषित्वं सर्वशरीरकत्वश्चेश्वरस्य सिद्धम् ।

> ॥ इति वत्सकुरुतिरुकश्रीवरदगुरुविरचितायां श्रीभाष्यप्रमेयमारु।यां सर्वेशरीरत्वम् ॥

## ॥ अथ अपशूद्रनयादिविरोघोपपादनम् ॥

एवश्च ब्रह्मणस्सर्वेशरीरकत्वात् शरीरवाचिशब्दानाश्च शरीरिपर्यन्तत्वात्सर्ववस्तु-सामानाधिकरण्यम् ; न पुनस्सर्वतादात्म्येन ; व्याघातश्चृतिविरोधादिदुष्टत्वात् । अत एव न बाधार्थसामानाधिकरण्यमपि ; विरोध्याकारान्वयाभावे प्रतीताकारबाधायोगात् , मुख्ये सम्भवति लाक्षणिकार्थस्वीकारायोगाच्च । तदेवं सत्य एव प्रपञ्चः । सगुणमेव ब्रह्म । तच्च जीवाच्छरीर(रि)त्वादिभिर्मिन्नम् । तादृशमेव चोपासित्व्यम् । उपासनमेव च वेदान्तविहित्तमोक्षोपायः । तच्च कर्मानुगृहीतम् । कर्म च फलाभिसन्धिविशिष्टवेषेण मुमुक्षोहेयम् । तदेव तेन तत्तत्त्वर्गादिफलाभिसन्धिविरहेण परमात्मप्रीत्यर्थतयानुष्ठितमुपा-सनानुप्राहकम् । एवश्च सति कर्मविचारस्य ब्रह्मविचारापेक्षया पूर्ववृत्तत्ववचनमुपपन्नम् ।

ये पुनर्वाक्यार्थज्ञानमात्रात् मिध्याभृतवन्धनिष्ट् चिरिति वदन्ति, तेषां प्रत्यक्षश्रुतिस्मृतिन्यायादिविरोधो भाष्ये प्रपश्चितः ; शारीरकापशृद्धाधिकरणनयविरोधश्च तत्रैव दर्शितः—तत्पक्षे शृद्धादीनामप्यर्थित्वसामध्ययोरनपायात् कर्मणां विविदिषामात्रहेतुत्वाभ्युपगमात् , जन्मान्तरशतानुष्ठितैरपि तैर्विविदिषोत्पत्तिसम्भवात् , भेदवासनाकृष्टचेतसामपि वेदान्तमन्तरेण साङ्क्ष्यादिभिरपि तत्त्वचिन्तनपृष्टचेर्बुसुत्सोत्पन्त्युपपत्तेः, तदनन्तरश्च
भवदभिमतैस्तर्कादिभिरपि तथाविधज्ञानसम्भवात् , शास्त्रजन्यस्यापि ज्ञानस्य ततो विशेषाभावात् , अशास्त्रवश्येर्वा भवत्सिद्धान्तिनष्ठैर्वद्मविद्धराचण्डारुं तद्पदेशसम्भवादित्यादिभिर्हे-

तुभिः । तच्चाधिकरणमेवं प्रवृत्तम् । 'शुगस्य तदनादरश्रवणात् तदाद्रवणात् सूच्यते हि ' 'क्षत्रियत्वगतेश्च' 'उत्तरत्र चैत्ररथेन लिक्कात् ' 'संस्कारपरामर्शात्तदभावाभिलापाच्च' 'तदभाव-निर्धारणे च प्रवृत्तेः ' 'श्रवणाध्ययनार्थपतिषेधात् ' 'स्मृतेश्च ' इति । पूर्वत्र देवादीनामधिकार उक्तः ; इह तु शूद्रस्य किं ब्रह्मविद्यायामधिकारोऽस्ति न वेति विचार्यते । अस्तीति पूर्वः पक्षः । नेति सिद्धान्तः । तदर्श्व विचार्यते किं शूद्रस्य साङ्गब्रह्मविद्योपसंहारसामर्थ्यमस्ति न वेति । यदास्ति तदा शूद्रस्याधिकारसम्भवः । यदा तु न, तदा अनिधकार इति फल-फिल्मावः ।

तत्र पूर्वः पक्षः—ब्रह्मविद्यायां शूद्रस्याधिकारस्सम्भवतीति, अर्थित्वस।मर्थ्ययोः स्सम्भवात् । आध्यात्मिकादिदुःखाभितप्तस्य तिज्ञहासया हेयप्रत्यनीककल्याणगुणगणा-करब्रह्मप्राप्तावर्थित्वं सम्भवति । सामर्थ्येश्च पदुतरदेहेन्द्रियादिकम् ; अतः त्रैवर्णिकव-द्वर्ष्क्षोपासनं सम्भवति । ब्रह्मस्वरूपतदुपासनप्रकारज्ञानञ्चानधीतवेदस्यापि शूद्रस्य इति-हासपुराणश्रवणादेव सम्भवति । अस्ति हि शूद्रस्यापि इतिहासपुराणश्रवणानुज्ञा । श्रावयेच्चतुरो वर्णान् कृत्वा ब्राह्मणमग्रतः ' शूद्रस्युखम्वाप्नुयात् ' शूद्रोऽपि महत्त्व-मीयात् ' इत्यादिभिः ।

ननु उपासनविधीनां स्वाध्यायजन्यमेव ज्ञानमुपकारकम्, नेतिहासादिजन्यम् ;
यथा ज्योतिष्टोमादिकमिविधयः त्रैवर्णिकविषयाध्ययनविधिसिद्धस्वाध्यायसम्पाद्यज्ञानलामेन
सविषयत्वात् शूद्रादेरक्लप्रस्वाध्यायादिकल्पनासम्भवात्तदेव स्वोपायतया स्वोकुर्वन्ति ; तथोपासनविधयोऽपीति पूर्वकाण्डोदितापशुद्राधिकरणन्यायेनैव सिद्धत्वात् कथिमिह ब्रह्मोपासने
शूद्रस्याधिकारः पुनराशक्कघते ? उच्यते--स हि न्यायस्तत्रैव जीवति, यत्रापवादवचनत्र
हश्यते । यत्र त्वपवादकं वचनमस्ति, तत्र तु नायं न्यायः प्रवर्तितुमर्हति । न हि वचनविरोधे
न्यायः प्रभवति ; वचनाक्तत्वान्न्यायस्य । 'प्रमाणानुमाहकस्तर्कः ' इति हि न्यायविदः । यथा
'रथकारोऽग्नीनादधीत ' 'निषादस्थपति याजयेत् ' इत्यादिष्वपशूद्धनयवाधेन श्रुतिसिद्धो
रथकारादेराधानाद्यधिकारोऽक्रीकियते । एवमत्राप्यपशूद्धनयवाधेन ब्रह्मोपासने शूद्धस्याधिकारइशक्कघते । कि पुनरिहापशूद्धनयातिक्रमकारणम् ? वचनमेवेति ब्रूमः । 'आजहारेमाश्रुद्धा-

नेनैव मुखेनालापयिष्यथाः ' इति छान्दोग्ये संवर्गविद्यायां रैको जानश्रुतिं शुद्रशब्देनामन्त्र्य तस्य ब्रह्मविद्यामुपदिशति । इतिहासपुराणेषु विदुरादीनां ब्रह्मविद्यानिष्ठतादर्शनं श्रुतिसिद्ध-मधिकारमुपचृंहयति । यज्ञादिकर्मापेक्षत्वं विद्यायाश्शुद्धानिधकारं गमयतीति चेत् , न ; यथा अनाश्रमिणां विदुरादीनां आश्रमिणां नेष्टिकादीनाञ्च विद्यानिष्ठत्वदर्शनात्तेषु यज्ञाद्यन् पेक्षा विद्यति स्वीकियते, तद्वदत्रापि शूद्धस्य विद्याधिकारे सिद्धे स्ववणोचितपूर्ववणशुश्रूषा-द्यक्तिका विद्या शूद्धे, न पुनर्यज्ञाद्यपेक्षेति निश्चीयते । अतश्रद्धस्याप्यधिकारोऽस्तीति ।

राद्धान्तस्तु-न शृद्धस्य ब्रह्मविद्याधिकारस्सम्भवतीति ; सामर्थ्याभावात् । न धनधी-तवेदस्याश्चतवेदान्तस्य ब्रह्मस्वरूपतदुपासनप्रकाराद्यनभिज्ञस्य शूद्रस्य विद्योपसंहारसामर्थ्यः सम्भवः । कर्मविधिवदुपासनविधयोऽपि त्रैवर्णिकविषयाध्ययनविधिसिद्धस्वाध्यायसम्पाद्य-ज्ञानमेव हि स्वोपायतया स्वीकुर्वते । इतिहासादेस्तु वेदोपबृंहणद्वारेणैव ज्ञानहेतुत्वम् ; न स्वातन्त्र्येण ; ' इतिहासपुराणाभ्यां वेदं समुपबृंहयेत् ' इति वचनात् । श्रवणानुज्ञानन्तु पापक्षयादिफरुर्थिम् , नार्थज्ञानार्थम् । विदुरादयस्तु भवान्तराधिगतज्ञानाप्रमोषाद्विद्या-निष्ठा इति न तच्छूदाधिकारलिङ्गम् । संवर्गविद्यायां तु शूद्रशब्दः शोचनाच्छूद इत्यव-यवशक्तया ब्रह्मज्ञानाभावनिमित्तशोकवित क्षत्रिये जानश्रुतौ वर्तते । रथकारन्यायेन रूढि-शक्तिरेव किमिति नादियत इति चेत्; उच्यते-पूर्वापरपर्यालोचनया जानश्रुतेः क्षत्रियत्वा-बगमादवयवशक्तिनिमित्त मूतस्य शोकस्य श्रुत्येव विस्तरेण प्रतिपादनाच यौगिकोऽत्र शूद्र-शब्द इति निश्चीयते । रथकारादौ तु नावयवार्थप्रतिपादकं वचनमस्ति । नापि त्रैवर्णिकत्व-लिक्नं किञ्चिद् दृष्टमिति न रूढिशक्तिबाधः । अतरशूद्दशव्देन जानश्रुतिमामन्त्र्य ब्रह्मविद्यो-पदेशः न विद्यायाः शूद्राधिकारमापादयति । तस्मादपशूद्रनयातिक्रमकारणाभावाद्वह्मविद्याया-मि स एव न्यायः प्रवर्तत इति नाधिकारस्त्राद्वस्यास्ति । स चायं न्यायोऽपास्तसमस्त-वर्णाश्रमधर्माणां स्वाज्ञानमात्रकछिषितपरब्रद्मणां कलिब्रह्ममीमांसकानामसङ्गतः। ये पुनरि-दानीं योगसिद्धिह।निकरसम्माननाभीरुष्वनाविष्कृतशक्तिविद्याभिजन्ममहिमसु रणमात्रप्रदृतेषु अदृषितसर्वधर्ममर्यादेषु आदिभरतादिष्वपि स्वैरचारमारोप्य वर्णाश्रम-धर्मव्यवस्थातिलक्किन आचण्डालमेकीभूयान्तर्गतचार्वाकादिमर्यादाः व्रद्मविदो

न्ति, तैस्सह वाद्रूपसम्भाषणमि निरयपतनकारणं वदंन्ति सन्तः । श्रुतिस्मृत्यादयस्तु निर्भया जगद्धिताधिकृताः कृत्स्नांस्तान्प्रतिक्षिपन्ति 'नाविरतो दुर्श्चारतान्नाशान्तो नासमाहितः । नाशान्तमनसो वापि प्रज्ञानेनैनमाप्नुयात् ' 'स खल्वेवं
वर्तयन् यावदायुषं ब्रह्मलोकमिसम्पद्यते न च पुनरावर्तते ' 'नियतस्य तु सन्नश्चासः
कर्मणो नोपपद्यते । मोहात्तस्य परित्यागस्तामसः परिकीर्तितः । ' 'सतां मार्गमदूषयन् '
इत्यादिकाः । सूत्रितश्च 'सर्वान्नानुमितश्च प्राणात्यये तद्दर्शनात् ' इति 'अनाविष्कुर्वन्नन्यात् ' इति च । अतस्त्रैवणिकानामेव विधिनिषेधशास्त्रिक्द्वराणां ब्रह्मविद्याधिकारं
इति सिद्धम् ।

।। इति वत्सकुरुतिरुकश्रीवरदगुरुविरचितायां श्रीभाष्यप्रमेयमारु।यां निर्विशेषवादिनां भपशृद्धनयादिविरोधापादनम् ॥

> ॥ श्रीभाष्यप्रमेयमाला समाप्ता ॥ ॥ वात्स्यश्रीवरदगुरवे नमः॥ ॥ ग्रुभमस्तु ॥

#### REVIEWS.

The Philosophy of Aesthetic Pleasure by P. Pancapagesa Sastri, with a Foreword by Mahamahopadhyaya Prof. S. Kuppuswami Sastrigal. Pp. xxiv+324. 1940. (Annamalai University).

This volume contains the Thesis presented by the author for the M. O. L. Degree of the University of Madras. Its theme is Indian Aesthetics—a subject in which, as in so many others investigated by them, the ancient Indians have advanced numerous theories. Many of these theories are briefly referred to here; but the volume is chiefly concerned with the elucidation of the most prominent among them, which is known as the theory of rasa. The book is divided into ten chapters. The first three of them deal with the subject in a general way, and point out the importance as well as the antiquity of the rasatheory. It is mentioned already in the Nātya-śāstra of Bharata, the earliest work on Sanskrit literary criticism that has come down to us. The next four chapters treat of the chief interpretations of Bharata's view of rasa and show how the latest of them, which we owe to Anandavardhana and Abhinavagupta of the 9th and 10th centuries respectively. is the best. This view superseded all the rest, and has virtually dominated Indian literary criticism ever since. The next two chapters are taken up with the discussion of the exact significance of this theory, the extent of its influence and the modifications, all more or less slight, which it underwent in later times. The last chapter deals with the number of rasas, and considers in particular the question whether the śānta can be the predominant rasa in poetry and in the drama. The view maintained here, on the strength of the opinions of great critics and the practice of artists of the first rank like Vyāsa and Aśvaghosa, is that it can well be so.

The literature relating to this subject in Sanskrit is vast, and the author shows a close acquaintance with it. His exposition of the main theme, 'the suggestion theory' of rasa as he terms it, is very good. But there are large portions of the book which dwell at unnecessary length on matters that are well known to students of Sanskrit criticism. We have also come across a few doubtful or misleading statements. In dealing with Bhatta Lollata's view, for instance, it is stated (pp. 64 ff) that the anubhāvas or expressions of the emotions help the spectator in inferring the mental attitude of the hero and the heroine. But the

spectator's conclusions in this respect have nothing whatever to do with the 'generation of rasa' in the actors or the characters represented by them. The anubhāvas seem rather to serve as aids to the hero and the heroine themselves to discover each other's frame of mind. But speaking as a whole, the book brings together a good deal of information touching the theory of rasas, which now lies scattered in many books; and its publication will accordingly be welcomed by all students of Sanskrit literature. The various indexes included in the volume and the analytical table of contents will greatly facilitate the work of referring to it.

M. H.

Nītimālā by Nārāyaṇārya: Sanskrit Text edited with Introduction and Notes, by Prof. R. Ramanujachari, M.A., and Pandit K. Srinivasacharya, Siromani. cxii+pp. 94. 1940. (Annamalai University).

This is the second volume of the "Philosophy Series" planned by the Annamalai University, of which the first, viz., the Nyūya-kuliśa, edited by the same two scholars, appeared some time ago. this book also is published for the first time now; and the editorial work has been done with all the critical care to which we drew attention in reviewing the earlier volume in this journal. It was a high standard which they set themselves in it, and that standard is fully maintained here. Students of Indian philosophy are greatly indebted to the learned editors for placing within their easy reach such rare and important works, and to the University for encouraging their publication. The text of the Nītimālā, as printed here, is the result of collating three manuscripts; and all the variations in reading found in them have been noted. In one or two places, there are small gaps. but otherwise the text is complete; and where the Mss. are corrupt or are defective in any other way, the emendations suggested by the editors seem to us to be quite satisfactory. They have also included in the volume lucid summaries of the argument of the work both in Sanskrit and in English, the latter being somewhat fuller than the former. These summaries, together with the analytical table of contents prefixed to the text, are sure to be of great service to students. There are also appended to the edition various indexes to facilitate reference to the work. We may observe, in passing, that the quotation beginning with Tallabdhih is not from Bodhayana, as indicated in the Index to quotations, but from a different thinker, viz., Brahmanandin who is known as the Vākya-kāra.

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The author, Nārāyaṇarya belongs to about the end of the 12th or the beginning of the 13th century and holds an honoured place among the exponents of Viśistadvaita as shown, for example, by Vedanta Deśika's reference to him as 'a man of wisdom' (prājna). He seems to have written, at least, one other book—an abridgement of the Mīmāmsādarśana. The present work is written in prose interspersed with verses, and contains a brief but a very clear exposition of the fundamentals of Rāmānuja's teaching. It is divided into 10 chapters. Of them, four are directly concerned with the refutation of doctrines which, like the Visistadvaita, are based primarily on Sruti or Revelation, viz., Mīmāmsā and some schools of Vedānta. The Mīmāmsā subordinates the Upanishads to the karma-kānda of the Veda and thus differs from the Vedanta in the view it takes of the final import of Vedic teaching. One of these four chapters, viz., the second in the order of the book, criticises this view and points out that it is the jnana-kanda or the Upanishads which constitute the principal part of the Veda. The next three chapters are devoted to a discussion of the doctrines of Śańkara, Bhāskara and Yādava, which appear to have had the greatest vogue about the time, and make out that they are not only at variance with the teaching of the Veda, taken as a whole, but are also logically un-The remaining chapters also refer to other doctrines; but they do so only incidentally, their main purpose being the exposition of one or more distinctive aspects of the Visistadvaita view. Chapters 6 and 7, for example, together elucidate the conceptions of Brahman or God, the individual souls and the physical world, showing how the latter two are other than, though inseparable from, the first. Chapters 9 and 10 deal similarly with the nature of the ideal state of moksa, and with the twofold way of bhakti and prapatti recommended for achieving it.

There are two or three points in which the views put forward in this work are not precisely the same as are now commonly associated with the Viśiṣṭādvaita doctrine; but none of them, we should add, is really in disaccord with the spirit of Rāmānuja's teaching. For example, the explanation of error given here (p. 25) is what is known as anyathā-khyāti and not yathārtha-khyāti as set forth in the Śrī-bhāṣya. But from what Vedānta Deśika states in his Sarvārtha-siddhi (iv. 9), we cannot say that the former explanation was altogether unacceptable to Rāmānuja. Again, the significance which is attached here to vidhis (p. 60) is different from that assigned to them by Rāmānuja in his Vedārtha-saṃgraha. But the difference is not material as pointed out by the same thinker (ibid. v. 96), and is due merely to a shifting of the emphasis from one aspect of a vidhi to another. While Rāmā-

nuja's view lays stress on the idea of the good involved in it and keeps its mandatory character in the background, our author's explanation of it does the reverse.

The work is, comparatively speaking, easy; and, by its style as well as by its size, it is very well suited to meet the needs of those that desire to make their first acquaintance with Rāmānuja's doctrine. With the English aids to study, which the present edition contains, it should prove particularly useful to students in our Universities. It may not be so comprehensive as the Yatīndra-mata-dīpikā which is now sometimes used as a text-book by beginners; but it is less packed with facts, and its treatment of the subject is, on the whole, much better from the standpoint of students of philosophy.

M. HIRIYANNA.

## Annamalai University Economic Series-No. 7

#### GENERAL EDITOR

### Professor B. V. NARAYANASWAMY NAIDU

## **GROUNDNUT**

#### SECTION I

#### GROUNDNUT—ITS CULTIVATION

is cultivated both а rain-fed and also a Groundnut as "Saloum" variety introhot weather irrigated crop. The new duced recently has gained ground and has been slowly extending to the various parts of the district. The crop is sown generally as a mixed crop and is cultivated along with Tenai or where well-irrigation is in practice. In hot Ragi is first sown or planted, and groundnut is subsequently dibbled in when the cereal is in flowers. Occasionally it is grown as a pure crop, in which case it is sown early in January. As the cultivation of the dry crop is profitable, there is a tendency to utilize more cattle manure in these lands than on wet ones. Though the cereals are inter-cultivated with this crop, yet the yield of groundnut has not gone down. On the other hand, the yield has increased owing to the recuperative effect the groundnut crop has on land. The inter-cultivation of groundnut with cereals provides the thick population of this district with a means of improving its poor income.

Since the market for groundnut has been declining in recent years, there has been an attempt on the part of some ryots to change over to cotton cultivation to a certain extent. This new crop is slowly being introduced in the South Arcot District and there is a ginnery working at Villupuram.

The groundnut plant is an annual herbaceous plant, belonging to the natural order of Papilonaceae, with pea-shaped flowers. The leaves have four leaflets which are arranged on the leaf-stalk in two pairs exhibiting sleep movements at night. The stem attains from one to three feet in height according to the variety and the soil in which the plant is cultivated. Though there are several varieties of this plant under cultivation in different parts of the globe, the two varieties that are commonly met with in India are the spreading and bunch types. The commercial classification of the varieties is based on the shape of the mature pods, the number and colour of the seeds they contain and the manner in which the pods are produced on the stem of the plant.

The common variety that is grown in South Arcot takes five to six months to mature. In the initial stages of the plant's growth very little moisture is required. Till the flower begins to appear, the plant can withstand drought. As such, the sowing period is so selected as to make rain available in the last phase of the plant's life. In those tracts where the influence of the South-West monsoon is meagre, but are affected by the North-East monsoon, sowing operations are undertaken towards the end of July or at the beginning of August. In tracts having summer showers with seasonal rains from the middle of May, the crop is raised in April. In brief, the cultivator adjusts the sowing according to the seasonal rainfall of the tract.

Loose sandy loam is best fitted for the raising of this crop. Cultivation in heavy soil increases the cost of production and lowers the yield. The land is well drained before sowing as the plant will get diseased if water is allowed to stagnate in the field. Even a slight rainfall at the initial stages of the plant's growth will adversely affect the growth of the plant.

The land is first prepared for the crop by weeding in the initial stages. Weeds like Hariali and Korai seriously hamper the growth of the plant, affecting the yield. Hence the weeds, which grow after the seasonal rain, are first cleared in order to keep the beds clean. After weeding, the land is ploughed two to six times before manuring.

Manure is applied to the land before the last ploughing. Five to ten cartloads of manure, a mixture of ash, town or village sweepings and cattle manure are applied to an acre of land. In addition to these, tank silt and sheep penning are also spread over the field.

A few days after sowing, the nuts germinate. Slowly the plant covers the ground and begins to produce flowers. The rate of growth of the plant determines the rate of production of flowers. The maximum growth is seen during the third and fifth fortnight. Hence this period is termed the "grand period of growth." Followed by this period, is a decrease in the rate of growth, with a subsequent increase. After that there is a gradual decrease in growth. The critical period in its growth, which is definite but varying, is just before the first fortnight of flowering. It is necessary to see that this period coincides with the most advantageous part of the season so that the best development of the plant may be obtained.

Regarding flowering, there are three distinct phases. The bunch varieties of short duration start flowering about the 23rd day after sowing. After the first flowering, there is a rapid and steep increase in the production of flowers. After a week when the maximum rate is reached, there will be a progressive fall. In the local and "Saloum" varieties the flowering period begins after 34 and 32 days. As already remarked, the period of flowering lasts for a month.

The soil is loosened with the hand hoe to enable the plant to grow well. For this, labour is essential and, therefore, any scarcity of labour will greatly handicap the growth of the plant. Wherever scarcity of labour is felt, the method of sowing the crop in rows, intercultivation and the use of the bullock hoe, are strongly recommended by the Agricultural Department. Frequent hoeings are necessary to increase the growth of the plant. No stipulation as to number of hoeings can be made, for they depend on the soil and the variety of crop sown. But it can be said with safety, that such a procedure has to be continued for the first three months of the plant's growth. When the seasonal rains cease, the hoeings are done in order to retain the moisture in the ground and also to prevent the emergence of weeds. As the interspaces between plants are ample, bullock hoes can be utilized for hoeing.

Groundnut is cultivated as a mixed crop in many tracts. In South Arcot, it is grown along with cereals like Cholam or Cumbu. For this purpose "long duration varieties" are chosen, so that when the cereal is ready for harvest, the groundnut crop will be sufficiently grown up. Till then the cereal will serve to shade the young plant.

The method usually adopted is to broadcast the seed of the cereal and then level the ground. The seed-bed is made firm by dragging a harrow across the ploughing. When the cereal has grown six inches, weeding and hoeing are undertaken. Hoeing and weeding are repeated when the rains set in and the land is thus prepared for the sowing of groundnut which is done when the cereal begins to flower. The groundnuts are then dibbled in nine inches apart. This mode of cultivation greatly benefits the cereal crop.

For sowing, the cultivators purchase seeds occasionally. Clean pods are purchased and are shelled by hand. Only well-filled kernels are used for sowing, and mouldy ones are rejected.

The cultivators drop the seed into the plough furrow behind each plough when the crop is raised as a pure one. This involves hardship to

the cultivator, for, as the plants are too close, their full growth is checked and further hoeing operations cannot be successfully caried out. Besides this, if heavy rain sets in, the plots get water-logged and thus the plants are injured.

An improved method of sowing is generally to drop the seed at intervals of six to nine inches into every third plough furrow according to the quality of the soil. This procedure saves a considerable quantity of seeds and also reduces the cost of cultivation.

When the pods are formed at the end of the fourth month, the plant is ready for harvest. The stalks of the underground pods get dried and the skin of the kernels turns pink. This is the proper time for the crop to be lifted up. Even at this stage some pods may be immature.

The method of harvesting differs according to soil and climate. In South Arcot, in light loamy soil a mammottie is attached to a drought pole and worked like a plough to loosen the soil to a depth of about four inches. If the crop is too ripe or if the soil has hardened, many of the nuts may stick to the soil. To remove them, the pods at the top are taken first and pods adhering to the stem are picked next. Then the soil is loosened and the pods left underground are raked and picked.

When the harvesting is over the produce is spread in the open air in sunlight for drying and at nights they are heaped up and covered with straw. This process is repeated until the pods are completely dry.

We have already noted that the crop is also raised as an irrigated summer crop. Since it is a profitable venture, the cultivators adopt this procedure.

The crop is grown as a mixed one along with a cereal like ragi or cholam which is broadcast in the field when sown. When the crop is raised as a pure one, the seeds are dibbled in at 6" to 9" apart in the dry beds and watered immediately. At times the cultivators sow the local Mauritius variety close together but this entails heavy expenditure as we have already noticed.

Various methods of cultivation have been tried for experiment in the Agricultural Research Station, Palur, and the results recorded. One of its improved methods is as follows:—Seeds are sown in the furrow of every third plough furrow at intervals of 6"—9". Before sowing the land is well irrigated and left dry. As soon as the soil is dry, it is

levelled by means of a harrow in order to preserve the moisture in the soil to facilitate germination.

Being an irrigated crop, sufficient drains are made for water to flow. If the land is uneven, subsidiary channels are constructed across the rows from where the crop can be irrigated in each direction along the furrows. The furrows are occasionally raked with bullock-hoes to prevent evaporation. In the initial stages the irrigation is done once in a fortnight. The length of the interval between the irrigations varies with the texture of the soil. Hoeing and weeding operations cease when the plant begins to spread out. The furrows are kept open for frequent irrigation. When the pods begin to mature irrigation is stopped. Harvesting is done in the same manner as the rainfed crop.

The yield varies according to the variety and also the manner of cultivation. As a rainfed crop, the bunch and spreading varieties produce on an average 750 lbs. and 1,000 lbs. of pods respectively. On the other hand, the yield has been calculated at 2,000 lbs. and 2,500 lbs. for the bunch and spreading varieties when cultivated as an irrigated crop.

The cost of cultivation for both forms, rain-fed and irrigated, is tabulated below to show the difference in the expenditure involved. The net profit has been calculated to indicate which procedure is more paying. The figures are compiled from information gathered from the Tindivanam Agricultural Research Station.

[Experiments regarding yield, the variety to be utilized for maximum production and for thwarting pests and diseases, are described in later sections.]

COST OF CULTIVATION TABLES.

(Spreading type—calculated per acre).

### Rain-fed

1. Preparatory Cultivation.

Ploughing four times—6 pairs @ 10 annas Rs. as. ps. a pair (including those for covering manure and sowing) ... 3 12 0

2. Manures and Manuring. Rs. as. ps.	Rs. as. ps.
Cost of ten cart-loads of manure @ 6 annas a cart load 3 12 0 Charges for carting—2 carts @ Re. 1	
per cart 2 0 0	
Spreading manure—6 women at 2 annas each 0 12 0	6 8 0
3. Seeds and Sowing.	
Cost of 75tbs. of kernels at 16tb. a rupee 4 11 0	•
Sowing behind country plough and covering with brush harrow—¼ pair @ 0-12-0 a pair and 2 women @ 2 as.	
each 0 7 0	
	- 5 2 0
4. After Cultivation.	
Hoeing and weeding twice—24 women  @ 2 annas each	3 0 0
5. Harvesting.	
Mammootie digging—12 men @ 3 annas each 2 4 0	r
Stripping pods from vines and picking pods left out in the soil—60 men @ 2	
annas each 7 8 0	ı
Drying and cleaning—4 women @ 3 annas each 0 12 0	1
	- 10 8 0
6. Assessment.	1 0 0
	29 14 0

Total cost of cultivation per acre for the rain-fed crop is  $R_{\rm S.}$  30-0-0 approximately.

## CULTIVATION

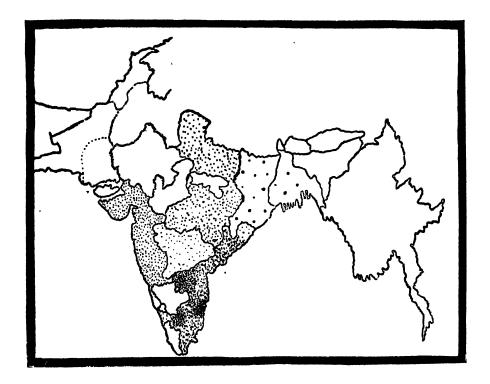
## Value of the Produce.

	Yield of pods—1,200 lbs. per acre or 900 l	bs.	of	kernels			
					Rs.	as.	ps.
900	lbs. of kernels @ Rs. 25/- per candy of 5	31 l	bs.	is =	43	0	0
	Value of haulms, 2000 lbs. @ 1000 per rup	ee			2	0	0
	Total cost of produce .	•			45	0	0
	Net profit per acre .			Rs.	15	0	0
	Irrigated Crop						
1.	Preparatory Cultivation.	Re	26	ps.	Rs.	26	ne
	Ploughing four to six pairs @ 10 annas a pair (including the one for covering the manure)	ino.	as.	<b>ps.</b>		12	დ <b>ა</b> .
2.	Manures and Manuring.						
	Cost of 10 cart-loads of manure @ 6 annas a cart-load	3	12	0			
	Carting charges for two carts @ Re. 1 each	2	0	0			
	Spreading manure—6 women @ 2 annas each	0	12	0	6	8	0
3.	Seeds and Sowing.						
	Cost of 64 lbs. of kernels @ 16 lbs. a rupee	4	0	0			
	Forming beds and sowing	2	6	0			
				_	6	6	0
4.	After Cultivation.						
	Hoeing and weeding—32 women @ 2 as. each	4	0	0			
	Irrigation—12 times at Rs. 2 - each	24	0	<u>0</u> .	28	0	0
						•	v

<b>5</b> .	Harvesting.						
	Mammootie digging—16 men @ 3 annas			-	Rs.	as. j	ps.
	each	3	0	0			
	Stripping pods and picking pods from the soil—100 women @ 2 annas each	12	8	0			
	<u> </u>	1	0	^			
	Drying and cleaning—8 @ 3 as. each				17	0	0
6.	Assessment.				2	0	0
				•	63		0
						or	_
					64	0	0
	Value of the Produce						
	Yield of pods—2,400 lbs. per acre or		•				
1,8	00 lbs. of kernels. Cost of 1,800 lbs. of						
keı	nels @ Rs. 25'/- per candy of 531 lbs.				86	0	0
	Value of haulms-4000 tbs. @ 1,000 tbs.						
per	rupee				4	0	0
	Total value of the produce				90	0	0
	Net profit per acre on the irrigated crop				26	0	0
					-		

N.B.:—The price of groundnut in calculating the value of the produce was taken to be Rs. 25. It should be borne in mind that the ruling price is only about Rs. 19.

## MAP OF INDIA SHOWING THE DISTRIBUTION OF GROUNDNUT ACREAGE



#### Section II

#### THE ACREAGE OF CULTIVATION

The groundnut of commerce is known by several common names, such as peanut, earthnut, chinese-nut and l'archidaeu. In India and other countries where it is grown, it is differently known in the vernacular languages by names which are merely translations of one or the other of those mentioned.

The plant which produces groundnut is known botanically as "Arachis hypogea." It is unknown in a wild state and its native country has been a matter of uncertainty. There is reason to believe, however, that it originated in tropical South America, since several species belonging to the genus Arachis are commonly found in that continent. There are other species of peanuts, among which may be mentioned "Arachis nambyquarae, Voandzeia subterranea, and Stylosanthis mucrowata." Arachis nambyquarae like Arachis hypogea, is freely found in Brazil. It is cultivated by the Nambyquarae Indians in Rondonia, Matto Grasso. It is surmised that peanut was first carried from Brazil to Africa by slave ships; by the same manner it was conveyed to Virginia from the African shores.

(a) World acreage:—The important groundnut producing countries are India, China, United States, Senegal, Nigeria, French Sudan, Gambia, Dutch East Indies, Japan, Spain and Argentina. China comes next to India with two billion pounds per year. The nuts are grown in most parts of China but the chief producing provinces are Shantung, Kwantung, Honan and Chikli. Manchuria also produces large quantities of groundnut. Although a small podded variety was grown in China for a long period, her extensive peanut industry had its real beginning only by 1889, when Archdeacon Thompson, an American missionary, took four quarts of Virginia peanuts to Shanghai.\*

<sup>†</sup> Vide Appendix: Table I.

<sup>\*</sup> Vide "Vegetable Fats and Oils" by Jamieson. Monograph No. 58, pp. 132.

Next to China come the United States and Senegal in order of importance with annual average yields of over 700 million pounds of peanuts. In the United States the peanuts are grown throughout the southern states but commercial production is chiefly confined to rather limited areas.

The statistical data available for groundnut production for the years prior to 1914, are not satisfactory and complete. But judged from exports, the acreage and production were probably about one third of their post-war maxima.

With the close of the Great War in 1918, the cultivation of ground-nut began to increase markedly. The acreage under groundnuts in those countries for which statistical information is available rose from an average of 6.6 million acres in 1924—1926 to an average of 9.8 million acres in 1930-32, showing an increase of 48.5%. In 1930-32 more land came to be utilized for the cultivation of groundnut, thus affecting the world total acreage. As compared with 1924-26, the acreage of cultivation in India had increased by 60% in 1930-32, owing to a greater variety of uses for which the produce came to be utilized during the interval. The next largest increase was noticed in U.S.A. where a rise of about 40% brought the average acreage during 1930-32 to 1.4 million acres. In the other countries the acreage of cultivation remained stable; none of them showed any decline.

Though there was a downward trend in India during the depression, soon an upward march was noticed, and it reached its maximum in 1933 contributing about 7,586,000 acres. After 1933-34 there was a retrograde step in this increase in acreage, but in 1937 it recorded 8,652,000 acres. Though complete figures for China are lacking, it has shown rapid strides in recent years in the cultivation of groundnut, recording nearly 3,686,000 acres. With a record of steady increase up to 1932, U.S.A. had a decline in 1933 with a gradual recovery extending to 1936. But 1937 recorded a slight decrease. After a fall in 1933, Senegal experienced a gradual rise up to 1936. In Argentina there was a steady increase and the figures show that there is a two-fold increase in 1936 when compared with the figures for 1930.

(b) India\*:—Historical records refer to the existence of the groundnut plant in India as early as the 16th century. As a commercial

<sup>\*</sup> Vide Appendix: Table II.

crop it remained in darkness as late as the second half of the nineteenth century. Between 1850 and 1890 the area under cultivation is shown to have increased from 4000 acres to 275,000 acres. Thus within forty years the figures showed an increase of over sixty times. But the country was not fortunate enough to benefit by this prosperity, for a devastating plant disease vitally affected the crop and greatly reduced the output with a subsequent shrinkage in the acreage under cultivation. The repercussions of this visitation were keenly felt in subsequent years. But the introduction of a new variety soon after averted a catastrophe at the proper time. It not only resuscitated the cultivation but doubled the acreage under groundnut. As a result of it, the plant was cultivated over two million acres in 1914.

When the Great War broke out in 1914, the Indian groundnut trade received a set-back. Continental ports ceased to operate during that period, and Marseilles, the chief importer of groundnut was almost closed to the Indian exporter. Moreover, the scarcity of shipping space, higher freight and insurance charges, and exchange difficulties, increased the hardships of the exporter of the produce. Consequently, the area under cultivation of groundnut came to be reduced. In 1915-16 there was a fall in the acreage of cultivation under groundnut by nearly 700,000 acres from 2,144,000 in 1914 to 1,411,000 acres in 1915-16 in British India. The closing years of the war saw the area under cultivation of groundnut reduced to 1.7 million acres as compared with about 2 million acres in 1914-15 for British India.

Area in thousands of acres.

Year.	Total acreage.
1914-15	2,144
1915-16	1,411
1916-17	2,069
1917-18	1,687
1918-19	1,158
1919-20	1,306
1920-21	1,824

It took two years to recover the original position in acreage. From 1920-29, there has been a gradual rise in the acreage under cultivation with only slight interruptions in the case of British India. In 1929 the area under cultivation was about 6,436,000 acres for the whole of India, nearly thrice the pre-war average. The following figures will illustrate the trend of increase in the acreage:—

In thousands of acres

Year.	India.	British India.
1920-21	2323	1824
-22	2367	1682
<b>-23</b> .	2774	2301
-24	2958	2207
-25	3181	2289
1925-26	4259	3474
-27	4442	3493
-28	5536	4401
-29	6436	5102

The above figures illustrate that in 1925-26, the acreage under cultivation falls short of double the acreage of 1920-21 by less than two hundred thousand acres for British India. From 1925-26 onwards until the beginning of the depression the British India figures show a regular increase as in the case of the whole of India.

The depression also affected the area under cultivation. There was a fall of roughly 600 thousand acres between 1928 and 1929 and about a million acres in 1931-32 in the acreage of British India alone. But in 1933-34, with the beginning of recovery, the acreage increased to nearly six millions for British India and eight million acres for the whole of India.

The following table shows the trend of cultivation of groundnut for the years following the depression.

THE POSITION OF GROUNDNUT IN RELATION TO OTHER CROPS IN INDIA

Rice 8	1·7			Wh	eat 25	2
			,	Jow	ar 24 <sup>.</sup> 0	·
Gram 15.8	15.8 Bajra 11.4		ley 6'5	Mai	ye 6'0	Fruits and Vegetables 4'9
		R	agi 3 <sup>.</sup> 6		Sugar o	ape 4'3
	Other food o	rops	33.3	<b></b>		
	Jute 2.5	T	Rape a Mustard	3.3 uq	Sess	mum 3.7
Cotton 15'4	Fodder crops 10	)'8    -	Linseed 2	14	Ground	d nut 5°5
	Other Non-food	crop	s 7 <sup>-</sup> 2			

#### THE ACREAGE OF CULTIVATION

In thousands of acres

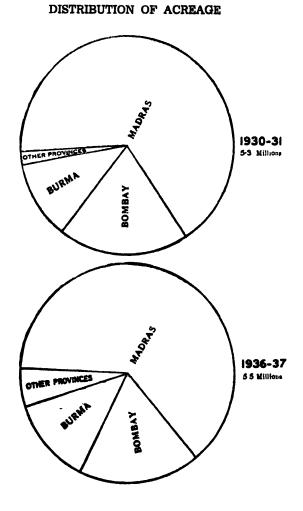
Year.	India.	British India.
1929-30	5,700	4,558
30-31	6,014	5,323
31-32	5,081	4,306
<b>32-3</b> 3	6,887	5,488
33-34	7,586	5,948
34-35	5,163	4,016
1935-36	5,197	3,900
-37	6,663	5,511
-38	8,652	7,109

It may be interesting to note here that groundnut has been gaining in importance among oil-seeds throughout the period, 1913-34. Its share in percentage of the total oil-seeds raised including Sesame, Rape and Mustard, Linseed and other oil-seeds, is shown in the table below:—

Share of Groundnuts in percentage to total oil-seeds\*

Year.		Percentage.	Year.	Percentage.
1913–14	• •	11	1924–25	 16
-15		13	-26	 21
16		10	<b>–27</b>	 22
-17		13	-28	 26
-18		12	-29	 27
-19		12	-30	 28
-20		10	<b>-31</b>	 25
<b>-21</b>		14	<b>-32</b>	 22
-22		12	<b>-33</b>	 26
<b>-23</b>		15	-34	 29
-24	••	15		

<sup>\*</sup>Vide "Survey of Oil Seeds," Vol. III.



The table reveals how in a few years of prosperity preceding the depression, groundnut has been successfully displacing the other oilseeds. It may be pointed out that from 10% in 1919-20 and 16% in 1924-25 it rose up to 28% in 1929-30. The pictogram in the adjoining page illustrates the position groundnut occupies among the crops raised in British India.

(c) Madras Presidency§:—Of all the groundnut producing centres in India, Madras occupies the premier position, contributing about 60% of the total production. A review of the statistical tables will clearly show how there has been an increase in the average area under cultivation. From 1·8 millions in 1914-15, it increased to 3·77 million acres in 1938-39. Thus while there is a marked increase in the area under cultivation, relatively speaking, i.e., when compared with total acreage, Madras has been periodically experiencing serious fluctuations. The following table will clearly show the truth of the above statement.

Area under groundnut crop in Madras and percentage to total area under oil-seeds.

Year.	Madras Presidency.	Percentage.	Total acreage in India.
1920-21	1,599,738	45.7	2,323,000
21-22	1,459,122	43.2	2,367,000
<b>22-2</b> 3	1,754,334	49.3	2,774,000
23-24	1,807,353	<b>50·5</b>	2,958,000
24-25	1,904,119	<b>50·8</b>	3,181,000
<b>25-26</b>	2,598,609	57·8	4,289,000
26-27	2,680,156	<b>59·7</b>	4,442,000
27-28	3,336,536	63 · 6	5,536,000
28-29	3,679,349	66·7	6,436,000
29-30	3,209,315	$64 \cdot 3$	5,700,000
30-31	3,575,157	67·1	6,014,000
31-32	2,635,427	$59 \cdot 5$	5,081,000
32-33	3,516,679	<b>64·8</b>	6,887,000
33-34	3,779,365	67·0	7,586,000
34-35	2,350,934	<b>58 · 0</b>	5,163,000
<b>35-3</b> 6	2,519,965	60.0	5,197,000
36-37	3,495,023	67.0	6,663,000

<sup>§</sup> Vide Appendix: Table III.

The importance of Madras in the field of the cultivation of ground-nut is seen "illustrated on page 16." The West Coast being a moist tract with heavy rainfall is suitable for wet cultivation. In the eastern districts, the rainfall being comparatively low, dry cultivation is generally adopted. As such the eastern parts of the Presidency, running from the Chilka lake to Tinnevelly, raise the major portion of the dry crop. Moreover, the soil here is not so hard as in the West Coast. The East abounds with loose sandy loam while the West Coast contains hard laterite. Since groundnut cultivation requires loose soil, it is grown in abundance only to the East of the Western Ghats. A review of the crop report clearly shows that South Canara contributes only 25 acres while the Eastern districts like Coimbatore, South Arcot and Bellary, contribute respectively 189,442, 425,725 and 247,894 acres in 1938-39.

Of all the districts in the Presidency, South Arcot stands unique as the largest producer of groundnut. It is followed by North Arcot, Kurnool, Anantapur and other districts. During the years 1914-18, the cultivation of groundnut in this Presidency had a set back. It went as low as 1,136,142 acres in 1915-16. But after the war of 1914-1918, the total acreage of cultivation began to increase and before the depression, the figure was 3,336,536 acres (1927-28), three times the 1915-16 level. The depression period seriously affected the raising of the crop resulting in a fall to 2,635,427 acres in 1931-32. Soon the cultivation was revived and with a slight set back in 1934-35, the rise continued and touched the peak of nearly 4,657,596 acres in 1937-38. Moreover, the produce came to occupy 67% of the total oil-seeds grown in this presidency.

(d) South Arcot District:—Groundnut occupies the foremost rank as the dry crop of this district, contributing to the major portion of the produce in this presidency. The largest areas under groundnut cultivation lie in Tindivanam, Tirukoilur, Villupuram, Cuddalore and Vriddhachalam taluks.

As long ago as 1800, Mr. Buchanan travelling across the Carnatic found groundnut being raised in the Mysore plateau. In 1851, the Collector of South Arcot in one of his despatches to the Revenue Board observed that the groundnut crop was a profitable one and already it had taken root in Panruti and Villupuram. Continuing, he said that 3000 acres were being brought under the cultivation of groundnut in

#### THE ACREAGE OF CULTIVATION

Panruti and 1000 acres in Villupuram taluk.\* Slowly and steadily, it gained strength and by the closing years of the last century, it displaced indigo, which till then occupied a premier position. Slowly it spread from Tindivanam to the lands south of Gadilam. From there it spread to Vriddhachalam and finally to Kallakurichi.

Though at first the area under groundnut remained constant, it dropped suddenly in 1896-97 to 88,000 acres, and in 1897-98, to 52,000. The yield per acre slowly decreased thus causing heavy losses to the cultivators. Soon the cultivators began to realize that the prevalent variety had deteriorated and only a new variety would save them from utter ruin and poverty. The exhaustion of the soil and the appearance of numerous plant diseases resulted in further lowering the yield. To the rescue of the cultivators came Parry and Co., who introduced a new variety from Mauritius which bettered the situation. The crop then entered a new phase; and the area under cultivation rose to 133,000 acres in 1889-1900 and reached the maximum of 343,000 acres in 1902-1903.

During the War of 1914-18, South Arcot experienced a downward trend in the cultivation of groundnut which came down to 299,035 acres in 1915-16. But the end of the war saw an increase of 20% in the cultivation. The recovery continued till it reached its peak of 482,978 acres in 1928-29. When the depression set in, there was a shrinkage in the cultivation of groundnut. In the subsequent years there was a slight fall but recovery soon set in and the cultivation reached its zenith in 1937-38, contributing nearly 471,274 acres or nearly 1.6 times the pre-war acreage.

Though there has been an absolute increase in the area under cultivation, there has been a fall as regards the percentage of area under the crop. In 1930-31 the percentage area under groundnut to the total cultivated area was 29 but it slowly went down in 1934-35. Later it rose to 28 per cent in 1938-39. The following table clearly gives the trend.\*\*

<sup>\*</sup> Vide "South Arcot District Gazetteer."

<sup>\*\*</sup> Details regarding other districts are given in the Appendix: Table IV.

Year.	Percentage of area under groundnut to total area.
1930-31	29
31-32	22
<b>32-3</b> 3	22
33-34	25
34-35	19
35-36	24
36-37	28
1938-39	28

#### Section III

#### PRODUCTION

#### (a) World.\*

Though groundnut has been in existence from very early days, production figures are far from satisfactory prior to the Great War (1914-18). The production figures after 1918 really show a phenomenal increase. Along with this increase in the area under cultivation there has been an increase in total production.

Countries of the British Empire alone account for two-thirds of the world production. India produces about three million tons of groundnut on the undecorticated basis or about one-half of the World's output. China, French West and Equatorial Africa come next, producing about one million tons respectively. It is double the estimated production of British West Africa or the United States of America. Senegal provides more than one-half of the production of French West and Equatorial Africa, while Nigeria accounts for three quarters of the production of British West Africa.

Between 1924 and 1930 production figures rose from 2·7 to 3·8 million tons. The Indian production which was 1·4 in 1924 slowly increased to 2·8 million tons in 1928. The subsequent year saw a sudden fall to 2·4 million tons followed by an increase to 2·5 million tons in 1930. As regards production, Senegal showed a steady increase between 1924 and 1930 recording 0·4 million tons in 1924 and 0·5 million tons in 1930. In U.S.A. the production figures rose from 0·3 million tons in 1924 to 0·4 million tons in 1929. But in the following year the figure dropped to 0·3 million tons; whereas, in Argentina, the production figure which was 0·1 million tons remained constant till 1929, subsequently there was a fall to 0·06 million tons in 1930. Similarly, in the Netherlands East Indies the production estimate which was recorded at 0·2 million tons remained constant till 1930.

After 1930 there was a general fall in the production of groundnut. Almost all countries excepting a few recorded a decrease in the total

<sup>\*</sup> Vide Appendix: Table V.

output. India, the premier country in the production of groundnut, showed a fall from 2.5 million tons in 1930 to 2.1 million tons in 1931. In the same manner, Gambia which recorded 0.07 million tons in 1930 showed a fall to 0.06 million tons in 1931. In Senegal there was a rapid decrease from 0.5 million tons in 1930 to 0.1 million tons in 1931. Likewise, East Indies and Argentina showed a net decline.

Contrary to the above phenomenon, Tanganyika and U.S.A. showed an increase in the total output, while the production in Burma remained constant. In Nigeria the production rose from 0·1 million tons in 1930 to 0·2 million tons in 1931, while in Tanganyika the figure rose from 0·2 million tons to 0·3 million tons in the same period. Similarly, U.S.A. recorded an increase in the total output from 0·3 million tons in 1930 to 0·4 million tons in 1931.

In China, there has been a steady increase in the output since 1931. From 1933, Chinese production increased by leaps and bounds. By the end of 1937, it has been recorded that the production approximately equalled that of India.

#### (b) India.\*

The following figures clearly record the increase in yield in India after the War of 1914—18 till the beginnings of the depression. This upward trend is noticeable throughout, the output decreasing at intervals.

Total production of groundnut, 1919 to 1928.

#### In thousand tons.

Year.	Total Yield.
1919	822
<b>1920</b> -	1,022
1921	959
1922	1,236
1923	1,084
1924	1,485
1925	1,999
1926	2,046
1927	2,718
1928	3,119

<sup>\*</sup> Vide Appendix: Table VI.

#### **PRODUCTION**

A perusal of the above table will illustrate the uniform upward trend after 1923. With an abrupt rise in 1920, the production fell to 959 thousand tons in 1921. The year 1922 saw an increase which was continued till 1928 with a fall only in 1923. The output reached its maximum in 1928 contributing 3,119 thousand tons. Compared to 1929, the average total output for the depression period 1929-32, fell from 3119 thousand tons to 2274 thousand tons.

Total Production of Groundnut.

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Year.	Total production.		
iear.	All-India.	British India	
1929-30	2,180	1,948	
30-31	2,592	2,252	
31-32	2,151	1,765	
32-33	2,846	2,353	
33-34	3,186	2,473	
34-35	1,740	1,333	
35-36	2,114	1,655	
36-37	2,714	2,110	
37-38	3,501	2,640	
38-39	3,196	2,250	

The above table reveals that in All-India as well as in British India the same tendency has been felt as far as production is concerned. During the depression era there was a set-back in the Indian production. In 1929-30 the total output showed a net decline in production amounting to 29 per cent of 1928. But in the following year the production increased to 2,592 thousand tons. This increase was only temporary, for in 1931 there was a decline by 17 per cent of the previous year's figure. From 1932 the output began to increase till 1934 when a fall in production took place. Subsequent years saw an increased production which reached its maximum in 1937-38 recording 3,501 thousand tons. But in 1938-39 production began to fall.

As regards British India, the same conditions existed. With a slight fall in 1931-32, the yield began to increase till 1934-35 when a great fall was recorded. This downward trend did not last long, for by 1935 production began to increase and touched its peak in 1937 amounting to 2,640 thousand tons. But the tendency to fall continued and 1938 figures amply prove this statement.

The Native States too are producers of groundnut. Though at first the Bombay States were producing negligible quantities, in recent years their production figures have risen to the level of Hyderabad. Prior to 1934 Mysore was producing a negligible quantity, but the 1938 figure proves that groundnut has come to stay in that State.

Besides the total output, we must see whether there is an increase or decrease in the yield per acre.\* A scrutiny of the table appended below will show how there was a tendency for higher yield in the pre-depression period.

# Average yield per acre.

(In lbs.)

Year.		Yiel	d per Acre.
1919			1,161
1920	••	• •	1,076
1921	• •	••	1,002
1922	• •		1,052
1923	-	• •	867
1924	• •	••	1,153
1925	• •		1,127
1926	• •	• •	1,061
1927	••	••	1,122
1928	• •	• •	1,124

<sup>\*</sup> Vide Appendix: Table VII.

The end of the War of 1914-18 saw an increase in the yield per acre. But in subsequent years there was a decrease which continued till 1922 when the yield per acre increased to 1,052 lbs. In 1923 the yield per acre decreased to 867 lbs. From 1924 the yield has been almost steady with slight fluctuations.

The following table gives the yield per acre in lbs. for the years 1929-30 to 1938-39.

Year.	Yield per Acre in lbs.				
Tear.	Provinces.	Native States.	All-India		
1929-30	1020	577	943		
30-31	1104	588	990		
31-32	1044	669	948		
32-33	1076	647	965		
33-34	1052	688	941		
34-35	888	512	<b>75</b> 8		
<b>35-36</b>	1045	623	911		
36-37	1021	666	912		
37-38	950	726	883		
38-39	927	706	848		

From this table it will be seen that in 1930 the yield per acre for All-India, increased to 990 lbs. as compared to 943 lbs. in 1929. But in 1931 it showed a decline with a recovery in the following year. In the next two years a gradual fall was noticed which touched as low a figure as 758 lbs. in 1934. But during the years 1935 to 1937 there was an increase but subsequently there was again the downward trend.

As regards the Provinces, the yield per acre had at intervals its setback as well as recovery. With an yield of 1,020 lbs in 1929, it increased to 1,104 lbs in 1930. Next year there was a fall followed by a rise in the subsequent year. The lowest yield per acre was noticed in 1934-35. As a general feature it can be observed that the rise and fall occur in alternate years.

Though the yield per acre displayed a tendency to decrease in the Provinces, the Native States showed an increase. In Hyderabad the rate of yield rose at a rapid rate. In Mysore though the output was poor prior to 1933, it has improved since 1938.

# (c) Madras Presidency.

Among the principal tracts that raise groundnut, Madras stands foremost. As figures prior to 1919 are incomplete and unsatisfactory, one has to start with the figures for the year 1919 as the basis for further comparison and study.

Total production in Thousand tons.

Year.			Total Output.
1919-20			569
20-21	• •		· 740
21-22	• •	• •	678
<b>22-2</b> 3	• •	••	823
23-24	• •		744
24-25	••	• •	948
25-26	••	• •	1,264
26-27	• •	• •	1,207
27-28	••	• •	1,671
28-29	••	• •	1,830

With the cessation of hostilities in 1918, the groundnut production began to increase. The above table shows that in 1919, the production was 569,000 tons. Soon an upward trend was noticed and the figure touched its peak in 1923 contributing 823,000 tons. In the following year there was a decrease in production. From 1924, there was a phenomenal rise which lasted till 1928 when it reached its maximum of 1,830,000 tons.

This prosperity did not last long for the depression era soon set in. In this period groundnut production was hit hard. The following table bears out the point.

Total production in Thousand tons.

Year.			Total Output.
1929-30		• •	1,522
30-31	• •	• •	1,765
31-32	• •	• •	1,234
32-33	• •	• •	1,729
33-34	• •	• •	1,777
34-35	• •	• •	920
<b>35-36</b>	• •	• •	1,202
36-37	••	• •	1,657
37-38	• •	••	2,059
38-39	• •	• •	1,613

In 1929-30 the production was low. But in subsequent years there was a rise followed by a fall in 1931-32. Though there was a trend towards increase in '32-34, there was a drop in '34-35. From 1935-36 production began to increase and it reached its maximum in 1937-38 with a setback in 1938-39.

Regarding the yield per acre, Madras has had to experience many vicissitudes, and this can be inferred from the following table.

Year.		Yield per Acre in	
1919-20			1,114
20-21	• •	• •	1,036
21-22	• •	• •	1,041
22-23	••	• •	1,051
23-24	••	• •	922
24-25	• •	• •	1,115
25-26	• •	• •	1,089
26-27	••	• •	1,009
27-28	• •	• •	1,122
28-29	• •	••	1,114

With a fall in 1920-21, an upward trend was noticed in subsequent years but a sudden drop occurred in 1923-24, recording as low as 922 lbs. per acre. In 1924-25 there was a recovery with a fall in 1925-26; and the revival which followed lasted till 1927-28 when it was 1,122 lbs. per acre; but in the following year the figure went down to 1,114 lbs. per acre.

When the depression set in, a fall in the yield per acre resulted.

Year.	Year.		er Acre in lbs.
1929-30			1,062
30-31	••	• •	1,107
31-32	••		1,107
32-33	• •	••	1,101
33-34	• •	• •	1,056
<b>34-3</b> 5	• •	• •	877
35-36	••	••	1,068
36-37	• •	•	1,062
37-38	••	••	990
38-39	• •		958

In the year 1929 there was a fall in the yield per acre compared with the previous year's figure. But in the following year it increased and remained constant for the subsequent years. But in 1934-35 the yield per acre fell to 877 lbs. In the following year a sudden rise was noticed which lasted till 1936. But there was a noticeable fall from 1938 onwards.

In South Arcot, the same tendencies prevailed. After the depression period an increase in the yield per acre was witnessed. This lasted till 1933, when a drop to 918 lbs. was recorded. The following year saw an increase to 1,008 lbs. per acre; but it did not last long, for in 1935 it fell to 986 lbs. The susequent years showed a downward trend which went as low as 795 lbs. per acre in 1938. The following table gives the changes in the yield per acre.

# **PRODUCTION**

Year.	•	Yield	per acre in lbs.
1930-31		••	974
31-32	• •	• •	997
32-33	••	• •	997
33-34	• •	• •	918
34-35	• •	• •	1,008
35-36	• •	••	986
36-37	• •	••	918
38-39	• •	••	795

## SECTION IV

### AGRICULTURAL RESEARCH AND GROUNDNUT CROP

Let us examine in this section the improvements suggested and carried out by the Agricultural Department. To ensure economic cultivation and enhance productivity new varieties have been introduced by the Agricultural Department. In order to carry out this purpose, a research station mainly intended for the promotion of cultivation in oil-seeds, has been started at Tindivanam. Recently the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research made a grant to this station to intensify the study of the problems connected with groundnut cultivation. The grant was to be spread over a period of five years. The new scheme began its work on 22nd January, 1937.

Let us now see the various experiments conducted by them in different spheres of groundnut cultivation. At first the question regarding the selection of a variety best suited to withstand drought, engaged their attention. Several trials were made and it was found that the bunch varieties were comparatively less resistant to drought than the spreading varieties.

Various bunch varieties were tried and the result was that the "Gudiyattam bunch" and "Small Japan" were found to be fairly resistant to drought while those with four seeded pods and red testa were badly affected. Among the spreading varieties, the "Virginia Runner" (A.H. 7) and "Local Pondicherry" (A.H. 72) were outstanding in their high degree of powers of resisting drought. A selection from "Bassi" (A. H. 477) was found to be well suited for dry areas.

Secondly, selections of the best variety in the bunch as well as the spreading types were tried, keeping a standard variety as control for each.

# AGRICULTURAL RESEARCH AND GROUNDNUT CROP

Bunch Type.

Treatments.	Adjusted	d yield per acre.	Percentage of general mean.
A.H. 32 (Control)		951†b.	94.2
A.H. 1320	• •	993	98 • 4
A.H. 1537	• •	1043	103.4
A.H. 1581	• •	1077	106.8
A.H. 1589	• •	1128	111.8
General mean	• •	1009	100.0

# Spreading

Treatment.	Treatment.		tment. Calculated yield per acre in 15.		Percentage of general mean.	
A.H. 25 (Control)		1249	107.0			
A.H. 554		1171	100.3			
A.H. 718		1179	100.9			
A.H. 731	••	1163	99.6			
A.H. 678	••	1222	<b>104·6</b>			
General mean		1168	100.0*			

The foregoing analysis clearly shows that as regards the bunch variety, (A.H. 1581 and A.H. 1589) selections from "Tennessee White" and "Improved Spanish" respectively record a significant increase over the control. While in the spreading, the control, A. H. 25 "Saloum," shows a remarkable yield.

Experiments conducted to ascertain the preliminary yield per variety showed that A.H. 334, a selection from "Carolina," stood unique,

\*Vide "Report of the Madras Agricultural Research stations," 1938-39. "Tindivanam Research Station Report."

in that it gave a significant increase of 13.3 per cent over the improved variety (A. H. 25), which, in turn, showed an increase of 26.8 per cent over the local variety.

The effect of climate and soils on groundnuts was also studied and it was found that the selected varieties yielded more than the "local Mauritius." A. H. 477, a selection from "Bassi," gave the maximum increase of 50 per cent. The high degree of drought resistance coupled with its enhanced production will render it a suitable variety for tracts with low and precarious rainfall.

Regarding manure, experiments were conducted. It has been found that potash gives an increased yield. Nitrogen as Ammonium Sulphate affects the yield in the absence of the basal dressing.

Since the groundnut crop is raised as a mixed one with a cereal, workers in the field were engaged to find out a plausible mixture which will bring a higher net return when groundnut is cultivated as a mixed crop than when it is raised as a pure crop. As such, plots were laid out wherein pure as well as mixed cultivation were conducted and the results noted. Whether such mixed cultivation affected the quality of the pods produced, was also noted.

Treatment.	No. of	kernels per 15.	Shelling percentage.
Pure		974	70 · 4
+ Redgram	• •	954	71.6
" + Castor		952	<b>70·4</b>
" + Thenai	• •	967	<b>70·1</b>
" + Cotton	• •	970	70.9
" + Cumbu		986	70 · 7
" + Cholam	• •	970	71.6

From the above we can very easily conclude that mixed cultivation does not change qualitative characteristics.

# AGRICULTURAL RESEARCH AND GROUNDNUT CROP

Profit as per Pure and Mixed Variety

	•	Net	pro	ofit	per a	acre.		Ouration of he crop.
Groundnut	pure .	. Rs	i. 10	13	5		41/2	months.
"	+ Cumbu	. ,	, 0	14	1			"
"	+ Tenai	. ,	, 6	10	U			"
,,	+ Cholam	. ,	, 21	. 3	10		$5\frac{1}{2}$	months:
"	+ Redgram.	;	, 17	7 13	4			"
"	+ Castor	,	, 24	4	3		8	months.
"	+ Cotton .	• ;	, 17	7 0	3		8	months.

From a purely monetary point of view, it is always advisable to grow the crop along with castor, since it brings a maximum return. Recently it has been said that mixed cultivation with castor affects the oil content of the groundnut seed. No substantial experimental evidence is, however, forthcoming.

# The Order of Yield per Acre

Groundnut	Pure	• •	1036 lb.	of pods.
,,	+ Redgram	• •	975	,,
,,	+ Castor	• •	903	,,
,,	+ Tenai	• •	828	"
"	+ Cotton	••	813	,,
**	+ Cumbu	• •	721	,,
"	+ Cholam	• •	580	,,

To test the effect of electro-culture on the groundnut crop, an experiment was made in Tindivanam, with A.H. 32. Before scrutinising the results, let us see what electro-culture means and how it is applied to plant life.

Dr. S. S. Nehru, I.C.S., conceived the idea of harnessing electrical energy and utilising it for plants as a stimulant. He harnessed cosmo-radio-magnetic energy and applied it towards the growth of the plant. Its results are astounding and far-reaching. It has been more

widely known and practised in Western and Far Eastern countries than in India, the land of its birth.

By electro-culture is meant the stimulation of the already existing electrical energy in the plant. Like other living organisms plants too are made up of cells. Each cell has its own nucleus surrounded by protoplasmic matter. As long as the cell pulsates with life, electrical energy resides in it. In other words, where there is cellular activity, there is electrical activity and vice versa. A rise or fall in the cellular activity results in a corresponding increase or decrease in the electrical energy. If there is an inducement in the form of an external stimulus to the electrical activity of the plant, it will automatically increase the growth of the cell and subsequently the whole plant to which the cell belongs. This is the basic idea underlying electro-culture.

Though electricity is a boon to humanity, its utilization in the vegetable kingdom in a simple manner is due to the undaunted perseverance of Dr. S. S. Nehru. Once costly machines were required to carry out the experiment; but Dr. Nehru has invented such simplified devices that they are within the reach of the poor Indian cultivator. The instruments are so cheap that the poorest villager can buy them, and so simple that the dullest head can operate them. They are to Dr. Nehru what the charka and the carding bow are to Mahatma Gandhi. The radio-magnetic energy from the earth will be transmitted to the active regions of the tree so that more flowers and fruits result and a general enhanced growth is found. To supplement this process, Dr. Nehru recommends the irrigation of the plant by Agaskarised water (sparked water). To give further stimulation the weakened tissues are occasionally subjected to sparking. Before seeds are sown they are soaked in Agaskarised water and then broadcast in the field with India rubber gloves covering the hands. This in brief is the out line of electro-culture and its application to plant life.

The results are said to be remarkable and outstanding. Discussing the desirability of its application and its results, Colonel Noel, the Director of Agriculture, North Western Frontier Province, observes:—

"A method of increasing the yield which is extraordinarily cheap, simple and effective is that of electro-culture advocated by Dr. Nehru, I.C.S., of Mainpuri. This treatment has given the astounding result of a 30% increase in yield. The cost is negligible."

# AGRICULTURAL RESEARCH AND GROUNDNUT CROP

To test the efficacy of electro-culture in the cultivation of groundnut, experimental plots were laid out in Tindivanam. Growth measurements were recorded at monthly intervals. The perusal of the figures, showed, however, that growth was not accelerated, and flower production remained normal. The experiments were then discontinued.

### Pests and Diseases

Many are the pests and diseases which retard the growth of the plant. They are:—

- 1. The red-hairy caterpillar,
- 2. The surul poochi,
- 3. Wilt,

and 4. Clump.

(1) The red-hairy caterpillar (Ansacta Albistriga):—It is a familiar pest in most parts of South India. It is a common feature in red sandy soils soon after the rains. These caterpillars appear in such large numbers when the crops are young that wholesale destruction inevitably results. Usually, this pest attacks most of the rain-fed crops.

If the crops are young when this pest appears, there will be a total destruction; and a resowing of the crop may become necessary. But if the crops are somewhat older, the attack is partial. Flowers are easily susceptible to this attack and when attacked the plants flower again, but a substantial reduction in the total yield is certain.

Various measures have been suggested to ward off this pest. The following are a few. Hand-picking of the moths is one method. As the visitation continues in the same tract from year to year, the farmers can fairly know that the pest has not completely disappeared but lurks in the soil and reappears when the rain sets in. The first rains change the pupae of this caterpillar to moths which will be found sluggishly moving in the field. These moths can be easily distinguished by their white pigment and sluggish habits. Being sluggish, they can be easily picked. Each moth is capable of laying a 1,000 eggs; but efficient hand-picking will prevent their further occurrence.

It is not possible to collect all moths and some may have missed the workers' attention. So, as soon as the eggs are laid it is best that they are collected'; for no sooner the eggs hatch than the caterpillars get scattered.

One other means of warding off the pest is by the collection of pupae and their destruction. During the time of pupation, caterpillars resort to shady places such as the bases of trees or fences near by. With a little experience it will be easy to find them out.

As a further procedure, trenching can be undertaken. When the caterpillars emerge, they appear in legions. To destroy them by spraying disinfectants, is costly. As such, trenches are dug across the path of these caterpillars which march from the infested to the uninfested field. The caterpillars drop into the trenches and they are collected and destroyed.

Regarding the handpicking of moths, the expenditure usually comes to Rs. 2 per acre. "At the time of harvest, statistics of yield of cumbu and groundnut were taken in the area hand-picked as well as in the areas left untreated. There was an average yield of 256·4 Madras measures per acre in the case of pure cumbu fields and 161·5 Madras measures in the case of cumbu sown mixed with groundnut in the area treated, whereas the figures for the same class of crops in the untreated areas were 104·1 Madras measures and 80·1 Madras measures respectively; thus indicating a gain in money value of about Rs. 25 and Rs. 13½ per acre. As such the ryot can very well afford to spend Rs. 2 or more to prevent the loss."\*

- (2) Surul Poochi (Stomopteryx Nerteria) attack can be mitigated by the use of light-traps maintained in dark nights to catch the moths.
- (3) Wilt:—This is a bacterial disease which attacks the plant and retards its growth. To thwart repeated attacks relative resistence experiments were conducted. Many were the selections tried. "The mortality due to wilt varied from  $2\cdot2\%$  in A.H. "Virginia bunch Tanganyika" to  $15\cdot2\%$  in A.H. "1722 Florida IV." The "Gudiyattam bunch" too showed an infection of  $6\cdot0\%$  while the "Virginia running peanut" and the "Rangoon" variety recorded a high percentage of mortality."\*\*

Manurial experiments in Tindivanam were carried out to mitigate this wilt attack. Potash was found to a certain extent a feasible antidote

<sup>\*</sup>Vide "Dept. of Agriculture," Leaflet No. 23.

<sup>\*\*</sup>Vide "Report of the Agricultural Research Stations," 1938-39.

### AGRICULTURAL RESEARCH AND GROUNDNUT CROP

to this disease. Experimental plots have been laid out at present to ascertain when the maximum mortality of the plant due to this disease occurs. The experiments may suggest ways to minimise the wilt attack.

(4) Clump is caused by fungus and is of the nature of a virus. It stunts the growth, and affects the production of flowers. The terminal buds get twisted and the leaves begin to curl inwards. This disease attacks the roots of the plant. Experimental measures are being tried to mitigate the disease.

# Quality of the Groundnuts

The quality of groundnuts exported from Madras, is not valued by foreign importers on the ground that "Coromandel" variety contains more fatty acid than others. Since groundnut forms about 30% of the exports of Indian merchandise, the exported varieties should be improved in quality. "The Indian Trade Commissioner at London has estimated a loss of about 52 lakhs of rupees to Madras on account of the poor quality of groundnuts."

The poor quality of the nuts is due to the presence of a high percentage of free fatty acids. Both the oil and free fatty acid are interrelated. When the free fatty acid increases in the nut, the oil content simultaneously decreases. The cost of extracting oil increases when there is a higher percentage of free fatty acid content. The oil extracted from such nuts is further of a lower quality and hence it fetches a low price in the market.

Of the causes that contribute to the higher percentage of free fatty acids in "Coromandel" nuts, the first is that farmers, in order to avail themselves of the higher price prevailing in the market, begin harvesting before the nuts are mature. This pre-mature harvest causes the retention of a higher percentage of free fatty acids in the kernels. The harvest of groundnuts even one week before the kernels are fully ripe is said to double the quantity of free fatty acid and reduce the oil content of the kernels by about four per cent. In some places the nuts are harvested two or three weeks before they are fully mature. To minimize the period of growth, the bunch variety can be grown instead of the spreading type as the bunch variety takes lesser time to mature than the spreading one. Immature kernels when dried get

shrivelled and contain less oil and more fatty acid unlike the mature kernels.

When the pods are shelled, they are wetted even when decorticated. Damping increases the fatty acid content and lowers the quality of the nuts.

"Assuming the price of groundnut kernels containing not more than 2.5 per cent of free fatty acids is Rs. 30 per candy of 531 lbs. and supposing that the Madras groundnut on reaching Europe is found to contain 4 per cent of free fatty acids, only Rs. 27 will be paid instead of Rs. 30, Rs. 3 being the discount on account of the extra 1.5 per cent of free fatty acids. If the produce contains 8 per cent free fatty acids, as is not very uncommon, the price to be paid will be Rs. 19 instead of Rs. 30."\*

To improve the quality and reduce the free fatty acid content, the wetting which now precedes shelling should first be avoided. Without wetting the produce, decortication can be carried on as is done in Bombay and the Ceded Districts.

The deterioration in quality is also due to improper storage and insufficient drying. The harvested crop contains as much as twenty-five per cent of moisture and the buyers undervalue the product owing to the presence of moisture. Moreover, if the nuts are not properly dried soon after harvest, moulds begin to appear inside the kernels and increase the acidity. After the moulds have once appeared, it is difficult to remove them even after drying. So the produce should be well dried soon after harvest.

Again, the produce should be dried well so as to make the nuts brittle; then only it should be stored. Otherwise, when it is packed in gunnies and stored in godowns, it undergoes fermentation. When partially dried kernels are exported, they undergo fermentation in the ship's hold and when they reach the destination, a higher percentage of acidity will be noticed. Thus the producer, hand in hand with the exporter, should see that the produce is well dried before export in order to obtain a higher value for Indian groundnuts. It is also desirable to set up a separate trade for lower grades of nuts.

\*Vide Dept. of Agriculture, Leaflet No. 83.

### AGRICULTURAL RESEARCH AND GROUNDNUT CROP

# (b) Seed.

The varieties that are prevalent in this district, are the bunch and the spreading varieties. South Arcot grows only the spreading type, while in the adjoining districts the bunch variety is used.

The local Mauritius (A.H. 1) is the common variety grown in this district. Commercially, it is known as "Coromandel" or "Mozambique". This is the type that has widely spread in this presidency. It belongs to the spreading type. With small pods having one to two seeds, the plant takes 130 days to mature. Unlike the improved variety the "Coromandel" is small with a rose coloured testa.

In the adjoining districts of Chingleput and North Arcot the bunch variety commonly known as the "Gudiyattam Bunch" (A.H. 32) is cultivated. It is otherwise known as "peanuts or khandeish," with a shorter maturing period, running to 100 days. Like the local Mauritius, the pods are small with one to two seeds. The kernels are light rose and plump.

The other cultivated variety is "Small Japan" (A.H. 34) or commercially known as "Red Natal" or "Pollachi Red" or Lal Boria as it is called in Bombay. Belonging to the bunch type, it takes 105 days to mature. Though the pods are small, they are plumpy and contain two seeds of reddish colour. It is cultivated in the Pollachi taluk of the Coimbatore District.

Besides the cultivated varieties, new and improved varieties have been launched by the Agricultural Department after due trials in their farms. Among the improved varieties, A.H. 25 "Saloum" stands foremost. It has been taken from a mass selection of the West African variety. Its yield is 25% more than the local cultivated variety and is a good drought resistant. As such, it has taken hold in the southern districts of Madras Province and also the Ceded Districts. The pods of this type contain two and occasionally three seeds. The kernels are medium in size, rosy and somewhat plump. The duration of this plant's growth is 135 days.

Three selections from "Bassi" (A.H. 685, A.H. 678, A.H. 698) have been tested to find out the feasibility of their growth in this province. They have good resistance and stand well even severe drought. These selections are of the spreading varieties with occasional three seeded pods. The pods are very small with rounded tips unlike other types

which have beaks at one end. The kernels are small, rounded and rosy and not plumpy. Their yield is significantly higher than the local:—

A.H. 685	• •	27.5%	over the	local.
A.H. 678	• •	26.2%	do.	do.
A.H. 698		35.5%	do.	do.

# Analysis of Various Varieties.

# (Rain-fed crop)

Cultivated Variety				
		A.H. 1.	A.H. 32.	A.H. 34.
Average acre yield of pods.		1150†b.	10501b.	8001b.
Shelling percentage		77	76	78
Oil content		49.8%	48.2%	49.5%
Number of kernels per 1b.		1250	1400	1156
Free fatty acid	••	1.22%	0.35%	0.40%

# Analysis of Various Varieties (Rain-fed crop.)

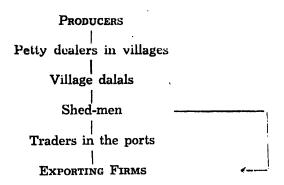
Improved Variety					
	A.H. 25	A.H. 685	A.H. 678	A.H. 698	
Average acre yield					
of pods	1460tb.	1453	1578	1538	
Shelling percentage	73	<b>78·4</b>	77	77.6	
Oil content	50.4%	49.7	49.2%	49.8	
Number of kernels					
per tt	1025	1135	1111	1126	
Free fatty acid	0 · 25%	1.39%	1.4%	3.36%	

### SECTION V

## FROM THE CULTIVATOR TO THE EXPORTER

Groundnut is an important commercial crop of the South Arcot District and it occupies 25% of the total area harvested in each year. Since nearly 80% of the groundnut area is under rain-fed conditions, the vicissitudes of seasonal conditions make the crop a precarious one. uncertainty of the crop very often becomes further aggravated by uncerprices brought about by fluctuations in demand in the foreign countries which consume more than 70% of the local Like their brethern in the field. the groundnut as a class poor. producers in South Arcot are Largely on account of their need for money and partly on account of pressure brought to bear on them by middlemen, the growers exhibit a great rush for sale in the harvest seasons. The produce changes hands many times before it is finally shipped to foreign countries from ports like Cuddalore and Pondicherry.

The chain of middle-men can be diagramatically represented as follows:—



As soon as the harvest is over, many of the cultivators who are in general poor and have no means to convey their produce to market centres, sell it in their own villages. The village dealers buy the produce at rock bottom prices. Being in need of money owing to the several disbursements he has to make, the cultivator disposes of the produce at any price that is quoted by the village dealers.

[41]

Besides the growers of the crop, the labourers in the villages too contribute their mite to the trade. As the labourers are paid in kind, they get their necessaries by selling the nuts to the village dealers, who waylay them on their way home and induce the workers to part with their produce for ready cash. The prices offered are, however, so low that there is no relationship between such retail prices and the market rates. Further, the purchases are made in volume; and the measures used are so faulty as to deceive the poor labourers. Tempted by a few coins shown to him in the evening when the urge of the toddy shop is great, the poor labourer falls an easy prey to the greedy village merchant.

The village dealers thus securing enough of the crop, bring it to the market centres. On their way are situated the sheds of the buying traders who are known by the name of shedmen. The shedmen employmen to direct sellers to their sheds. The purchase of both shelled and unshelled nuts is undertaken. After decortication they transport the produce to the market centres. To ensure the even flow of the crop to their sheds, they advance loans to the nearby villagers who raise the crop. When the harvest season is over, the shedmen go to the villages and quicken the sales of the crop in order to buy it at a low price.

The practices of some of the shedmen in weighing the produce may be noted here. But many of the practices described below were in vogue before the inception of the market committee. After its inauguration, radical changes have not taken place; but it has checked to a certain extent fraudulent weighment.

When the villager brings his cart-load of goods, the shedmen offer high prices which at times will be above the rate prevalent in the market. Tempted by such high prices, the villager consents to dispose of his produce and it is taken out for weighment. Innumerable are the men employed to unload the cart and for weighment. The work is done so quickly that the seller finds it difficult to watch the proceedings. Sometimes the seller is given a generous offer of a few annas for meals, tiffin and pan and sent out when weighment is done. As all the growers are not illiterate, some of them insist upon weighment in their presence. When they insist on this, they are duped in a different way. In order to please them, the buyer weighs some of the bags with the stamped weight, and after the first bag is weighed, the stamped weight is taken away and the bag previously weighed, serves the purpose of

# FROM THE CULTIVATOR TO THE EXPORTER

weight for future weighment. When the other bags are weighed the buyer secretly places some big stone or weight by the side of the bag or even into it covering the top afterwards with groundnut. Thus for each weighment the seller is made to lose a great deal and in the end there is a great disparity between the weight calculated by the grower and the weight announced by the buyer. The seller is thus duped. Forced by circumstances, the grower sells the produce to the shedmen.

The shedmen decorticate the produce if it is unshelled and then send it to the market centres. Big traders who are contracting agents to the exporting firms, get into touch with the shedmen. The shedmen sell the produce to the traders as well as to the exporting firms for ready cash. The traders instead of being godown keepers are occasionally owners of oil presses as well as expellers. They deal in "katcha" as well as in "pucca" goods.

To keep up a continuous flow of produce, the traders advance loans to the village middlemen as well as to the growers of the produce. Being without sufficient capital, they borrow small amounts from sowcars and try to do a tremendous volume of business by selling to the exporters. To secure adequate capital, the local traders borrow sums at exhorbitant rates of interest and the burden is transferred ultimately to the ryot. The need to repay loans within very short periods and the desire to make large profits, induce heavy selling pressure allowing little time for proper cleaning, drying and grading of the produce. The quality of the produce is thus allowed to deteriorate in the process.

The advancement of loans by traders to the ryots has shown a downward trend in recent times owing to the passing of the Agricultural Debt Relief Act, and to the starting of the Market Committees.

As soon as the produce enters the go-down, it is weighed and spread out in the sun for drying. "Chittals" (labourers) are engaged to pick out the blacks from the spread out produce at a wage rate of three pies per Madras measure. (A bag of groundnut is approximately equivalent to 75 Madras measures). When the black ones are picked, the rest of the produce undergoes processing and is then filled in bags and sold to the exporting firms. The black kernels are in demand by the local oil mills who by extracting an inferior groundnut oil mix it up with castor oil to be utilized as lubricant. This oil of inferior quality is also used by temples for lighting purposes. Traders in the interior of the district bring the produce to the port and deliver it to the exporting firms, F.O.R.

It is regrettable that till recently such a great producing centre of groundnut as South Arcot had no traders' association. The emergence of the market committee opened new vistas. The traders of Cuddalore Old Town evinced a great interest in starting an association of their own to further their trade. A few educated people took the initiative and their labour was rewarded. On 26th September, 1940, the association was registered under the Societies' Registration Act 1860. The objects of the association are:—

- 1. To further the interests of the traders of the commercial crop in all branches of their activites and get adequate facilities for the efficient prosecution of the trade.
- 2. To hold meetings once in a month, wherein experts should be invited to deliver lectures regarding the groundnut trade.
- 3. To help the needy and the poor out of the fund set apart for charitable purposes and
  - 4. To open free reading rooms for the public.

The association has done useful work in suggesting a revision of the existing contract forms and also the creation of a standard grade of seed.

Leaving the traders, we now meet the exporting firms to whom the traders sell the groundnut. In Cuddalore as well as Pondicherry, there are branches of three exporting firms. The following table shows the total quantities of groundnut exported from Cuddalore and Pondicherry from 1935 to 1938.

Statement Showing the Shipping of Kernels at the Ports (in Tons)

Year.		Total
	(a)	Cuddalore.
1935		68,147
1936		92,513
1937		104,291
1938		102,563
	(b)	Pondicherry
1935		49,877
1936		63,658
1937		94,476
1938		53,590

### FROM THE CULTIVATOR TO THE EXPORTER

The above table clearly shows the premier position occupied by Cuddalore in exporting groundnut to foreign countries.

The exporting firms buy only shelled nuts and buy them even if they are in the raw condition; but they quote prices for "pucca" quality only. The "Katcha" nuts were in great demand when Marseilles was importing Indian groundnut. With the stopping of exports to Marseilles the exporting firms rarely go in for "Katcha" produce. These firms never advance loans like the contracting traders; instead, they enter into contracts with only those having good will. Moreover, in the interior of the district, the exporting firms have their own agents who get the produce and send it to the port.

With the exporting firms, transactions of three classes are entered into. They are:—

- (a) Forward contracts.
- (b) Unfixed contracts.
- (c) Spot transactions.

By forward contract is meant a particular system of contract entered into by a middleman with an exporting firm, for the supply of a particular number of bags, either machine-shelled or hand-beaten, before a particular date and at a fixed rate which is accepted by both the seller and the exporting firm. This kind of contract is adopted when the price is not steady and it is usually the middlemen that enter into forward contracts with the exporting firms.

Besides this fixed contract, there is another system of contract called the "unfixed contract." They are not so common as the fixed contract, for they are used only when prices are shooting up. In the unfixed contract system the price alone is not fixed while other items are specifically stated in the form. The seller brings, say, a 1000 bags on a day to the exporting firm where he gets 80% of the price of the produce at the day's prevailing rate. The price for the whole lot is not fixed. Hoping that the future price will be favourable to him, the seller waits. If the price is rising, the firms, however, keep quiet. But when they find a fall in price, the buying firms have a right to call on the seller to recoup the difference. On a particular day, if the price suddenly rises, the seller asks the firm to fix up that day's price for his produce, the buying firm may tell him, "I have instructions to buy to-day only a thousand bags; as four other sellers wish to have prices fixed to-day, I can accept

only a fifth of your quantity." The seller has to be satisfied. If the price goes down the next day, the seller stands to lose heavily. In Salem where this unfixed contract system prevailed, a time limit of 2 or 3 months was fixed. The seller was called on to fix the price at the end of the stipulated period. The clever sub-agent in many cases so manipulated prices as to keep them low and cause loss to the seller. Owing to the prevalence of this system, many families in South Arcot have met with utter ruin and poverty.

In the spot transaction, the produce, whether "Katcha" or "Pucca," when brought by shedmen or traders, is examined and weighed. The price is fixed after determining its quality. Such spot transactions are few in the case of the exporting firms and generally the contract system of buying is in vogue.

When the produce is brought, test weighment is done. Later, a refraction analysis is made for determining the quality, and the price is paid according to the quality. Soon after the refraction analysis, the produce is stored in a long go-down roofed usually with corrugated metal sheets. Since ventilation is necessary, enough space is left between the walls and the bags. The floor of the godown is spread with sand and on it a coir-mat is placed. As the produce is easily affected by change of weather, the groundnut crop is stored only in bags and not in bulk. If the storage is prolonged, the quality of the nuts deteriorates. After two months a kind of insect called the weevil affects the nuts, reducing them to powder. To combat effectively this insect, fumigation has been suggested; but this is very costly. Other methods of checking the insect are engaging the attention of the Entomologist.

On the shipping day a few bags are test weighed and sent on board. Before shipment the refraction analysis is again made in order to ascertain the quality of the produce shipped.

Before the war, the groundnut was exported to Continental ports like Antwerp, Rotterdam and Hamburg as well as to England. At present, owing to the closure of foreign markets, London alone is importing Indian groundnut.

For loading, unloading and other sundry work, labourers are recruited on a contract basis. From a survey it has been found that the following approximate wage rate prevails at Cuddalore.

### FROM THE CULTIVATOR TO THE EXPORTER

# Schedule of Wages

Unloading from wagons and stacking them in the go-down. (This includes test weight and sampling charge) From Re. 1-0-0 to 0-12-0 per 100 bags (approximately).

Removing from the stack, pouring it out, drying, refilling the bags and stitching.

Rs. 3-4-0 per 100 men.

Picking out the blacks from the nuts

3 to 4 pies per Madras measure.

Sieving

0-8-0 per 100 bags.

Weighing before shipment

Re. 1-4-0 per 100 bags.

It has been observed that the middlemen take away the major portion of the growers' profit. Even in this war-time the grower loses heavily. This can be seen when we examine the course of prices from its progress from the village to the port. At present the only foreign market that consumes Indian groundnut is England; and the Food Ministry purchases it at £10 per ton, F.O.B. port. Deducting the incidental charges, one candy of 531 lbs. will give the ultimate seller Rs. 28. The following transactions clearly indicate the loss sustained by the grower.

- "(About 520 Madras measures of unshelled kernel give about a candy of clean shelled nut.)
- (1) The village dalal purchases from the growers for Rs. 10-8-0 per candy of 520 Madras measures.
- (2) The town broker purchases for Rs. 12-8-0 from the village dalal and pays a cart hire of 0-8-0 giving No. 1 a profit of Re. 1 and allowing a rupee for driage.
- (3) The town merchant purchases from the broker at Rs. 14-8-0 and allows a profit of Re. 1-8-0.

He decorticates the same and pays 0-12-0 as charges including weighing, etc., and sells the same to contracting merchants at about Rs. 16-8-0 and earns a profit of Re. 1-4-0.

(4) The contracting merchant sells to exporting firms at about Rs. 20 and incurs Railway and loading charges of about Rs. 2-4-0 and thus gets a profit Re. 1-4-0.

(5) The exporting firm is to pay for gunnies, godown charges, interest and loading charges which may amount to about Rs. 2, but still he may gain about Rs. 8.

In the above chain of transactions, the producer gets Rs. 10-8-0 and the ultimate purchaser pays Rs. 30. The expenses of marketing comes to Rs. 5-8-0 for all the items shown above and a profit of Rs. 14 is shared by various middlemen. 125 per cent of what the producer gets for his labour, seed and other charges, goes to middlemen even in this war-time when there is glut in the market with a price lower than the normal."\*

To maximise the income of the grower and minimise the intrusion of the middlemen, co-operative marketing has been suggested. The inception of the marketing committee has to a great extent enabled the grower to get the maximum price for his produce. The poverty of the village growers proves an impediment in getting the just price for their produce. To efface the middlemen completely is not possible and their existence in the chain of marketing is not injurious if well regulated. Unless the marketing of the produce is done in co-operation with the Co-operative Department, the growers will find the same difficulty which faced them before the inauguration market committee. Credit facilities along with warehousing should be extended to the growers. The central problem rural economy is the ware-housing question. As such. market committee should not only see that the growers get a fair price but also extend credit and go-down facilities to them with the help of the Co-operative Department.

<sup>\*</sup>Vide "Marketing of Groundnut," Madras Journal of Co-operation, March, 1941.

### SECTION VI

# CO-OPERATIVE MARKETING

In India the laissez-faire policy had a long lease of life even in marketing as it had in other spheres of economic activity. The present chaotic condition is the result of interaction of various socio-economic forces. In medieval days agriculture and cottage industries maintained an equilibrium which came to be upset at the emergence of modern industrialism. Though improved means of communication have brought access to the villages, their influence has not been great enough to make the village a well integrated system in the national economy. The village artisans who were enjoying patronage under the village organisation became bewildered at the onward march of industrialism. Agriculture came to be commercialized and the new methods in marketing practice went counter to traditional practices. Thus with no change in his mental or moral sphere, the farmer has come into contact with the world market. This condition has been aptly described by the Agricultural Commission as follows:—"His interests have in the main been left to the free play of economic forces, and they have suffered in the process. For he is an infinitely small unit as compared with distributors and consumers of his produce who, in their respective fields, become every year more highly organized and more strongly consolidated." Thus it is observed that with no commensurate change, the farmer drifts from the medieval system of economy to the modern. Therefore it is of immediate necessity that we should evolve a system out of the nebulous rural marketing of old.

Since agriculture dominates Indian economic life, the importance of a rational system of marketing cannot be over-estimated. The farmer gets such a low income that it hardly suffices the daily necessaries of his life. As such he has to fall a prey to indebtedness.

To relieve him from indebtedness and enable him to get a fair price for his produce, a perfect system of marketing is invaluable. Let us examine the implications of rural marketing. Firstly, difficulties in marketing stand in the way of production, for without adequate consumption continued production will jeopardise the economic equilibrium. Secondly, marketing

and production should be so related that the maximum price should reach the hands of the producer. Unless the producer gets a fair price, there is no guarantee that he will produce the same goods. Thirdly, the absence of such correlation will restrict consumption. The more organized the market, the lower will be the price of the products and accordingly the greater the advantage to the consumers from a given money income. Fourthly, the present system of marketing involves a colossal waste to the country. Improved marketing will increase the total wealth of the country. Fifthly, the development of industries needs a regular supply of raw materials. If raw materials are not supplied regularly, industrial advancement will be hampered. Lastly, we find a disparity between the price the producer gets for his product and the prevailing rate in the market. This is the crux of the problem. The price the producer gets is low because the cost of services involved in the process of distribution is disproportionately high. To make this expenditure reasonable and to enable the primary producer to get the maximum share of the price which the ultimate consumer pays, is the main problem.

As a proper remedy presupposes careful diagonosis, a study of the chaotic condition of rural marketing is essential to any scheme of improvement.

The village producer suffers in marketing owing to the dislocation caused by the impact of modern industrialism on rural economy. His difficulties can be traced to three inter-connected factors. "The producer has to sell his produce at an unfavourable place, and at an unfavourable time for unfavourable terms of price." Place, time and terms are the three prime factors that contribute to the ills of the present marketing system.

The village producer generally disposes of a good part of his produce in his own village. He sells to the sowcar, the bania, the prosperous landlords or the agents of the wholesale merchants. Regarding linseed, for instance, it has been estimated that the All-India average of the percentage taken to the market for sale by cultivators themselves, is only 20% as against 40% of the produce sold by the landlords. The reason for such a procedure is his indebtedness. The cultivator usually mortgages his crop for the loan he has taken for raising the crop. As soon as the harvesting is over, the sale of the produce is made in the field itself. In cases where such pledges are not made, the pres-

sure brought to bear upon the producer by the creditor sowcar is such that he is compelled to dispose of his produce on the threshing floor.

The second important factor which is responsible for village sales, is the lack of communication with the nearest market. Many of the villages lie far away from trunk roads and feeder roads are few. Even if there are feeder roads, they are so ill-kept that it will be risky to use them for transport. At times the producer has no carts to carry his produce to the market. In some places, soon after the harvest of one crop is over, the sowing operations for another crop are begun and the cultivator can ill spare the time to go to the market.

Even when a producer reaches the market after overcoming these disabilities before the produce is actually sold, he has to face, as the Report on the Marketing of Wheat observes, a host of unwelcome agents. "the Kacha arhatya, the Dalal, the Charhava who fills the scale pan, the the Arhatya's clerk, the Chaukidar, the sweeper and a horde of beggars of every description."

In these markets arbitrary deductions are made for religious and charitable purposes. The agents of the buyers draw out large quantities as sample. The sales are conducted by the agents of the buyer and the seller through code words which are not understood by the cultivator. Very often the actual settlement takes place outside the market, and if disputes arise over it, the buyer often wins.

The element of time is an essential factor as regards perishables, like vegetables and fresh fruits. To market them successfully, rapid communication is essential. Since the producers sell their produce as soon as the harvest is over, a glut in the market occurs. The prices fall, affecting the producer's money income. If the distribution of the produce is done judiciously, a fair price can be had for the producer. This the producer cannot do as long as he is weighed down by debts. As such, financial aid for the producer is an essential factor. One of the ways of improving the marketing facilities of the producer is by an organised system of co-operative marketing.

We have already noted that the producers prefer to dispose of their produce in the village rather than take it to the market owing to the existence of the innumerable middlemen. To eliminate the middlemen as far as possible and to secure a reasonable price for the produce, the co-operative method of marketing has been

suggested. Mr. V. L. Mehta in submitting his memorandum to the Royal Commission on Agriculture has observed: "In the sphere of agricultural marketing it has been found that arbitrary imposts have occasionally been abolished, proper stocking of goods for better prices facilitated, and, especially in respect of the sale of cotton, the advantages of sale in wholesale markets and of proper prices for imported varieties secured. Co-operative supply agencies have conferred the benefits of proper weighments, purity of goods, and wholesale prices to those who deal with them." Co-operative marketing has developed business habits among agriculturists.

A co-operative sale society can easily eliminate the intermediaries and can have direct dealings with the mofussil purchaser. Co-operation offers one of the best means through which the producer can get the full market price for his produce. Efficient Consumers' Societies will also effectively eradicate middlemen.

Only in the last decade, the Agricultural and Co-operative departments came to realise that through their co-ordinated effort rural marketing can be effectively organized so as to bring prosperity to rural India. Co-operative marketing has now made some headway in India. Burma led the way by inaugurating paddy sale societies, and Bombay, the Central Provinces and the United Provinces have followed her example.

Though there was a remarkable advancement as regards the sale of cotton in Bombay, the movement was not without difficulties. It had to face mismanagement, absence of hold on members and inadequate finance. So the Agricultural Commission put forth the strong plea for making it a powerful organisation to fight against vested interests. The Central Banking Enquiry Committee recommended that as far as finance was concerned the provincial governments should advance liberally to the co-operative banks at concessional rates of interest for the development of co-operative sale societies.

Besides cotton, other products like groundnut, gur, tobacco, chilly and arecanuts came to be dealt with by these sale societies. In the Madras Presidency, soon after the war of 1914-18 such sale societies came into existence. Some of them not only sold the produce on behalf of their members but also gave cultivation loans. The more important societies are "The Tirupur Cotton Sale Society," "The Koilpatti Sale

Society," "The Central Sale Society" at Cuddalore and "The Tiruvannamalai Loan and Sale Society."

In this study of the marketing of groundnut, an account of the history of the Central Sale Society at Cuddalora and its activities may be of interest. To enable the ryot to get a fair price and to make marketing efficient, the Central Sale Society was registered on 22nd June, 1935. It began to function on the 11th October, 1935. The Society had under its jurisdiction the South Arcot District and the Udayarpalayam Taluk in the Trichy District. The membership of the Society is open to individuals as well as to Societies. With a paid up share capital of Rs. 4,834-5-0, the Society was allowed to borrow up to a maximum of five times the paid up share capital plus the reserve. The Society was managed by seven members elected by a general body. The members of the board were elected yearly.

The object of the Society was, firstly to advance loans on the pledge of produce; and in this work the Society was partially successful. Secondly, it had to arrange for the sale of the produce of members to the best advantage. This privilege was extended even to non-members. Thirdly, it was to act as the agent of the members in the matter of receiving for safe-custody in its godowns or elsewhere the produce pledged in the co-operative societies. This object was never put into practice.

In 1931, it was found that the marketing of groundnut was slowly declining; and endeavours were made to resuscitate the market. The Registrar of Co-operative Societies, assisted by the Director of Agriculture and the Assistant Director of Agriculture had an extensive tour of South Arcot to explore fresh avenues in order to prop up the market. As a result of this tour, the Central Sale Society was asked to open warehouses at Cuddalore Old Town, Tirukoilur and Vriddhachalam. Agricultural demonstrators were put in charge of the warehouses at Tirukoilur and Cuddalore Old Town while the Vriddhachalam warehouse came under the supervision of a Co-operative inspector. In January, 1938, at Villupuram, a warehouse which was already run by the Valavanur Sale Society was taken up by the Central Sale Society and a Supervisor was appointed to look after the business.\*

<sup>\*</sup> See Appendix: Table VIII.

The Central Society engaged no middlemen. The ryots used to bring their produce direct to the Society. As soon as the groundnut laden cart arrived, information was sent to the members who were the usual buyers. The buyers sent their agents to inspect the produce and fix up the price; and the bid was done through secret ballot. The maximum price was availed of by the ryot.

As soon as the sale was effected, the purchase money was paid to the ryot less commission charged for handling. If a loan had been advanced it was deducted from the sale proceeds. Sometimes there might be delays of a few hours or a few days in obtaining the sale money causing some difficulties for the ryot; and the co-operative warehouses had no ready cash to help him. In Cuddalore the cash credit facility was allowed by the Central Co-operative Bank; but the warehouse officer could not take advantage of this facility. However, the purchasers here often were known to pay promptly.

In the Co-operative warehouses, besides the commission on sales neither go-down rent nor sundry charges are levied. The cooly charges are borne by the sellers. In the case of groundnuts there is no insurance charge levied as is invariably done in the case of cotton, but a commission of four to six annas per Candy is charged on the sales.

The weights used by these sale societies are standard weights and a candy is equivalent to 531 lbs. The produce is not graded or standardized before selling but it is sold outright.

In order to help the ryots to obtain a fair price, godown facilities are given; but the storage facility is not adequate for stocking large quantities.

The Co-operative Department launched a controlled credit system so as to aid cultivation which the Government also support through Takkavi loans. The ryots, however, usually spend beyond their means, and continue to be in debt. Any aid co-operative Societies give the ryots would be useful only if the Societies can help in its proper utilization.

To make co-operative marketing popular with the ryots and to induce them to sell their produce through the sale societies, the agricultural demonstrators along with a special non-credit inspector made extensive propaganda in the district. But soon they were withdrawn

# CO-OPERATIVE MARKETING

as a measure of retrenchment. With the bringing into force of the amended Madras Commercial Produce Marketing Act in South Arcot and the opening of market yards at Villupuram, Vriddhachalam, Tirukoilur and Cuddalore Old Town, the usefulness of the Sale Society slowly and steadily began to diminish, with the result that it is now under liquidation.

To fetch a fair price and eradicate the existence of middlemen it has been observed by well-known co-operators that the sale society should buy the produce outright and pay sufficient advance to the ryots, and adjust the same as soon as the produce is sold at the port.

### SECTION VII

### REGULATED MARKETS IN INDIA

Regulated markets in India were in existence as early as 1897 when the Berar Cotton and Grain Markets Law was passed. This law was promulgated by the Government of India for the "Hyderabad Assigned Districts" as Berar was then officially called. Moreover, the Municipal Act of 1903 of the Central Provinces empowered the municipalities to inspect and regulate the markets. Yet their progress was slow. When the Agricultural Commission investigated about marketing, there were regulated markets only in C. P. and Bombay. After a thorough investigation the Commission arrived at certain conclusions which should be studied before we proceed further.

As the Berar Law as well as the Bombay Act confined themselves to cotton alone, the Commission saw no justification to confine the Acts to cotton only but recommended that products other than cotton should also come into the orbit of the law.

Secondly, the municipalities and district boards should be kept out of the management of these markets. If a regulated market is under the jurisdiction of the local boards, the influence of vested interests would stand in the way of fulfilling the higher objects for which the market has been created. They will look only for revenue and erect market yards within the municipal limits without considering the difficulties of communication. As such, separate provincial legislation should be passed for establishing regulated markets.

Instead of leaving the initiative in the hands of local bodies, the provincial governments should launch a policy of starting markets and meet the initial costs.

Wherever there are markets controlled by the local boards, they should automatically cease to function when the regulated markets come into existence. To make up the loss sustained by local boards by such a closure of markets, they should be compensated by an annual contribution to be made by the regulated markets.

Regarding the constitution of the market committee, it has been said, that half of its members should be from the rank of the cultivators; and where necessary, to protect the interests of the growers, a member from the agricultural department could be included. Licensed brokers shall be prohibited to stand for election from the growers' constituency. The committee should be empowered to elect its own Chairman and Vice-Chairman. The co-operative society in the area should also have its representative on the board.

The market committee should see that its members are well informed about the market condition daily. Besides, as the Commission suggested, brokers should be strongly discouraged from acting both for the buyers and sellers, as in such cases, the broker had the "natural predilection to favour the buyer."

Lastly, the Agricultural Commission advocated storage accommodation and desired to utilize such markets for purposes of propaganda in favour of agricultural improvements and thrift.

The foregoing recommendations of the Commission had their desired effect. In the wake of such recommendations new acts came to be promulgated in various provinces. A brief survey of the regulated markets which came into existence in the last years of the third decade of this century is given below.

### Central Provinces

As already indicated, markets in C. P. fall under two categories, viz., regulated markets and markets controlled by local boards. Under the C. P. Municipal Act several markets are being run, of which Raipur, Drug and Nagpur are noteworthy. The market at Raipur has been from its inception controlled by the Municipality through its executive committee. No storage rent is charged for the first three days after which one anna per bag is levied. The chief commodity that is dealt in the market is rice. The market superintendent is the de facto executive head of the market. Disputes arising in the market are settled by him. But when no settlement is arrived at, a separate tribunal is created. Even when the tribunal fails, the executive committee settles the case.

All the operations in the market are either registered or licensed. The Dalals, measurers and coolies get registered and charges are levied

for handling. No octroi is charged for the sale effected in the market yard.

The Dalal serves as the intermediary in settling the transactions between the buyer and seller. All these transactions are entered in his book and finally scrutinized by the Market Superintendent to ascertain that the seller and the buyer are agreed about the price at which the produce is sold. "As soon as the agreement is reached the Dalal deposits Rs. 5|- per cart as earnest money on behalf of the buyer."

In the Drug market, methods of transacting business and of settling disputes differ from the Raipur market. As soon as the seller arrives at the market, he gets a receipt which he sticks into the spread-out produce. The buyers arrive on the scene and fix up the price. The name of the highest bidder is entered in the receipt book before the market superintendent. Then the auction takes place and the final settlement is arrived at. The name of the buyer is entered in the book and the earnest money is deposited on the spot. Disputes arising out of it are settled by a committee deputed by the municipality and if it fails, the President of the Municipality hears the case. Ordinarily disputes are settled within a day.

The markets operating under the C. P. Cotton Markets Act of 1932 deal only in cotton. The markets at Amraoti and Akola stand out in bold relief as regulated markets. The Amraoti market was started as early as 1872 under the control of the Municipal Board. Though it was conducted well, it did not form a well regulated market until the passage of the Act of 1897. Soon a committee was formed to look after the control of the market. Since the new market superseded the local board market, a financial agreement was arrived at by which the new market consented to pay the surplus revenue to the local body. The committee had five members, two of which were nominated by the Municipal board while the rest were the representatives of the traders in the locality. In 1932 when the Act of 1897 was amended the committee was expanded as follows. Out of the eleven members, four were elected by local traders, four by the cotton growers of the taluk, one was nominated by the Municipality and one was the representative of the local co-operative The committee is empowered to elect its own chairman. societies. Election of the members is to be done once in three years. The management and control of the market are vested with the market committee which in its turn is placed under the supervision and control of the

district officers. The Commissioner of the division is the final administrative authority.

The market yard has a good library with a radio for receiving news. The market committee which is solely responsible for the control of the market, has four sub-committees which respectively deal with disputes, audit, public works and the checking of scales and weights. There is a permanent staff at the head of which is the superintendent who supervises the work in the market yard.

"Buyers, dalals, and weighmen are all registered and licensed by the committee and have to pay an annual fee of Rs. 100|-, Rs. 60|- and Rs. 5|- respectively. The market charges are clearly defined and include Re. 1|- per cart for dalal, 0-1-6 ps. per cart for weighing and an anna per cart as market cess. In addition to these, the buyer pays 0-2-6 per cart as handling charges. The dalals usually pay 0-1-0 per cart for the local Dharmasala fund. Though the carts have free entrance to the market yard, a terminal tax of 0-15-0 per bale of lint is levied by the Municipality on all outward traffic either by rail or road."

Even though the amended act is a definite improvement on the former one, in the case of disputes it lacks rigorous enforcement. Usually the final settlement takes place outside the market yard when deductions are made by the buyer. The seller has no other recourse than to abide by it. Though the market committee has full legal powers to put an end to such transactions, it confines itself to collecting the cess due to it.

Like the Amraoti market, the Akola market was also re-organised in 1932. Its organisation and management are similar to that of Amraoti. One cardinal feature in it is that it prohibits brokers to act both for seller and buyer.

In 1935, an act concerning all agricultural produce was passed. It was amended in 1937. According to this, even the marketing of all agricultural produce except cotton comes under its purview. The market committee is constituted as follows. It has ten members of which five are elected by the agriculturists, one is the servant of the Crown of not less than the rank of a Naib Tahsildar, one nominated by the District Board, one by the Municipality and the rest are from the ranks of the traders. The management and control are similar to those of the cotton markets.

# Bombay

In Bombay, an act was passed in 1927, which was subsequently amended in 1933; and its purpose was to regulate the sale in the cotton markets. According to this act, a market yard was opened at Dhulia in 1930. The market committee which is responsible for the control of the market has fourteen members including seven representatives of the growers, four of the local traders and one each of the Agricultural Department, the District Board and the Municipality. As in C.P., the market committee is controlled and supervised by the district revenue officers. Disputes arising out of the transaction are finally settled by a sub-committee, if the superintendent fails to arrive at a settlement in the first instance.

Buyers, dalals and weighmen are licence holders paying an annual fee of Rs. 10|-, Rs. 30|- and Rs. 5|- respectively. After the organisation of the regulated markets the market charges have decreased.

The prevalent market rates in Bombay, America and Liverpool are received by telegrams and are notified in the market yard. Though settling prices under cover is even now in practice, malpractice in scales and weights has been efficiently put an end to.

The Bailhongal market, though similar in constitution to the Dhulia market, differs in certain respects. Firstly, the produce is put into open auction and the final weighment and settlement of prices are done in the market yard. This effectively minimises disputes. No trader is allowed to transact without a licence within a radius of ten miles from the town of Bailhongal.

### Madras

The object of the Madras Commercial Crops Market Act of 1933 with its amendment in 1939, is to secure the better regulation of buying and selling of commercial crops (cotton, groundnut and tobacco) and to establish markets for this purpose in the presidency. The act is administered through the Collector of the district. At first the notified area was Tiruppur, and later, South Arcot came under its purview.

Let us first briefly relate its working at Tiruppur and study in detail its operation in the South Arcot District in the next section. The Tiruppur market was first owned by the Municipality. In 1936, it came

under the regulated markets list with twelve members of which five are elected by the cotton growers, four elected by the licencees functioning in the market, one is nominated by the local board and the rest are the nominees of the Crown. The life of the committee is three years. The market is a decentralized unit, but the Government want to make it a centralized one in course of time.

The Market Committee elects its own chairman and carries on its functions through five sub-committees. As regards the staff, a novel departure has been made in appointing as secretary a senior Agricultural Demonstrator, in order to stabilize the market and ensure its efficiency in its initial stages.

The secretary of the committee receives information daily regarding the prevailing rates in Bombay, Liverpool, and New York, and notifies it duly. Since the market has no yard of its own, carts are directed to the ginneries where licensed weighmen weigh the produce.

The charges are as follows: -

- (a) Brokerage 0-6-0 per candy of 784 lbs. of Kapas or 0-12-0 per candy of lint.
- (b) Market cess of 0-4-0 per candy of 784 lbs. of lint and 0-3-0 per candy of Kapas.

If the seller fails to deliver the produce at the premises of the buyer, the seller has to pay an additional charge of 0-6-0 per candy.

Thus a market fund is created from the licence fees, market fees and other miscellaneous receipts. The total income during the two years 1936 and 1937 amounted roughly to Rs. 25,000; and nearly half of this was expended.

# Hyderabad

Unlike Bombay and Madras, Hyderabad deals in all agricultural commodities. This is a definite improvement, for the dealers can make up the loss sustained in the controlled commodity by widening their profit margin on commodities which are not controlled. A marketing section has been formed and the marketing officer is responsible for the administration of the Act. Already ten markets are operating under this Act.

The Raichur market which was constituted in 1339 Fasli, was first confined to the main bazar with a market cess of 0-1-0 per cart. Later the limits of the market area were extended to ten miles around the collectorate of Raichur. Though there was bitter opposition in the initial stages, later it came to stay through the patient and tactful propaganda of the Collector. The market is managed by a committee of twelve members, six of them being representatives of the growers, four from the rank of the traders, one from the local Municipal Board and another nominated by the Government. The board has to be reconstituted once in two years. To compensate the Municipality for the loss sustained by it by the creation of the regulated market, half the revenue is paid to the Municipality.

Though a sub-committee is in charge of the administration of the market, in reality it is the superintendent who looks after it. Licence fees are levied on the brokers, weighmen and measurers. Market charges payable by the seller and the buyer are specified. A special committee has been appointed to collect funds for charitable institutions. The terminal tax levied is 0-4-0 per cart entering the municipal area.

The Warangal market closely resembles the Raichur market, and in the first instance, even this market had to face opposition; but gradually it was overcome by the tactful work of the Collector.

# Punjab

The Punjab Agricultural Produce Markets Act was passed in 1939. The Act includes all agricultural produce, viz., cotton, wheat, barley, rice, oil-seeds, maize, gram, sugarcane (gur and shakkar). The Act regards those who actually raise the crop as growers and excludes from its range brokers or dealers who dispose of the produce. Licence fees have been fixed with a maximum limit at Rs. 10.

The market has to be controlled by a market committee of not more than sixteen members, two of whom are to be nominated by the Government and the rest to represent the growers and the licence holders in the proportion of two to one. The weighmen, dalals and measurers should take out licences. The life of the committee is three years.

## North-Western Frontier Province

The Agricultural Produce Markets Act was passed in 1939 and it received the assent of the Governor-General on the 16th August of the

same year. Unlike other provinces it includes all produce of agriculture or horticulture, animals and their hides, skins and wool and any article of food or drink wholly or partially manufactured from agricultural produce. Here, the dealer and the broker, even though they may raise the produce, are excluded from the list of the growers of agricultural produce.

For every notified area, a market committee has been constituted with not less than ten and not more than sixteen members. Half the number are elected by the growers while the Government, the District Board and the Municipality each send one member. The rest have to be elected by the traders of the notified area.

The act makes every committee a corporate body with legal existence. Moreover, it prohibits the brokers from acting in any transaction on behalf of both the buyer and seller.

The market committees are allowed to have a fund created from the collection of licence fees, market cess and other miscellaneous items and permitted to defray their expenses from that corpus.

No trade allowance except the specified charges are allowed to be collected in the market, and private markets are prohibited to transact business in the notified area.

The above acts owe their existence to the deliberations conducted in 1938 at a Conference in Delhi of the Central Marketing Staff and of the senior marketing officers in Indian provinces and states. In this conference a model bill was drafted for the regulation of markets. Following the model of this bill, Punjab, North-Western Frontier Province, Bengal, Mysore and Travancore passed Acts suited to local conditions. The Bombay Act was amended to include crops other than cotton. The emergence of the regulated market is a new augury for the betterment of the masses and the rural prosperity of the land.

#### SECTION VIII

# MADRAS COMMERCIAL PRODUCE MARKET ACT—ITS WORKING IN SOUTH ARCOT

The South Arcot District was declared a notified area under Section 4 (1) of the Madras Commercial Markets Act 1933, from 1st April, 1939. Accordingly, a Market Committee was constituted under the caption "South Arcot Groundnut Market Committee." The members of the first committee were nominated by the Government. As the Secretary of the Committee, a subordinate of the Agricultural Department was drafted in after a few weeks training in the Tirupur Cotton Market Committee. Six superintendents of the market yards were also recruited from the Agricultural Department.

As soon as the Committee was formed, the framing of the bye-laws engaged their attention. At first the bye-laws were modelled after the Tiruppur Cotton Market Committee bye-laws. But later they were recast in the light of experience. The object of the bye-laws is to regulate the business in groundnut and conditions of trading.

The Market Committee has as its head the Chairman who convenes meetings which are held in the office of the committee once in two months. On the requisition of half of the members of the committee, a meeting can be convened. When urgent matters await the consideration of the committee, the papers relating to them are circulated among the members for perusal and opinion. The quorum in the case of the committee meeting is four.

The Market Committee consists of two sub-committees. They are: —

- (a) Executive sub-committee,
- (b) The Disputes sub-committee.

The Secretary of the Market Committee is the secretary of both the committees; and the chief executive officer convenes the meetings.

The Executive Committee is composed of four members, and these are:

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- (a) The Chairman,
- (b) One elected from the ranks of the traders,
- · (c) One of the representatives of the growers and
  - (d) One nominated by the Committee.

These members are from among the members of the Market Committee. The Chairman of the Market Committee ipso facto becomes the chairman of the sub-committee. The quorum for each meeting is three.

The functions of the committee are to prepare the annual budget and suggest constructive programmes for the furtherance of the committee. It is their duty to see that the collection and dissemination of market intelligence are done efficiently. Any member of the committee can hear complaints regarding marketing practices and can bring the fact to the notice of the committee.

This committee met four times in 1939-40 and prescribed the forms as per the bye-laws and revised the bye-laws in the wake of experience.

As regards the Disputes sub-committee, it is composed of four members who are drafted in as follows:—

- (1) One of the nominated members of the committee who acts as the chairman of the committee,
- (2) One of the persons from the growers of the commercial crops on the committee,
- (3) One of the members representing the traders of the commercial crop in the committee and
- (4) One of the representives of the local body not being the chairman of the committee. If there is no other member from the local body, some other member of the committee is appointed.

The committee is intended to settle disputes, and the sub-committee appoints in each market yard a panel of not less than 12 but not more than 24 persons. Every person included is expected to have a knowledge of the trade.

When a dispute arises, the parties report it to the Secretary with the prescribed fee. Each party elects one arbitrator from the panel constituted by the sub-committee. When the arbitrators fail to arrive at a settlement, an umpire is appointed who is also chosen from the same

panel. As a final appeliate tribunal there is the Disputes sub-committee whose decision is final. Every session of the sub-committee is presided over by the chairman and in his absence by a member chosen from the members of the sub-committee. At least three members are required for the quorum. The sub-committee records the disputes that come before them. Though this sub-committee was ushered in, as there were no disputes in 1939-40, it had no occasion to meet.

To start with, the South Arcot Groundnut Market Committee got a loan amounting to Rs. 7,700 from the local government. "The total revenues of the committee during the year 1939-40 amounted to Rs. 71,294-7-6 of which Rs. 40,016-6-10 has been spent and a sum of Rs. 3,105 has been deposited with the Government. The committee received also a sum of Rs. 1,174 as deposits chiefly from weighmen for the badges supplied to them; and out of the deposits a sum of Rs. 7 has been refunded. The net assets of the Committee on 31-3-40 are estimated as Rs. 38,245-0-8."\*

The most important feature of the committee is the provision of central places for marketing. With the sanction of the Government five market yards were opened in important centres of the District. The five market yards are as follows:—

Name.			Date of opening.
Tindivanam			12-12-1939
<b>Vr</b> iddhachalam	•		25—1—1940
Tirukoilur		• •	29—1—1940
Ulundurpet			9-2-1940
Cuddalore			3—3—1940

They began to work at the fag end of the season and as such the transactions were not on a large scale. As regards the transaction from the date of their inception to the last day of March 1940, a table is appended herewith.\*\*

<sup>\*</sup>Vide South Arcot Groundnut Market Committee Report for 1939-40, pp. 4-5.

<sup>\*\*</sup> Vide South Arcot Groundnut Market Committee Report, 1939-40, p. 12.

Market Centres.	Estimated arrivals in the market centre. (Tons)	Arrivals in the market yard during the corresponding period. (Tons)	Percentage of the Quantity in column 2.
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Tindivanam	4505.8	208.6	4.5
<b>V</b> riddachalam	776.6	67 • 4	9.0
Tirukoilur	1152·1	57·7	5.1
Ulundurpet	506.4	142 • 2	28.0
Cuddalore	265.9	64.3	24.0

Unlike other market yards, in Ulundurpet a major portion of the produce is sold through the market yard; for the yard is within the easy reach of the growers. In other centres, as the season is over only petty traders bring their produce for disposal. Moreover, the carts have to pass the buying sheds of the traders and hence get intercepted on the way. In order to carry out marketing efficiently as in the Dhulia market, the committee has proposed to expand the space in the yard and prohibit buying and selling outside the market yard.

As these market yards are not always within the reach of the traders, provision has been made in the Act to have licenced premises to carry out transactions. The fees per year for the licence are on the scale noted below:—

*Class (i)	For each single premises	• •	Rs.	10
(ii)	For every additional premises		Rs.	5
(iii)	For each shop in villages where groundnut bought and sold in retail as a side line			
	other business		Rs.	2

<sup>. \*</sup>Vide South Arcot Groundnut Market Committee Bye-law 11 (a).

The maximum fee leviable has been fixed at Rs. 25. For amendments in the licence an additional fee of Rs. 5 is charged while the owner of the country chekku is exempted altogether from the levy.

The licence form is always displayed well at a prominent place in the licencees' premises. Each copy of it costs one anna and if subsequent copies are required, the licencee has to pay four annas. It contains the following details:

- (a) The name of the licencee,
- (b) Licence number,
- (c) The maximum fees payable according to the bye-laws to brokers, commission agents, etc., and
- (d) Such other information as may be directed by the chairman from time to time.

During the year 1939-'40, 430 licences were issued for 712 premises. Many were the small premises without licence that carried on trade in remote villages beyond the reach of the Committee's officials. Though Rs. 25 was first fixed for a licence, it came to be reduced owing to the poverty of the traders.

The licencees engage assistants or agents to look after their work. They are required to have in possession authorization cards from the licencees with the endorsement of the committee. The weights and scales are scrutinized well and only certified weights are allowed to be used in the premises. When processing is carried on in these premises any method which will adversely affect the quality is prohibited. The licencees keep accounts which are submitted to the committee for scrutiny.

With the enforcement of the Act, trading in groundnut, whether buying or selling or both, requires registration in the market committee. By such registration the committee keeps in touch with every trader and closely watches his activities. For the levy of fees the traders are classified as follows:—

A Class—Traders with one or more partners and those registering as corporate bodies.

B Class—Traders registered as individuals employing four or more authorized agents or assistants.

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C Class—Traders registered as individuals employing less than four authorized agents or assistants.

D Class—Individuals who do not employ any authorized assistants or agents and village shop keepers licensed under class (iii) of byelaw 11.

Since there are different classes of traders, the fees for registration vary. They are as shown below:—

			Fees		Fees
		•	I	Ialf-year Rs.	Year Rs.
1.	Buyer and sel	ler—Class A		121/2	24
		" B		9	16
		" C		6	10
	•	" D		1	2
2.	Buyer alone	-Class A		8	15
		"B		6	10
		" C		4	6
3.	Seller alone	—Class A		8	15
		"В		6	10
		" C		4	6*

People who buy groundnuts either raw or processed are exempted from registering if the quantity bought does not exceed 7,000 lbs. in the course of the year. People who buy groundnut for seeds are also exempted from the purview of the bye-law.

The registered traders have to keep daily accounts a statement of which they should submit before 6 p.m. of the next day. Traders whose premises are beyond a five miles radius of the market yard are asked to submit only weekly returns. When the produce is examined by the buyers a rate is fixed up which is recorded in the prescribed form kept by the committee. When once the rate is fixed, it is binding on both the parties. As soon as the price is fixed, the weighment is done. If by some unavoidable delay the weighment is not done on the day when the transaction is carried, it is postponed to the next day while the original rate prevails. Even if the transaction is made through the agents of the parties, the

<sup>\*</sup>Vide Ibid, Bye-law, 13.

rate once fixed prevails throughout till the transaction is over. Weighment is not done after sun-set except with the written consent of the seller.

The traders usually have agents to transact business on their with them authorization carry along behalf. Thev issued by their masters and countersigned by the Secretary of the committee. Whenever the trader registers himself, he submits a list of agents or assistants under him. For the subsequent inclusion of names in the list, the committee levies a fee of annas four. The agent of the seller is not allowed to purchase the produce in his own name or in partnership with some others except with the written consent of the seller in the prescribed form. The commission on this transaction is fixed at 0-1-6 pies per bag in the case of kernels and 0-3-0 in the case of pods.

By the introduction of such rules, the seller is safeguarded. Before the advent of the committee, the buyer used to deduct as commission 1½ annas to 4 annas per candy of groundnut bought. Besides, a deduction as weighment and handling charges varying from 1 anna to two annas was made. Brokers and buyers used to take free samples. Moreover, allowances for dirt were made. The price fixed was not always paid. Irregularities in weighing were not uncommon.

With the enforcement of the rules, the legitimate commission alone is allowed and that too has been reduced to nearly 50 per cent. Deduction regarding handling and weighment charges, has been put an end to. Now the samples are returned to the seller, and once the price is fixed, it never changes. Allowances for dirt have been now discontinued. Trade allowance of one pie per bag, which used to be collected, has been prohibited. Weighment irregularities have been stopped by a careful scrutiny of the weights and scale.

During the year 1939-40, the number of traders registered are as follows:—

Buyers and sellers—Whole year .		1.53
Buyers and sellers—Short periods .		764
Buyers alone .		100
Sellers alone .		44
	٠.	
		1061*

<sup>&#</sup>x27;Vide South Arcot Groundnut Market Committee Report, 1939-40, p. 16,

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However, in villages petty traders to evade registration pass off as growers.

The brokers, whether they deal in pods or kernels, have to pay as licence fee Rs. 10 per year and Rs. 6 per half year. Their duties are that they have to enter in a bound note book provided by the committee, "the weights of pods or kernels from the seller's copy of the entries in the weighmen's chitta together with the rate and amount of money paid for the groundnut." They have to furnish weekly returns on each Monday in the prescribed form recording the quantity of groundnut purchased by each buyer and the name of the weighman. The maximum brokerage allowed is six pies per bag of kernels or two pies per bag of pods. On receipt of brokerage, they issue a receipt for the amount received. The South Arcot District has very few brokers. In 1939-40 only 18 got licensed.

The rules framed under the Act make the weighman independent of both the buyer and the seller. Weighment is allowed to take place in the licensed premises if it has to be performed outside the market yard. Only licensed weighmen who wear the distinguishing badge are allowed to weigh. They pay a licence fee of Rs. 6 per year. For shorter periods too the licence is issued. For example the weighman can get licence for a week on payment of eight annas or for one month if he pays a rupee. Free licences are issued by the committee for those who work in the market yards under the supervision of the committee and for weighmen employed in the Government depots of the Agricultural Department.

The weighman correctly weighs the produce brought to him and enters it in the register supplied to him by the committee for a nominal price fixed from time to time. His entry is endorsed by the buyer; and a copy of the entry signed by the buyer is also given to the seller. Weighmen employed by the registered trader demand no fee for weighment while others are allowed to charge up to 5 pies per bag of kernels or two pies per bag of pods. In order to receive the distinguishing badge, the weighman pays Rs. 2, which is refunded when the badge is returned. In 1939-40 nearly 592 weighmen took licences, but many escaped the vigilant eye of the committee.

Besides licensing the traders and regulating the weighment, the committee imposes a levy of six pies per bag of kernels and two pies per

## **CROUNDNUT**

bag of pods taken from the notified area to a place outside it, consumed locally or landed in the notified area and exported subsequently. The levy is imposed on him from whose premises the groundnut has left. When permits are required often, the licencee gets the necessary permits after furnishing adequate guarantee to the committee. If evasion is found out, the person from whose premises the produce has left is asked to pay. When the groundnut produce is transported through a non-notified area to another without being landed in the notified area, it is exempted from such a levy. In cases of doubt, the levy is first collected and later returned on proof of through transport. When oil-mills, rotaries, presses and expellers consume groundnut, the levy is made in the first week of every month which is based on the consumption of groundnut of the preceding menth. But chekku owners are exempted from such a levy and also persons who buy ten seers shelled or fifteen seers unshelled groundnut per day.

No trade allowance except tare is allowed on all spot or ready transactions in groundnut. It is 2 lbs. for each single gunny or the actual weight of the gunny or of the packing material used.

We have already seen the constitution of the Disputes sub-committee and now let us consider the fees paid for such arbitration. The fees are charged on the basis of the quantity involved in the dispute and the rate of the fees is as follows:—

(a) For pods*:—	Rs.
(1) Less than 5 bags, free	
(2) Exceeding 5 bags but not exceeding 50	1
(3) Exceeding 50 bags but not exceeding 500	3
(4) Exceeding 500 but not exceeding 1,000	4
(5) Exceeding 1000 bags but not exceeding	5 plus
annas two for every 100 bags or part thereof in excess of	1000 bags.

<sup>\*</sup>Vide South Arcot Groundnut Market Committee Bye-law, No. 23.

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(b) For kernels:—	Rs.
(1) Not exceeding 25 bags	2
(2) Exceeding 25 bags but not exceeding 125	5
(3) Exceeding 125 bags but not exceeding 250	10
(4) Exceeding 250 bags but not exceeding 500	15
(5) Exceeding 500	15 plus

annas four for each 50 bags or part thereof in excess of 500 bags. For appeal, the fees shall be double the rates fixed in (a) and (b) supra.

If the disputes are in places outside the market yard, the arbitrators can claim travelling allowances as per M.T.A. Rules in vogue for Government servants. The fees are payable in advance by both the parties. The arbitrators, or the umpires or the Disputes sub-committee, as the case may be, are the only persons authorized to decide as to whom and in what proportion such amounts are refundable. Deducting the travelling allowance from the total amount collected as fees, one-third of the net amount is credited to the committee's funds. The balance is equally distributed among the arbitrators. If an umpire is appointed, he gets half of the amount remaining after deducting a third from the total amount to be credited to the committee's fund. The rest is equally divided among the arbitrators.

Regarding market intelligence, it is in the formative period. The committee at first thought of getting the price quotations directly from London. The cost of the service was out of reach of the means of the Committee and the Marketing Advisor to the Government of India was consulted in the matter. By that time the war broke out in Europe and open trading in London was given up. As such, the idea of getting foreign prices had to be given up.

Now the committee has made arrangements with the exporting firms in their area and get their buying limits confidentially and publish the prices offered by them in the market yards for the sake of the public. As regular price data were not available, no market report or bulletin was published in the first year of the committee. In order to keep the Provincial Marketing Officer in touch with the market situation, weekly statements are sent to him. These are made available to the registered traders also; but as the statements are in English, the traders, who are ignorant of the language, do not evince any interest in them. As such,

the committee proposes to publish a very simple market report in Tamil in course of time.

In purchasing groundnut, generally make certain strict stipulations in the contract forms. The Act has as a provision Rule 19-A which authorizes the committee to draw up just forms of contract and to grade standards of quality. Though the Committee took up this subject with all seriousness, it dropped the matter when it came to know that already the question was engaging the attention of the Marketing Advisor to the Government of India. However, informal discussions were carried on with the local traders and their proposals were communicated to the Provincial Marketing Officer.\*

# Marketing yard—its working

It is proposed to describe here the actual manner in which the produce is disposed of. We have already seen that besides market yards there are licensed premises. Here let us confine our attention to the manner in which the groundnut brought by the cultivator is sold in the yard attached to the Superintendent of the Market Committee in Cuddalore Old Town.

The transactions that take place in the yard can be classified into two divisions—(1) auction sales and (2) ordinary sales. The market yard plays a prominent part in transactions of the former, while transactions of the latter type are not infrequent. Ordinary sales are conducted at any time, while auction sales are allowed to take place only during stipulated hours.

Let us see at first how an auction sale is conducted. As soon as the cart laden with the produce arrives at the market yard, the cart is unloaded. The load is entered in the register kept for the purpose. The name of the seller, his profession and the approximate quantity by weight are noted therein. The produce is heaped up in mounds on the floor. The heaped up produce is mixed well in order to assure the buyers that the quality is uniform. Unscrupulous sellers place dirt and bad stuff at the bottom of the bag while the top will exhibit pucca goods. To root out such fraudulent methods, the emptying of the bag is advocated. After emptying, each mound is allotted a number.

<sup>\*</sup> See Appendix B: For the working of the Committee in 1940.

### MADRAS COMMERCIAL PRODUCE MARKET ACT

Now, word is sent to the traders and the exporting firms. They or their agents arrive at the yard and inspect the quality of the produce. Samples of the lots are taken which are returned later. After consulting their masters, they make a written and signed offer. The offer slips are sealed and sent to the yard and the officer in charge of the yard takes delivery of them after noting the time of their arrival on the envelopes which enclose the slips and drops them into a locked box specially kept for them in the yard. As the auction sales are done on a secret basis, the prices quoted in the slips are kept confidential. Even the superintendent of the yard is not aware of the price quoted in the slips. These slips are accepted till 3 p.m. on each day.

When the clock strikes three, the box is opened in the presence of the superintendent and the slips are taken out. Then the prices quoted in the slips are tabulated showing the highest bidder for each lot. Soon the prices are announced before the sellers, who, if willing, dispose of their produce. The sale is thus effected.

At times, the sellers themselves fix the minimum price for which they will sell the produce. If the price quoted by the buyers were to be below the minimum price of the sellers, the lot is withdrawn from sale.

A sale effected in the above manner is called an auction sale. Besides this, other kinds of sales are in vogue in the market yard. For example, when the seller arrives at the yard after three in the evening and when he is unable to wait till the next day, he readily negotiates with the buyer, if he is found in the yard. When a price is agreed upon the produce is weighed and the sale is effected. Here also the buyer and the seller sign a form kept for this purpose in the market yard.

It is a self-evident fact that the auction system has brought immense benefit to the ryot. Without the least expense of men and money the seller gets the maximum price possible. But the difficulty of reaching the yard still deters the growers from using the market yard to the full. Consequently we notice the prevalence of other kinds of transactions also.

### SECTION IX.

## TRANSPORT CHARGES

A study of the marketing problem will be incomplete without a scrutiny of the railway freights on groundnut from the hinterland to the ports. Though the produce is brought to the ports in country bullock carts and motor lorries, the major portion of it moves from the producing centres to the ports in railway wagons. But it is unfortunate that the reports of the Railway Board have no separate figures for groundnut. They have included it along with other oil-seeds under heavy merchandise. As such there are insurmountable difficulties in finding out the trends in the rail-borne trade from these general figures. The following figures show the trend in the trade from 1934 to 1938.\*

Year.	Traffic in Tons.	Earnings in Rupees
1934-35	3,357,500	2,98,47,900
35-36	3,084,400	2,77,46,300
36-37	3,842,100	3,31,48,200
37-38	3,516,200	3,03,68,100
31-30	0,010,200	0,00,00,100

Though the traffic has shown a downward trend at intervals, the total earnings show a steady increase with a fall in 1937-38. The foregoing figures are for the whole of India, but now let us examine the rail-borne trade in the Madras Province. The following figures clearly point to the premier position the groundnut trade occupies among the other oil-seeds. The figures are compiled from the "Southern India Commerce."

<sup>\*</sup>Vide Figures from the Railway Board Reports.

# TRANSPORT CHARGES

# Rail-borne Trade of Madras Province (in tons).

Traffic in 1939.

Month.	Castor	seed	Grou	ndnut	Ging	elly
Monus.	Import	Export	Import	Export	Import	Export
January	451	Nil	5027	1347	2439	1
February	1248	Nil	3113	12155	2808	4
March	1419	42	3222	5854	1404	1
April	1144	16	2794	4017	1776	8
May	1176	18	108	5716	511	9
June	<b>765</b>	18	3513	2145	528	Nil
July	399	8	2114	2809	609	9
August	416	• •	678	3258	748	1
September	1577	5287	56	907	1329	16
October	2564	155	71	871	2116	2
November	1109	5	4775	931	1433	32
December	227	103	6520	15184	2776	80
	12498	5609	31995	55200	18482	159
		Traf	fic in 1940.			
January	2819	90	1886	2494	1053	17
February	8304	169	1730	<b>788</b> 8	3669	77
March	5414	104	2217	99390	3272	74
April	4036	131	3132	35707	1427	3
May	2202	88	1960	6818	859	7
June	4303	12	712	3559	517	2
July	123	• •	303	••	538	1

From the above figures it can be said that in 1939, for which complete figures are available, the imports of groundnut into this province

was 2.5 times that of castor and 1.75 times that of gingelly. On the export side, we see that, in comparison with groundnut, castor and gingelly pale into insignificance. Caster forms only a tenth of the quantity of groundnut exports, while gingelly forms only 0.3%.

As groundnut producing areas are mainly found in the metre gauge tract, the traffic on these lines is the heaviest. "The total freight on the broad gauge amounted to 1,01,400 tons; on the metre gauge it was 2,46,300 and on the narrow gauge it was only 9,600 tons."

Regarding railway risk, groundnut has been classified and placed in the fourth class, the maximum and minimum for that class being 0.62 and 0.166 pie per maund per mile. But when the produce is carried in wagon loads of not less than 300 maunds in the broad gauge and not less than 160 maunds in the metre and narrow gauges, it is classified as 2A. at railway risk and 2 at owner's risk. The maxima and minima are 0.46, 0.42 and 0.109 pie per maund per mile respectively. In the South Indian Railway even when the produce is offered in bulk for transport, it is classified in the fourth class. Though it falls heavily on the producer, it has been contended that the producer could successfully bear the burden since this presidency is the premier producing centre for groundnuts. On the other hand it can be argued that by a reduced rate not only can the pride of the place be retained but also the economic prospects of the tract enhanced.

In South Arcot and the adjoining districts, the produce is sent to the ports by rail at railway and not at the owner's risk. If it is contrariwise, the rates will be lowered and thus confer a boon on the "producer-shipper." Scheduled rates are non-existent, in the South Indian Railway. Though station-to-station rates are quoted, scheduled rates will in fact bring great benefits. For stations where station-to-station rates are not applicable, ordinary class rates are levied which are higher than those in the general classification. As such, a small trader from a station of secondary importance has to bear heavy rates if he wants to book his produce to any other station or port.

The station-to-station rates are a common feature in the S. I. R. Since South Arcot stands foremost in the production of groundnut, rates are quoted from and to places in the district. Cuddalore commands the major portion of groundnut export trade and, as such, rates are quoted from other stations to Cuddalore.

The following are a few station-to-station rates in the S.I.Railway: \*

Conditions of carriage.	From	То	Rates per maund.	Remarks.
W/160 O.R.L.	Anamalai Road (via Dindigul)	Cuddalore Jn. Madras Beach	0-10- 3	
do.	do.		0-10- 3	
do.	Arni Road	Cuddalore	0- 4-10	
do.	do.	Madras Beach	0- 5- 0	
do.	Panruti	Cuddalore	0- 1- 2	Includes reduced
do. W/300	Polur	Cuddalore	0- 4-10	terminal charge of 11 pies per
O.R.L.	Karur	Cuddalore	0- 8- 4	maund free of short distance
W/160				charge.
O.R.L.	Ulundurpet	Cuddalore	0- 2- 0	orange.
do.	Vriddhachalam	Cuddalore	0- 1- 6	Free of short distance charge.

In the above table all the rates are at owner's risk, while the class rate alone is at the railway risk. Excepting Karur to Cuddalore, in all the other cases the wagon specification is 160 maunds and the requirement is that the loading and unloading is to be done by the public and not by the railways.

Let us now take a few rates for detailed investigation. The station-to-station rate from Anamalai Road to Madras as well as for Cuddalore is the same. Regarding Arni to Cuddalore the special rate is 0-4-10 per maund per mile, while the class rate comes to 0-5-3. The special rate from Arni to Madras, the distance of which is twice the distance from Arni to Cuddalore, is 0-5-0. In the class rate it comes to about 0-11-0 per maund per mile. The two examples clearly indicate that the railway authorities intend to minimise competition in exports between the ports.

Apart from these rates, periodically new rates are put into force, and these are withdrawn after a certain period. A few rates are given for comparison on page 80\*\*:—

<sup>\*</sup>Figures are compiled from IB-S.I.R. Goods Tariff.

<sup>\*\*</sup> Vide "Road-Rail Transport" by S. R. N. Bhadri Rao, pp. 186-87.

Conditions.	From	То	Rate per maund	Date of introduction
W/300 O.R.L.	Omalur	Cuddalore	0-7-6	20—12—1937.
W/160 O.R.L.	Pennadum	Cuddalore	0-2-5	
do.	Vellore Cantone- ment	Cuddalore	0-5-3	
do.	do.	Pondicherry	0-5-3	
do.	Krishnagiri	Cuddalore	0-7-4	These rates were with- drawn as per local
do.	Morappur Jn.	Cuddalore	0-8-0	rate advice No. 5 of 1938.

These rates are quoted to meet the exigencies of particular situations or to help the movement of traffic in bulk.

While the foregoing rates apply to local booking, station-to-station rates are quoted for through traffic. There are three such items in Part IB of the South Indian Railway Goods Tariff. They are as follows:—

Item	ı No.	From	То	Rate per maund
W/300	O.R.L.	Dasampatti	Madras Via Jalarpet.	Rs. As. Ps. 0 6 11
W/160	O.R.L.	Dharmapuri Krishnagiri	- >>	0 8 8 0 7 0
W/300	O.R.L.	Samalpatti Tirupattur	"	0 6 11 0 6 0

Groundnut oil is classified in the "C" division under oil together with gingelly and castor oil (not otherwise stated). The rate at railway risk according to class 2A. is 0.46 pie and at owner's risk is 0.42 pie per maund per mile. For safety in transport, the railway authorities insist on packing in metallic cases. Like groundnuts, the oil too has

station-to-station rates. The requirements regarding handling are the same as in the case of groundnut.

For groundnut oil too there are rates quoted for through traffic. The rate per maund on oil booked from Pollachi to Shalimar is Rs. 1-6-0. The specification is that it should be packed in tins, sound wooden barrels or in sound iron drums.

These freight rates are high when compared prices. For example, the rate from Pollachi to Madras. Negapatam or Pondicherry is the same rate of 10 annas per maund. "Comparing the freight rate with the price per maund, the former forms 14 per cent at current prices. These rates refer to local bookings only, but when through bookings are considered the percentage will be higher." Taking the class rate from Pollachi to Madras which is Re. 1-1-11 and comparing it with the highest February price, the incidence will come as high as 27½%. Though such a comparison is not righ, when station-to-station rate is available, it has to be taken; for station-to-station rate is allowed only on certain specific conditions. The station-to-station rate is allowed only in cases when the consignment equals minimum wagon load. So smaller consignments are subjected to the class rate. Moreover, the present surcharge of 121/2% on all goods traffic ipso facto increases the burden. "It is wrong to charge staple commodities which yield the largest returns more than what they can bear, and it is an injustice to increase the rates."\* The Acworth Committee even, as early as the third decade of this century, has criticized the surcharge. The Railway Member launched the surcharge on the ground that railway earnings were going down. But this argument falls to the ground when viewed from the economic stand point. To enhance earnings, the feasible method is to lower the rate. Low freight rates will yield increased railway revenues. The surcharge is a bane on the regular trade.

<sup>\*&</sup>quot;Road-Rail Transport," See Introduction by Dr. B. V. Narayanaswamy, page xxix.

# SECTION X

## EXPORT TRADE

While taking stock of the available supplies of a commodity, it is necessary to look to Production first; but the imports of the commodity have to be taken into account where they form a considerable bulk of the total quantity. In the case of groundnut, this problem is almost non-existent as the import of groundnut is extremely small. The absence of any mention of import trade of groundnut in the Review of the Trade of India is sufficient proof of the negligible quantity of the produce that comes in annually. But some idea of the same can be had from the Seaborne Trade of India and the following table shows the quantity and value of the imported produce for a few years.

Imports of Groundnut

Year	Quantity Tons.	Value Rs.
1909-10	159	
1913-14		
1922-23	2	872
1923-24	15	3,453
1924-25	103	28,799
1925-26	53	7,513
1926-27	18 '	5,226
1927-28	60	
1928-29	61	
1929-30	132	
1930-31	30	

Year.	Quantity. Tons.	Value. Rs.
1931-32	66	13,765
1932-33	5	1,891
1933-34	1	1,012
1934-35	9	1,764
1935-36	1	683
1936-37*	15	1,981
1937-38*	209	29,670
1938-39*	96	14,229

The imports have thus ranged from 2 and 1 in 1922-23 and 1935-36 to 132 and 209 in 1929-30 and 37-38. The imports mainly come from Ceylon, the Straits Settlements, Mauritius, the Dependencies and a few other foreign countries. The table below will show the details:—

	22-	23.	23-24.	24-25.	25-26.	26-27.	31–32.	32-33.	33-34.	34–35.	<b>35–36</b> .	36-37
Ceylon .		_	11		1							
St. Settlements.		2	4	2	35	18	29	4	1	4	1	-
Burma .		_	_	_	_	_	_		_		_	
Mauritius and Dependencies.	_	_	_	101		_					_	_
Other British Possessions .		_	_		1	_	1	1	_	_		15
Total British Possessions Java		2	15 —	103	37	18	30 36	5	1 _	4	1	15
Total foreign countries		_			16					5	***	
Grand Total		2	15	103	53	18	66	5	1	9	1	15

<sup>\*</sup> Includes imports from Burma.

In 1937-38 Burma sent in 191 tons and 93 in 38-39. In 1937-38 18 tons were imported from British Possessions other than Burma thus making up a total of 209 and 96 for the two years respectively. The largest single consignment for the first five years for which figures are given above have come from the Straits Settlements and Mauritius and the Dependencies. These small quantities of imported seed are absorbed in the following areas as shown below. Bengal and Burma have been the largest importers.

Shares of Imports between Provinces

	Bengal.	Bombay.	Sind.	Madras.	Burma.
1922-23					2
1923-24		5		6	4
1924-25	101	-			2
1925-26	8	4		1	40
1926-27				-	18

	Bengal.	Bombay.	Sind.	Madras.	Burma.
1931-32		36			30
1932-33					5
1933-34	-	and the same of th			1
1934-35		5			4
1935-36	etterine.				1
1936-37	-	13			2
1937-38	191			18	
1938-39	96				

During all these years groundnut was imported into India only through the British Ports, and the French Ports did not import any.

# Exports.

As has been pointed out in a previous section a large portion, sometimes as much as three fourths of the total production, is being retained for consumption within the country. In spite of this dominant tendency for retaining a great part of the total production, India provides nearly two fifths of the groundnut entering international trade.

An idea of the percentage of exports to total production can be had from the following table compiled from the Review of the Trade of India.

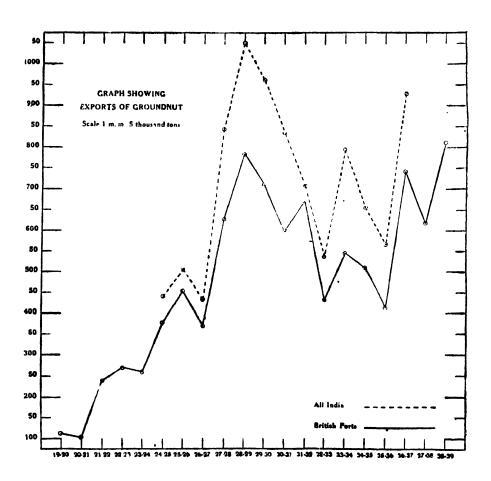
Percentage of Indian Exports of Groundnut to Total Production.

Pre-War Average		35	1928-29	 26
War "		12	1929-30	 29
Post War "		19	1930-31	 19
1919-20		13	1931-32	 30
1920-21		10	1932-33	 15
1921-22		25	1933-34	 17
1922-23		28	1934-35	 27
1923-24		24	1935-36	 19
1924-25		27	1936-37	 27
1925-26		24	1937-38	 18
1926-27		16	1938-39	 28
1927-28	• •	24		

This table makes possible an interesting observation. When a graph is drawn with the averages for two year periods, we get a curve which shows an up and down wave motion; when the averages are struck for four year periods, the graph obtained represents a clear wave form. Though the number of observations have been small, one can venture to suggest that at the end of the 8th year or thereabout from the year of minimum exports, there is a marked tendency to retain or hold a larger percentage of total production within the country.

Variations in exports have been great even after making due allowance for occasional incomplete and unsatisfactory recording of facts. These can be explained by factors both external and internal. The increased cultivation of groundnut in other lands and their competition with the Indian produce in the export markets, the increased uses to which the raw produce was being put, the demands from new countries as well as the decline in the off-take of some of the customers are some of the external factors causing fluctuations. In a country like India, the influence of exchange rates is an important factor affecting foreign exports. Further, the difficulties of shipping, trade treaties and the rise of new devices checking the natural trend of foreign trade have been seriously impeding the natural growth of the export trade at certain times. It needs to be added that the internal production, consumption and trend of prices, mutually interdependant as they are, also considerably influence the export trade of the country.

# GRAPH SHOWING EXPORTS OF GROUNDNUT



# EXPORT\TRADE

A study in detail of the rise and fall of exports of groundnut would enable us to trace the factors that have been influencing the exports from time to time. The total exports from India can be gathered by totalling up the individual exports from the British, French, Portugese (Indian) and Kathiawar ports.\* In this task one has to face the lack of material regarding exports of groundnuts from a few of these ports for some years. The figures given below have been made as accurate as possible.

Groundnut Exported from India in thousand tons.

<del></del>	rts from Ports.	All Ports.
 Pre-war average	212	The same is a state of the continuous of the continuous
War average	119	
Post-war average	195	
1919-20	112	
1920-21	104	
1921-22	236	
1922-23	267	
1923-24	257	
1924-25	376	437
1925-26	455	507
1926-27	<b>368</b>	433
1927-28	613	844
1928-29	788	1052
1929-30	714	957
1930-31	601	836
1931-32	672	709
1932-33	433	536
1933-34	547	797
1934-35	511	659
1935-36	413	565
1936-37	740	927
1937-38	619	
1938-39	835	

The table clearly shows the trend towards increase and decrease. From 1924-25, a regular increase is noticeable upto a maximum of nearly

<sup>\*</sup> Vide Appendix: Table IX.

1052 thousand tons in 1928-29 with a slight interruption in 1926-27. Thereafter, there has been a fall which, though gradual at first, reached its lowest level in 1932-33. The fall from 1928-29 has been explained as "purely a result of the general economic depression." "The decrease in 1926-27 has been attributed to the holding of supplies in the hope that prices which were beginning to fall would recover. Falling prices in the year 1932-33 may also account for the magnitude of the drop in exports during that year; while the failure of prices to recover apparently led to the release of large quantities in 1933-34." The figures of British Ports, which alone ship nearly half of the exports, show the same trend prevailing. Indian exports in 1935 were far below that of any year since the maximum in 1928-29. Besides the general cause attributed to the fall since 1929, the decreasing use of groundnut oil in margarine and soap manufacture has also been a cause of the fall in demand for the raw product in foreign countries. The year 1937 is peculiar for the reason that there was an even distribution of the exports of groundnut between the five important countries; all of them viz., United Kingdom, the Netherlands, France, Germany and Italy, took more or less the same quantity of the raw produce, i.e., about 15%. Of these, Italy was the heaviest importer with about 18% of exports to her credit. 1938 was the only year of normal exports before the war began to play havoc on trade. The effect of the present war on the export trade of groundnut will be considered later.

A word about the total value of our exports of groundnut is necessary. The importance of the groundnut crop from the commercial point of view can be gauged from the following table which shows the relative value of groundnut export trade to total exports in millions of rupees. The table has been compiled from "Oil-seeds Survey" of the years 1936, 1937 and 1938, published by the League of Nations.

Table showing Relative, Value of Groundnut Exports to Total Exports (Millions of Rupees).

Year.	All Domestic Produce.	Groundnut.	Percentage.
1926-30	3093	146	4.7
(average)			
1931-35	<b>1500</b>	74	4.9
1936	1806	95	5.3
1937	2024	108	5.3

Thus the export value of groundnut trade to total trade has increased from 4.7% to 5.3%; as such, its importance as a commercial crop can be easily appreciated.

Madras being the largest producer of groundnut with as much as 3.3 million acres under cultivation, the exports from Madras Presidency have always been very great. The following table compiled from the notes of the Review of the Trade of India shows the increasing importance gained by Madras in the post-war years.

## Exports from the Madras Presidency.

Percent	tage	to	total	exports	
---------	------	----	-------	---------	--

1930-31		76
31-32	••	74
32-33		81
33-34	• •	83
34-35		85
<b>35-36</b>		81
36-37	• •	86
37-38		91
38-39		92

With a slight fall in 1935-36, the exports from the ports of the Madras Presidency have been steadily increasing. In 1930-31 Madras claimed three fourths of total exports, while in 1938-39, her exports were more than 9/10 of total exports. The rest of the exports has been made through the ports of the Bombay Presidency, and from being the exporter at one time of nearly a quarter of total exports, Bombay has slowly declined until to-day she shares only one-tenth of the total exports.

The groundnut export trade can also be studied from the point of view of the share of the French and British ports in the export trade. Such a study brings out the fact that the French ports have been gradually declining in importance, while the British have been steadily gaining ground. This point will be borne out by the following figures:—

## CROUNDNUT

Percentage of Exports through French Ports.

1909-10 to 1913-14	}	average.	 30
1924-25			 14
25-26			 10
26-27			 15
27-28			 12
28-29			 9
29-30			 12
30-31			 10
31-32			 5
32-33			 5

The same feature has been noticed in the exports of groundnut between Pondicherry and Cuddalore Ports. Pondicherry has been losing ground. This has been taken advantage of by the Cuddalore and Porto Novo Ports in the South Arcot district. It is noteworthy that merchants from the French territory of Pondicherry come to the Cuddalore port for exporting goods; sometimes they are prepared to bind themselves to pay such new taxes as the Sales Tax. The deflection of trade from Pondicherry can only be explained by the rather complicated new export and port duties levied at French Ports.

With an annual average of nearly 66,000 tons in the pre-war quinquennium and 40,000 tons in the period 1924-28, France has been the main market for the exports from French Ports. Even from the exports of British Ports, French off-take held the first place for many years till Germany outbeat her for the first time in 1927-28 and 1928-29. For the Portuguese Indian Ports, Germany, the Netherlands and Italy were the chief consignees during the years 1927-31 with an annual average of 55,000, 37,000 and 20,000 tons respectively. The Netherlands provided the chief market for the export from Kathiawar ports for a long time; and the United Kingdom came next.

France has always been the most important purchaser of Indian groundnut exported through British ports in the pre-war as well as the post-war days. The export figure in the pre-war quinquennium can be roughly put at 170,000 tons per annum, but the average rose during the period 1924-33 from 20,000 tons to 190,000 tons. Expressed as percentages, the Indian imports rose from 40% in 1922 to about 62% in 1933 of the total imports of groundnut into France. The averages indicated in the last column of the following table show how the trend towards increase continued upto 1933. Since then, French imports have been rapidly declining. Expressed in tons, she took only 130,173 and 96 thousand tons in 1935, 36 and 37 respectively as compared to the peak figure of 219 thousand tons in 32-33.

That the French imports of groundnut have been rapidly declining can be well grasped from the following table, compiled from the Review of the Trade of India. She has been importing some quantity of unshelled nuts as well as shelled nuts; the quality of shelled nuts imported has not been very high. It is said, that she sometimes went in for even the 'blacks,' whose presence is objected to, for instance, by the British buyers.

The table reveals how after reaching the maximum in 1925 the unshelled groundnut imported into France has been slowly declining. It can be said that to-day the export of unshelled groundnut is insignificant. Regarding imports of shelled groundnut, the percentage averages for periods of four years show the trend clearly. The increase is visible upto 1933, after which there is a sudden fall from 49.95% to 27%.

Imports of Groundnut into France	in	1000	Quintals.
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Year.	Unshelled.	Shelled.	Percent- age.	Average for 4-year periods.
1913	325	2442	58	The transfer of the second of
1914	265	2700	58	
		Charles of the Control of the Contro		
1922		1626	40	
1923		2315	50	
1924	106	1747	40	
1925	118	1948	40	_2.5%

Year.	Unshelled.	Shelled.	Percent- age.	Average for 4-year periods.
1926	102	2060	42	
1927	72	1602	35	
1928	<b>33</b> .	2680	49	
1929	32	2919	49	43.75%
1930	46	2548	41	
1931	41	2462	40	
1932	15	2595	53	
1933	7	3070	62	49 · %
1934		1527	23	•
1935	-	1736	29	
1936	all the same of th	1990	29	
1937		1153	28	27 · 25%
1938	-	2113	46	

The reason for this is to be found in the imposition of an import duty in France. There was no such duty on groundnuts imported into France previous to the year 1933; but from 11th August 1933, groundnuts "other than those produced in French Colonics and Protectorates were subjected to a duty of 8 Francs per 100 kilograms if undecorticated and 11 grams per 100 kilograms if decorticated." These duties were further raised in 1934. These and other duties levied in France were meant to subsidise the production of oil-seeds in the French Colonies and Protectorates. The bulk of the imports of groundnut into France is now secured from her Colonies. She has regulated her imports in recent years by the quota system. Since July 1934, she has set apart one half of imports for the produce of her Colonies.

Though France has declined much in importance as an importer of Indian groundnut, still a greater part of our exports go to her. Analysing the distribution of exports from British ports between various countries for the three years, 1935, 1936 and 1937, the following results are secured:—

EXPORT TRADE

Distribution of Exports through British Ports (in percentages)\*

	1935	1936	1937	Average for 3 years.
United Kingdom	22 · 1	16	15	18
The Netherlands	17.9	26	17	20
France	36.3	29	15	27
Belgium	2.3	4	6	4
Germany	15.1	14	14	14
Italy	2.7	6	18	9
Egypt	0.6		10	3
			less than	
Denmark	-	1	•5	.5
Other countries	3.0	4	5	4
Total	100	100	100	
			-	

Thus France, the Netherlands and United Kingdom occupy the first three places respectively and together share about 65% of total exports. Germany and Italy come next, sharing more than a fifth and nearly a quarter respectively of the total exports.

The Indian trade in groundnut with the Netherlands has been an instance of remarkable growth. From 150 tons per annum in the pre-war quinquennium her export trade with the Netherlands rose up 40,000 tons in 1925-26 and mounted up consistently till it reached 170,000 tons in 1930-31, which is the maximum she has imported from India during the period under review. A feature of the trade with the Netherlands is that a greater part of the exports to that country are not consumed there itself, but are re-exported.

Trade with United Kingdom also experienced a tremendous increase during the third decade of the 20th century. From about 2000 tons in the pre-war quinquennium, it increased to nearly 5 times in 1925-26. Exports to United Kingdom increased without any interruption up to

<sup>\*</sup> Figures from Sea-borne Trade of India are given in the Appendix: Table X.

1928-29 when they came to roughly 53,000 tons; with a fall in the next year, it shot up to 78,000 tons in 1931-32. In the next year, there was a precipitous fall by nearly 50% in the exports to U.K. and though there was a recovery in the next two years, in 1935-36 the exports once again fell by about 50% compared to the previous year's maximum of 134000 tons. Though exports have increased since then, they have not yet attained the level of 1934-35 which was the peak year for the period under review.

There was a marked improvement in the trade between Germany and Italy in the post-war days. Both these countries imported the maximum amount in 1928-29. Since then, there has been a fall and they touched the lowest figure in 1932-33. While German imports have been steadily increasing from 1932-33, Italy's share decreased very much once again in 1935-36. Both the countries imported the maximum quantities in 1937-38. From a study of the imports of groundnut by these two countries, one is struck by the similarity of the trends between them.

Trade with Belgium and Spain has been to a great extent curtailed, owing to Belgium's preference for French West African produce and Spain's Official Decrees severely restricting the imports of Groundnut into Spain from 1926.

The export trade of Indian groundnut is mostly after decortication. Though it is well known that the sending of undecorticated nuts would be beneficial to buyers, as it would preserve the quality of the seed, the high freight charges of undecorticated nuts compel the Indian merchants to export only decorticated nuts. It is said that shelled nuts occupy only half the space required by unshelled nuts.

## War and Groundnut Trade.

The present war has seriously affected Indian economy on many sides. Indian exports have greatly suffered. While the markets of the belligerents have been almost closed, the serious lack of shipping space has greatly diminished exports even to non-belligerents. Of the many commodities that have suffered because of this war, groundnut is one and it has lost the greatest share of the total value of our exports to European countries.

On the basis of the figures of 1937, it is seen that Italy and Germany have been importing roughly a third of our total exports in groundnut;

## EXPORT TRADE

and together with the Netherlands, they occupied 50% of our Along with France the exports to these four total exports. countries amounted to 67% of the total exports. In this connection, we have to note that in the four years previous to the outbreak of the war, the average annual purchases of the Netherlands, France, Germany and Belgium, amounted to 368 thousand tons. In the year immediately preceding the war, they imported from India about 562 thousand tons. The volume of exports from British ports decreased by 50% in the case of the Netherlands and Germany in 1939-40 as compared with 1938-39. Exports to France have declined in the same period from 15,000 to 9,900 tons. In the case of Italy, exports from British ports declined by about 1500 tons. While there has thus been a contraction in the case of Continental countries, there has not been a corresponding increase in the intakings of the United Kingdom. Between 1938-39 and 1939-40, an increase of only 1200 tons is noticeable, an increase not even sufficient to compensate the loss on account of Italy. The loss in value may be estimated from the following figures: \*

Value of Groundnut Exports from India to Europe in 1938-39

(Figures in Rs. lakhs.)

Germany		134
The Netherlands		276
Belgium		78
Denmark		27
Norway	• •	12
Sweden		1
France		178
Italy		41
Czecho-slovakia	• •	40
Total		787

Thus on the basis of 1938-39, it may seem that India has been deprived of markets that were consuming nearly 8 crores worth of groundnut.

<sup>\*</sup> Taken from the Meek-Gregory Report.

But we have to consider that their intakings in 1938-39 were "more than 50% greater than their average for the previous four years, and in making an estimate of market lost, a corresponding reduction should really be made in the value of figure of Rs. 8 crores given above." Anyhow it cannot be denied that markets that would consume about 5 crores worth of groundnut have been lost at present. It was with a view to finding out how far U.S.A. may be able to absorb the surplus quantities left in India on account of the war, that the Meek Gregory Mission was sent to America. Their findings relating to groundnut may be quoted here:—

"....So far as groundnuts are concerned, the U.S.A. is also a large producer and in recent years the government diversion payment programme has tended to increase the domestic production of both groundnuts and groundnut oil. If the import of groundnuts became large, the whole question would probably come up for examination with possible unfortunate reprecussions on India's large trade in Cashew Kernels. The U.S.A. is still capable of a larger domestic production of groundnuts. There does not appear, therefore, to be any large alternative market for this commodity in the U.S.A."

### SECTION XI

### PRICES

The price statistics of agricultural commodities maintained by the Government is far from satisfactory and this point has been amply illustrated in the various marketing reports. The price statistics supplied by Governments differ from the trade prices. Moreover, we notice different figures are given in different Government reports. Hence great difficulties are encountered in making a detailed study of prices. But in the absence of any organised trading especially in groundnut and the regular maintenance of records by private bodies, we have necessarily to fall back upon Government price statistics as the last resort. In the following pages the prices quoted are taken from the Indian Trade Journal unless otherwise stated.

Before considering the manner in which prices are actually determined in the markets, it would be worth while to study the trend of prices of groundnut. As the quality of nuts produced in different areas is different, a single price for the whole of India becomes chimerical and an impossibility. The two important producing centres are Madras and Bombay of which the former is the more important in as much as 60% of the total Indian production comes out of Madras. Further, it was seen in the last section that exports from Madras have been slowly gaining ground, with 9/10 of total exports in 1938. Under these circumstances the Madras prices need a careful study, as it may be considered not only to represent, but control in a more or less reasonable degree the price fluctuations with regard to groundnut for the whole of India.

The following table gives the average annual prices per French candy of 500 lbs. The manner in which these prices have been calculated may be mentioned. The weekly prices as given in the Indian Trade Journal are taken and the monthly averages calculated. From these monthly prices the annual average prices are derived.

Year.	Price	2 Y	r. averag	es Year	. Price	2	Yr.	averages
	Rs.				Rs.			
1922	63.8			1931 1932	27·6 35·1	}		31.3
1923 1924	64·9 64·7	• ••	64 · 8	1933 1934	24·9 20·9	{		22.9
1925 1926	57·3 52·0		54.6	1935 1936	35·7 35·4	}		35.5
1927 1928	52·8 54·4	•	53 · 6	1937 1938	33·2 24·7	}	••	28.9
1929 1930	49·5 35·6		42.5	1939 1940	27·6 26·9	}	••	27.2

From the second column of the above table wherein the averages for the two-year periods are given, the trend of price changes can be understood. Except in the first three years wherein the prices have been fairly steady, a tendency for prices to fall is recorded from 1925, when it fell from Rs. 64·7 to Rs. 57·3 per candy: Since then, the two-year averages indicate a precipitous fall during the periods 1929 and 1930, 1931 and 1932, and 1933 and 1934. The prices in the last period, i.e., 1933 and 1934, touched the lowest figure of Rs. 20·9 in 1934. In the next year the prices shot up by nearly Rs. 15 and remained stationary about that level in 1936 also. But once again falling prices made their appearance. During the four years from 1937, the lowest figure was recorded in 1938; and though there was a slight recovery in prices in the two succeeding years, the trend of decreasing prices has continued as is evidenced by the figures of two-year averages.

The precipitous fall of prices from 1929 may be explained as the outcome of the depression, as also of the restriction of imports into Germany arising out of her exchange difficulties. The heavy production of whale oil resulting in the decline of the demand of groundnuts, the general increased production of groundnut and other oil-seeds, the decline owing to the competition from cheap butter, in the manufacture of margarine, for which groundnut oil is most useful, and the decline in the demand in Europe for oil-cakes,—all these may be added as subsidiary factors, in addition to the general considerations cited above, as being partly res-

ponsible for the steep decline in prices since 1929. It might be interesting to note that it was during this period of declining prices that the exports increased very much. The recent fall in the prices may be explained as being due to the general decline in commodity prices since 1937, to the record production of groundnut in that year and also to the restriction of French imports of Indian groundnut to which reference has already been made in the last section. In our study of groundnuts the monthly changes in prices is as important as the annual average prices. The following table gives the average prices for every month during certain periods. It is possible to infer from such a table whether there is any seasonal fluctuation in prices.

Month.		Month. 1922-25		1930-33	1922-38
January		59.0	50.7	31.7	41.9
<b>February</b>		60.7	51.8	33 · 1	43
March		$64 \cdot 5$	<b>52·0</b>	33.6	44
April		64.3	51.7	32.9	43.8
May		64.6	53 · 1	<b>32·1</b>	44.1
June		64.3	53.5	30.7	43.7
July		64.5	<b>54·0</b>	33.1	44.6
August		65.0	53.0	32.0	44 · 5
September		$65 \cdot 2$	52.9	29.9	43.9
October		64.6	<b>54·2</b>	28.5	43.5
November		61.0	<b>50·1</b>	26.8	41.0
December		57·1	49.1	$25 \cdot 5$	39.5

The table reveals that there are not very violent seasonal fluctuations; but it would be untrue to deny such fluctuations altogether. The first arresting factor that is visible from the table is the increase in prices from January to March. In some years this increase continues up to May also. Generally, from March to October, though there are fluctuations, the prices are fairly steady. From November onwards there is a definite trend for prices to fall down, a tendency which continues to the next month also. The fall may perhaps be due to the plentiful supplies that come to the market during harvest time.

### The War and its effect on Prices.

The effect of war on the prices of groundnut may be studied, as it would be of some help in understanding the present plight of the cultivators of this crop. The war broke out in September 1939, and the year recorded the maximum off-takings by the Continental countries of nearly 568 thousand lbs. The following table shows the trend of prices monthwar since January, 1939 to February, 1941.

Months		1939	1940	1941
January		24 · 4	29.6	19.6
February		24.5	29.7	19.2
March		24.3	31.2	•
April	• •	24.6	33 · 2	
May	• •	27.8	32.4	
June	• •	29.7	27.8	
<b>J</b> uly	• •	28 · 2	23.9	
August	• •	29.0	24.1	
September	• •	28.3	25.2	
October		29.8	24.3	
November	• •	30.8	20.9	
December	• •	<b>30·1</b>	20.3	

After being steady at about Rs. 24 during the first four months of 1939, the price showed a definite trend towards increase, which, though upset in particular months, continued upto nearly 6 months after the war had broken out, recording a rise of nearly Rs. 9 during a period of 16 months. Thereafter there was a fall far steeper than the rise. From Rs. 33 in April 1940, it came down to Rs. 20 by the end of the year i.e., within 8 months the prices had declined by about Rs. 13. The fall continued in the present year also coming down as low as Rs. 19·2 in February 1941. The seasonal decline in prices that is generally noticeable in November and December is not to be found in the year in which the war broke out. This feature as well as the increase running up to April 1940 may be explained as due to the heavy purchases in 1939. Part of the increase in prices can be ascribed to the psychological reactions that were visible

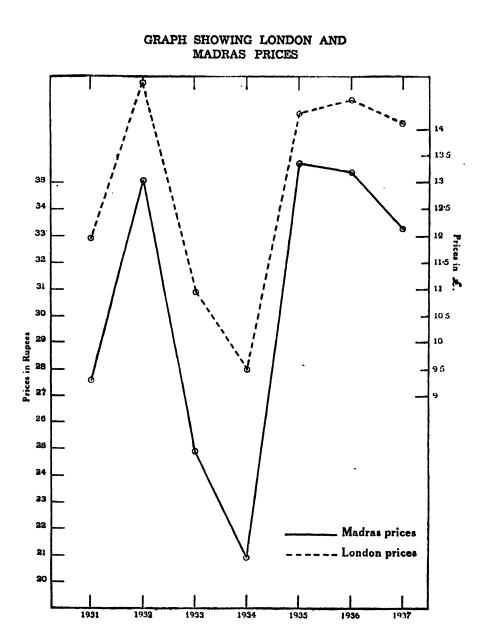
during the first few months of the war and the consequent general increase in prices during the war period. The subsequent fall in prices must be attributed to the war, to the closure of the Continental markets owing to the blockade. The fall of France, and the increase in freight and insurance charges had their effect in pushing down the Madras prices. The lack of shipping space which restricted to a certain extent the usual imports of the non-belligerents, resulted in intensifying the glut in Indian market with consequent undesirable reactions on prices.

A comparison of Indian prices with those of foreign countries has not been attempted as the data necessary for such a comparison is not available. Neither in the Agricultural Statistics for British India nor in the International Review of Agriculture are prices given for the Continental markets which are our most important customers. As the cake and oil alone are imported by foreign buyers, the little information that is available is related to the products of groundnut and not groundnut seed itself. But as most of the transactions are done under the contracts of the Incorporated Oil-seeds Association, as in the case of linseed, the London prices may be regarded with a fair amount of accuracy as the indicator of the prices in the Continental markets. As such, a comparison with the prices in the United Kingdom may be of some value.

That the Madras prices have been closely following the movements of London prices may be well understood by reading the following extract describing the price movements in London.\*

"In 1921 prices were very unsteady, but in subsequent years until 1928, they showed greater stability with a slight downward trend. Thereafter, the decline became more substantial and with an interruption in the latter part of 1931 and the early part of 1932, due to the suspension of the gold standard, continued down to the early part of 1934. The fall which was particularly marked in 1933 continued until March 1934 when prices fell to an average of £8-5-0 per ton. this being about one-half of the average price in March 1932 and the lowest price realised until then for groundnuts in the United Kingdom, since groundnut prices were recorded. The fall in gold prices was even more severe, the average prices in March 1934 representing only 40% of March 1932 level. There was some recovery after March 1934 and by September sterling prices reached £10-15-0 per ton or slightly more than in September 1933."

<sup>\*</sup> Oil-seeds Survey, p. 208.



The close relationship existing between Madras prices and London prices is also revealed by the following table and the graph on the opposite page.

Year	. London prices in £.	Madras prices in Rs.
1931	11.95	27.6
1932	14.9	<b>35</b> ⋅ <b>1</b>
1933	10.95	24 · 9
1934	$9 \cdot 5$	20.9
1935	14.3	35.7
1936	14.55	35.4
1937	14.2	33 · 2

We may now turn to the manner in which the prices are determined in the Madras and other mofussil markets. But before considering this it is very essential to bear in mind that the whole price structure of groundnut in India is under the firm control of the exporting firms who are the chief buyers. Generally there is very little of competition between them except on rare occasions.

The exporting firms at Madras are informed of the daily price changes and the quantity they should buy by cable from their Home office. The buyers at Madras deduct 5% of the price quotation they receive and from the balance they arrive at they deduct charges for various items such as freight charges, cost of gunnies, shipment, insurance charges; in addition to these a particular percentage is charged again towards establishment. The price secured after making all deductions is then announced. When such an announcement is made the quality also is stipulated. The price quoted by the exporting firms is always for the "pucca" quality. We shall presently see how these firms make the deductions for the "katcha" quality they buy. Before that, the exact way in which price deductions are made by the exporting firms may be noted down.\*

<sup>\*</sup>The following calculation has been made on the basis of rates prevailing before the outbreak of the war.

Let us suppose that the price (per ton) qu	uoted by the			
exporting firms is equal to	••	£11	0	0
Freight per ton and 5 per cent deduction	••	1	12	6
	Balance	£ 9	7	6

Value of £9-7-6 on that day's exchange rate @ Rs. 13-4-0 per  $\pounds = Rs$ . 130 per ton. Price of one candy = Rs. 31-0-0. From this Rs. 31/- deduct

				•
Cost of gunnies		1	0	0
Insurance charges on 3 bags		U	6	Ü
Cost of shipment @ 10 as. per candy	•••	0	10	0
Total	••	2	0	0
Balan	ce –	29	0	.0

From this Rs. 29 a certain percentage is kept towards establishment charges. This is how the price is said to be fixed by the shipping firms in Madras. The sub-agencies in the mofussil are then advised to purchase up to a particular quantity on that price.

The produce that is bought by the sub-agencies is of the katcha quality. Katcha quality means that it is inferior to the quality that is shipped, containing a high percentage of blacks together with dust, touched, shrunken and damaged seeds. It is only when all these are removed and the goods purified, that they come up to a standard suitable for shipment. As already mentioned, the prices quoted by the exporting firms are for the pucca quality and when they buy katcha they are necessarily bound to make deductions for the above mentioned impurities. It is in the strictness with which price deductions are made that the Indian cultivator is hard hit. The following procedure is usually adopted by all the firms in the determination of prices for katcha quality.

As soon as the bags are received by the sub-agencies, they are stored in the store house and only 10% of the number of bags are brought for sample weighment. The bags are weighed with the licensed weighman at Cuddalore because of the stipulations of the Marketing Committee. After deducting the weight of the gunny, the average weight is

calculated which is taken to represent the weight of each bag for the consignment as a whole. Out of this 10% weighed, half is taken out for sampling, i.e., for finding out the impurity content or 'refraction' as it is called. Each bag is poured out and the expert feels the amount of moisture content and examines if the stuff suffers from bad smell. These are instantaneously recorded in a note book. It is necessary to stress that these are processes over which the seller has got no control and over which the buyer's word is final. Especially in feeling the moisture content there are bound to be large differences of opinion between the buyer and the seller but over which the latter has no voice as the process is purely an estimate made by a paid servant of the firm out of experience, with no chances for verification. When the lot is named and the top of each heap flattened, samples are taken with the "Sample Swoop," one from the centre and four from the sides of the flattened heaps. When all the samples are drawn out they are sent to the analysing laboratory for analysis by the expert. The whole thing is poured on the table mixed well so that even a small quantity taken out of it may be a true specimen of the larger quantity to be bought. seeds are spread out on the table and the surface made even. Now a small quantity of about a fixed weight of say 1,000 grams is drawn with the help of small scoops. There are certain rules as to how these samples are to be drawn but they differ from firm to firm. The quantity thus obtained is sieved and the powder removed. The sieved nuts are afterwards given to analysing chitals for finding out dirt such as stones, shells, husk, sand and the like. All these impurities go by the name of dirt which is mixed with the powder, all of which are weighed and calculated for 100 grams. Out of the remaining quantity, 100 grams is given once again for analysing chitals for sorting the nuts into damaged, shrivelled, touched, nooks, bits, small seeds, etc. When the analysing process is over, the various items are separately weighed and their weights sent to the inspector. The following illustration of the percentage of impurities will be helpful in understanding how the various items are separately recorded and price deductions made for them.

(1) Brown kernels	• •	39.6	(5) Small seeds	• •	3.9
(2) Nooks	• •	4.34	(6) Touched	• •	2.87
(3) Bits	• •	4.1	(7) Dirt		2.24
(4) Damaged		4.10	(8) Shrivelled		0.64

The contract form stipulates the percentage of impurities allowable. Deductions in prices will be made as per the clauses of the contract form.

The relationship between the prices of katcha and the pucca qualities as well as the percentages of the pucca prices paid to sellers of katcha goods can be seen from the following two tables.

Months.	Cuddalore ma katcha pric	Madras prices.			
1940.			,		
June	25 10 6		27	12	0
July	21 12 0		23	15	0
August	20 14 7		24	0	9
September	22 12 7		25	3	2
October	22 5 6		24	5	0
November	18 5 0		20	15	0
December	16 12 0		20	4	0

Average Price for Katcha produce as percentage of Pucca quality. (Taken for 1st week of certain months of 1940, for a few stations)

7-9-'40	5-10-'40	2–11–'40.	7–12–'40.	4-1-'41.	
88	89	89	76	83	
96	95	94	89	89	
94	94	90	76	83	
97	92	90	81	88	
88	91	90	75	84	
87	92	92	78	84	
91	95	• •	• •	••	
92	89	• •	• •	••	
	88 96 94 97 88 87 91	88 89 96 95 94 94 97 92 88 91 87 92 91 95	88 89 89 96 95 94 94 94 90 97 92 90 88 91 90 87 92 92 91 95	88     89     89     76        96     95     94     89        94     90     76        97     92     90     81        88     91     90     75        87     92     92     78        91     95	

The table brings out the important fact that the katcha goods receive a low percentage of pucca prices during the month of December. This is explained generally as being due to the bringing of uncleaned stuff to the market immediately after the harvest is over. It is possible to infer from the same table that when the ryots take some time to cleanse the produce and then bring it to the market they are better rewarded. The absence of such information for a full year makes it impossible for us to find out the best season for the cultivator to dispose of his produce.

### SECTION XII

### FINISHED PRODUCTS

It has been shown in the section on export trade that nearly as much as two-thirds of the total production are being retained inside the country while the rest is exported in the form of kernels. Since a substantial portion of the quantity retained is consumed in a raw form, the development of the manufacturing industries of this important raw produce is greatly affected. It may not be an exaggeration to say that oil pressing and other allied industries have scarcely made any headway. The chief among the reasons for this tardy progress are: -Firstly the external demand is for kernels only and this has been the most important factor standing in the way of the development of manufacturing industries. In the south, which is by far the most important groundnut producing area, the use of the oil for edible purposes is greatly limited by the popularity of cocoanut and gingelly oils. The use of the cake also is greatly restricted because of its cost. Still some quantity of oil and cake is being produced in this country and exported as is shown by the following figures.

### Export of groundnut oil and cake.

### (1000 tons)

				$\mathrm{Oil^1}$	Cake <sup>2</sup>
1930			••	0.6	172
1931		• •	• •	1.7	182
1932	• •	• •	• •	$2 \cdot 2$	184
1933	• •	• •	• •	4.6	159
1934	• •	• •		1.4	190
1935		• •		$2 \cdot 7$	262
1936	• •			4.2	. 194
1937	• •	• •		9.9	••

<sup>1.</sup> Vegetable Oils and Oil-seeds, Imperial Economic Committee, 1938.

<sup>2.</sup> Statistical Abstract for British India.

Even in the days of a great slump in prices, the oil industry will be a profitable concern, unless there be a heavy decline in the demand for cake. When crushed, 21/2 candies of groundnut will yield one candy of oil and 11/2 candies of cake. The cost of crushing in the hand-press comes to about Rs. 10, the total cost amounting to Rs. 60 when groundnut sells at Rs. 20 per candy. One candy of oil and 1½ candies of cake fetch Rs. 48 and 16 respectively leaving a clear profit of Rs. 4. the relationship that may be said to be working out to-day. ordinary occasions, greater profits can be expected as cake will sell at a better price. Because of the war the export of cake has been much restricted. Further the export of Madras-made expeller-cake to the markets supplied formerly by the interior has caused a glut in the interior market pushing its prices so low as to leave a very low margin of profit for the oil industry. But for the higher price realised through oil, oil extraction would not have been possible today. It may be noted that while oil extracted through an expeller sells at a premium over oil extracted through a press the expeller-cake is valued less than the cake produced by the press, as the latter contains a higher percentage of oil. It may be also noted that whereas the cost of extraction for the expeller comes to about Rs. 8, it costs as much as Rs. 10 for the press. On the whole, extraction through the expeller offers greater profit than extraction with the aid of the press, as may be seen from the working sheet shown below.

Cost of 2½ candies of nuts	Labour charges.	Total cost	Selling Oil	g price of Cake	Total s.p.	Net profit
Rs. Press: 50+	Rs. 10	Rs. 60	1 candy =Rs. 48+	1½ candies cake Rs. 16	Rs. 64	Rs. 4
Expeller: 50+	8	58	1½6 candies =Rs. 53+	do. Rs. 11	64	6

Oil is extracted in a variety of ways, from the most antiquated to the most modern. Oil extraction by 'chekku' is the common mode adopt-

ed in villages all over the country. In towns and urban areas the press as well as the expeller are used. The plates in this book show the chekku, parts of the press and important sections of the expeller. The press requires much manual labour while the expeller is power driven.

While some progress has been made in the direction of improving the extraction of oil to satisfy the local as well as the limited foreign demand, the refining of vegetable oil is scarcely known in India. If oil is to be useful for industrial purposes, refining is very essential.

There are many promising outlets for the manufacture of groundnut oil of all grades. Besides being an illuminant and a lubricant, it is also greatly used in the soap-making and paint industries. If the oil is hardened into a solid or semi-solid state, there will be a large outlet for it in the textile industry as it can replace tallow now used in that industry. It has been recently found vegetable oils along with mineral oils make excellent compound lubricants. There is also a new demand for groundnut oil in the manufacture of ghee and butter substitutes. The manufacture of margarine which has not been attempted so far in India offers another scope for an industrial adventure. Refined and deodorised groundnut oil is also used for cooking. It has to be admitted that the use of groundnut oil for soap manufacture is limited as it yields only soft soaps while the case for glycerine extraction offers a lucrative avenue of industrial activity. Next to the cocoanut oil, groundnut oil contains the largest percentage of glycerine. For sometime there was a somewhat crude glycerine plant attached to the Kerala Soap Institute working at full capacity during the last war. But the high cost of evaporating oil and the fall in the price of glycerine in later years sealed the fate of the plant. At present there is a considerable demand for glycerine, and already some premier oil concerns have started working glycerine plants for the extraction of crude as well as the distilled qualities. The Tata Oil Mills in Cochin have succeeded in the operation of their glycerine plant and it is said that they are contemplating some expansion. In Mysore also the Government Soap factory has established one. The wide scope that this industry offers seems to have been fully understood in Calcutta where there is a perceptibly brisk activity in starting new ventures. Full advantage may be taken of the fact that cordite factories with their demand for this product would be regular customers.

Medically vitaminized groundnut oil containing vitamins A and D is recommended as a substitute for cod-liver oil.

The use of groundnut meal with oil content of 5 to 8 per cent has been advocated as a substitute for wheat flour in the manufacture of bread and biscuits. Of all the known oil-cakes, the groundnut cake serves as an excellent cattle food, as it contains the highest amount of proteins. Moreover, these proteins are more easily digested than those of other cakes. "The cakes from non-decorticated nuts contain 5.35 per cent of Nitrogen and 0.9 per cent of phosphoric acid; cakes from decorticated nuts contain 7.9 per cent of nitrogen and 1.35 per cent of phosphoric acid." The cakes from damaged and mouldy nuts are used as manure.

From the husk of the groundnut can be prepared Furfuraldehyde, which is utilized in the synthesis of carbohydrates. Besides, the carbonized husk may be used in the manufacture of activated carbon.

In view of these uses to which the groundnut products can be put, is it not pertinant to ask why the oil and allied industries should not be started especially at a time when the "surplus commodity" makes the raw produce available at a cheap rate?

### SECTION XIII

### CONCLUSION

The effect of the present war on the Indian groundnut trade has been dealt with at some length in the sections on export trade and prices. It was shown how the Continental markets have a major share in the export trade of Indian groundnut and how in the year in which the war, broke out, there was an extraordinary demand in the off-takings of Continental countries. These together with other causes resulted in an increase in prices in the first few months of the war. The aim of the present section is to examine the effects of all these factors and to assess the usefulness and practicability of the schemes that have been suggested to solve the difficulties caused to the trade.

With the expansion of the trade in 1938-39 and the increase in prices running up to the first quarter of the next year, the impact of the war on groundnut trade was great enough to exercise some influence in the cultivation of the next year's crop. In Madras alone the area under cultivation of groundnut increased from 2,863,200 acres to 3,142,000 acres for 1940, according to the latest forecast issued by the Government of Madras. In the natural course of events, the increased production of the crop should have gone to all the markets that were importing groundnut in the previous year; but the tightening of the blockade, the fall of France, the lack of shipping space and many other facts, which need no repetition, all changed the complexion of the war so much, that the trade was threatened with serious repercussions. The decline in the foreign demand resulted in pushing prices down; and this tendency was greatly accelerated by the anxiety of those merchants, who had stored some goods in expectation of better prices, to dispose of the stock and thereby prevent themselves from utter ruin. Prices began to swing down; and from Rs. 33 in May it descended by steep gradations to Rs. 20 in November and December when the heavy production of the increased acreage made itself felt. Thus one disaster following close on the heels of another, resulted in a serious glut in the Indian market, tending to force prices down to the rock bottom level of Rs. 20 in December. 1940. Exporting firms felt the serious shrinkage in markets and lack of sufficient shipping space; merchants found the demand quite unattractive; and the cultivators had to face the difficulty of securing prices that would compensate the cost of cultivation, for while the cost of cultivation was Rs. 20 for even an unirrigated crop, they received a price of about Rs. 16 only incurring a loss of about Rs. 4 per acre.

This serious situation could have been averted to some extent if groundnut could be stored in suitable warehouses. But groundnut cannot be stored for a long time in kernels without serious loss to quality and quantity; and secondly there was no warehousing system worth the name.

It was under such circumstances that the Government of India became conscious of the seriousness of the situation and tried their best to avert the catastrophe. Quickly realising the situation, they sought the help of the various Chambers of Commerce in the country with a view to devising possible remedial measures to deal with the problem of 'surplus commodities.' The Economic Adviser to the Government of India also toured important producing centres with a view to getting first-hand knowledge of the situation.

Dr. T. E. Gregory, the Economic Adviser, came to the conclusion that the remedy equal to the malady was the adoption of a policy of restricting the cultivation of groundnut crop; but even if the scheme had been put into force, it would have required all the power in the hands of the Government to push it through and, even then, success would have been doubtful.

The Indian agriculturist is strongly conservative in outlook with no desire to deviate from the methods and vocations handed down to him by generations of his fore-fathers and unwilling at the risk of some loss to break open new ground. That this is not an exaggeration may be understood from his hesitation to benefit even by the advanced methods of cultivation and manuring propaganda of the agricultural department. Any attempt to make him change his ways in preference to modern methods, is foredoomed to failure.

Again it is not all cultivators that could abandon the crop. Even in the small survey conducted by us we came across a number of agriculturists with a very small acreage devoted to the cultivation of groundnut. For them life was dependent on its cultivation. A just scheme of restrictionism should have provided for exemption of such people and

if exemptions are granted on the various scores of financial inability, soil and climatic conditions and other factors enumerated above, the scheme will defeat its own aim.

There was again the possibility that agriculturists would not respect the scheme. For aiming as it does at an increase in prices, if the restriction scheme had been successful, the increased price would itself be a temptation for the illiterate agriculturist to take to groundnut. Under such circumstances unless the scheme is enforced with penal measures, its success is highly problematical; but penal measures are not advisable.

The Delhi conference wherein the representatives of the Government of India and those of the Governments of Madras, Bombay and Hyderabad, met to consider the groundnut situation and device suitable remedies for the difficulties, happily came to the conclusion that it was practicable enforce the restriction not to of output compulsion, although it favoured the policy of carrying on propaganda directed towards such restriction. The conference was of the view that the low prices prevalent would themselves act as an effective deterrant. Though the Delhi conference did not approve of the direct policy of restrictionism, the Government evolved a modest but careful plan of restrictionism which suffers in a greater or lesser measure from all the defects and difficulties of the original proposal. This new proposal was the outcome of an anomalous situation that arise in the meantime.

the fact that view a greater number markets had been shut out on account of the war, with of out of sympathy the demands the Indian and decided groundnut trade. it was that the **British** Ministry should undertake to buy substantial quantities of the supplies available in the market at a certain minimum price either as oil or as kernels or as unshelled seeds. The Government of India were able to fix the minimum price at £10 per ton with the Food Ministry from September last and thus were able to satisfy, partially at least, the claims of the Indian groundnut trade. But the purchases made by the Ministry of Food were of such a small quantity, that they did not effectively relieve the glut in the Indian market. With the coming of the new crop, prices went down so low that there was a large difference in the price prevailing in the internal market and the guaranteed price received by the shippers. The 'katcha' quality was sold for about Rs. 16 whereas the shipping firms were receiving about Rs. 27 for the 'pucca' exported. Even allowing for the difference in quotation as to quality, a sum of Rs. 3 or 4, still a huge profit is made by the exporting firms. Thus, in spite of the aim of the Food Ministry to help him, the Indian agriculturist has not been benefitted; for if allowances are made for railway freight, handling charges, market dues, decorticating expenses, interest, commission and so on, he ultimately receives only Rs. 12 to Rs. 13 per candy. On the other hand, it was the organised middlemen, viz., exporters who exploited the situation.

The Government of India, which observed this anomalous condition prevailing, thought of a way to get over the awkward situation and put forward a scheme of rebates. It was proposed to collect from shippers selling to the British Ministry of Food at the contract prices, 15s. to 20s. according to the port from which the export was made, and to dispose of the fund so collected amongst the agriculturists. The Government's decision to pay growers was sound on principle; for even if they had insisted upon the exporting firms paying the prices that the Food Ministry had fixed, on account of the fact that the off-takings were only very small compared to total output, "the result would have been in effect nothing but an unfair and fortuitous advantage to a small body of growers over the greater number of their brother producers whose product passed into the market for local consumption."

Even this scheme of subsidy would not be an effective remedy for overproduction, unless it is related to some measure of restriction of cultivation. Hence, it was suggested that the fund made available as rebates, supplemented by contributions from interested Provinces and States should be utilised to compensate such producers as are willing to submit to restriction.

The scheme of subsidy may have the approval of a certain section of cultivators from the broader point of view of benefit to the country; but one cannot feel happy over it. It is our earnest opinion that any policy of restrictionism is quite unsuited to a country like ours where the *per capita* income is lamentably low. The way to prosperity is not by reducing the total production of goods but by devising means of increasing and utilizing them in all possible ways.

There are only two ways out of this problem, the one being the resort to alternate crops and the other the utilisation of the surplus goods internally. There are, however, difficulties in raising alternate crops.

21.

Apart from the conservatism of the cultivator, the soil itself seems greatly to hinder the growth of alternate crops. Certain soils are fit only for the cultivation of certain crops and such soils cannot be fruitfully turned to other uses. The soil required for the cultivation of groundnut is of such a nature that it is hardly suited to anything except a restricted number of other commercial crops, such as jowar and cotton. In Cuddalore, where many of the cultivators have been willing to change over for Cambodia cotton for a long time past, farmers have expressed the view that the soil has been causing some difficulties.

Even if this difficulty is overcome in suitable ways, it will not improve the situation. For "this is a time when almost all crops are in the same unhappy position of requiring to find a buyer; and it is hard to devise an entirely new crop which can replace an existing crop to any extent whatsoever and fetch a return which is satisfactory. On the other hand, if it is only adjustment of present crops, if groundnut is replaced by millet, or cotton is replaced by tobacco and so on, it would only convert a groundnut problem into a tobacco problem and there can be no effectual relief to the country as a whole."\*

Thus the easiest and the best way of utilising surplus commodities is to increase the internal demand. And this can be done either by increasing the consumption of the raw commodity as such or by converting the surplus into manufactured products. The latter is the more desirable course as it would open out a large field of industrial activity and also establish a consumer for the Indian produce near at hand. A failure to solve this problem this way would indicate only a failure to understand the way to national progress. It cannot be denied that India can never see a more opportune moment for developing her industries than the present one. To miss this time is to miss a golden opportunity. The ways in which groundnut could be utilised for other purposes have been dealt with in the section on finished products and hence need not be repeated here.

A few other problems of groundnut trade not solely due to war but greatly responsible for the prosperity of the cultivator as well as for the Indian traders, may be emphasised here. Traders complain that the refraction analysis is strict and there is much dis-

<sup>\*</sup> Southern India Chamber of Commerce reply to Government communication, Dec. 1940, p. 342.

parity between the percentage of refraction enjoyed by exporting firms in the foreign markets and the percentage allowed to Indian merchants. There is also another cry that while the Bombay agencies of the exporting firms allow a greater percentage of refraction, the agencies in South India do not show the same consideration; and the disparity in the percentage of refraction allowed gives rise to a deflection of trade. Regarding the first disparity, it is said that while the exporting firms enjoy nearly 4% of refraction with the Continental and foreign buyers, they extend only 2% of refraction to Indian traders. Though it cannot be ascertained how far this representation it is needless to stress that the refraction needs to be carefully revised in view of a similar disparity known to be prevalent in the linseed trade according to the Marketing Report of Linseed. Further, the contract forms used are so one-sided that they call for the earliest revision. The necessity to carry these reforms are urgent and essential, for it is only when the conditions of the traders are bettered they may be able to pass on any benefit to millions of agriculturists now engaged in the cultivation of the crop.

Even regarding the analysing process itself, various reforms have to be carried out. Much ill-will prevails between the sellers and buyers regarding the honesty of the process carried by the latter. The way out of it consists in entrusting the work to an impartial board. This can be achieved by the Government employing a Marketing Analyst in every centre under the auspices of the Marketing Committee functioning there, and making his decision binding on both parties. If this is not possible the traders of each area may be organised by the Marketing Committee and made to establish a parallel analysing laboratory like the one maintained by the exporting firm so that the samples may be analysed here also. Then they could insist on the buyer accepting the average percentage of the two analyses. This would be a fair method and can be easily achieved by the Marketing Committee. The Marketing Committee should never forget that it is as much their duty to be of service to the traders as they are to the agriculturist, for it is then only, as we said before, that lasting benefit can be conferred on the agriculturist.

It is noteworthy that there are not any Indian exporting firms in Cuddalore. Hence, the foreign exporting firms exercise a monopolistic control. The difficulties of starting an Indian con-

cern are tremendous; not only has the new concern to face the terrific competition of the established ones, but it has necessarily to be a small one in the beginning and will accordingly be unable to deal directly with the more than 40 countries to which the produce from Cuddalore is exported. To remedy the present situation, we would suggest the starting of a co-operative sellers' organisation, somewhat like the now defunct Central Sales Society, and make the exporting firms accept the society as their agent in that area. In that case, much of the profit now going to the foreign firms in the way of refraction and direct reduction in prices, can be made to reach the poor peasant.

In conclusion, it may be said that the problem of the cultivation, marketing and utilization of groundnut bristles with many difficulties; and these difficulties have been critically accentuated by the war. But it should be conceded that the Commerce Department of the Government of India have been earnestly attempting to bring relief to the cultivator as much as possible. Presiding over Advisory Council on May 14, 1941, the Commerce the Government of India, announced that His Majesty's Government has consented to credit to the Indian Government a fund equivalent to £ 100,000 being the difference between the contract price and the actual price of groundnut during the period from January 12th to the end of April, 1941. However, it may be said that there is need for a more comprehensive plan to offer adequate facilities to growers to introduce alternate crops and enable them to get a fair-price for their produce, to provide improved marketing facilities and lastly to give ample scope for the development of such industries as will help to absorb the raw product.

# **APPENDICES**

APPENDIX A

Estimated Acreage of Groundnut in the Principal Producing Countries \* Table I

(Millions of acres)

Countries	1924	1925	1926	1927	1928	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937
EMPIRE COUNTRIES														
India	5.6	4.0	4.3	5.4	<b>6.4</b>	2.2	<b>6.4</b>	5.3	8.9	9.2	5.1	<b>2.1</b>	9.9	9.8
Burma	:	:	:	:	:	:	9.0	4.0	0.2	9.0	9.0	9.0	4.0	8.0
Nigeria	:	:	:	:	:	:	9.0	8.0	:	:	:	:	:	:
Tanganyika	:	:	:	:	:	:	0.065	80.0	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	2.0
Foreign Countries														
China	ŧ	:	:	:	:	:	2.3	:	:	3.8	3.2	3.3	3.4	3.6
Senegal	1.5	1.5	1.2	1.5	1.3	1.6	1.1	1.5	9.1	1.6	1.6	1.7	1.6	:
United States	1.5	1.0	8.0	1.1	1.5	1.4	1.1	1.4	1.6	1.4	1.6	1.7	1.1	1.6
Netherlands East Indies	9.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	9.0	9.0	9.0	0.2	0.2	<u>:</u> 0	0.2	0.4	9.2	9.2
French Sudan	:	÷	:	:	:	:	0.5	0.3	.4	<b>E</b> .0	4.0	4.0	4.0	:
Ivory Coast (French)	. :	:	:	:	:	:	90.0	0.1	0.04	0.5	0.5	0.3	0.3	:
Belgian Congo	:	:	:	:	:	:	0.3	0.1	0.5	0.5	:	:	:	:
Cameroons (French)	:	:	:	:	:	:	0.1	0,1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.5	0.5	:
Argentina	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.5	0.5	0.1	0.5	0.5	:
Kwantung	:	:	:	:	:	:	60.0	80.0	80.0	80.0	60.0	60.0	0.00	:
French Equatorial Africa	i	:	:	:	:	:	0.03	0.03	0.03	0.03	90.0	0.08	:	:
Formosa	i	:	:	:	:	:	90.0	90.0	90.0	0.02	20.0	20.0	:	:

\* Compiled from "Survey of Oil-seeds and Vegetable oils," Vol, III,

Table II

## Area under Groundnut crop cultivated in each Province \*

Provinces	1920–21	1921–22	1922-23	1923-24	1924-25	1925-26	1926-27	1927–28	1928-29
Ajmer-Merwara	:		:	:	ţ	:	:	:	
Assam .	:	:	:	:	:		;		}
Bengal .	100	300	200	:	400	9	009	<b>S</b>	 
Bihar and Orissa	200	200	200	200	200	200	200	200	000
Bombay and Sind	204,675	272,847	329,679	359,404	344,404	595,588	602.408	740.316	999,873
Burma, Upper and lower	302,955	305,789	332,477	390.129	461.856	498.587	523 118	540 071	600 670
C. P. and Berar	9,624	15,352	18,024	22,934	30,466	59.686	44.020	70.073	103,000
Coorg	:	:	:	. ;	. <b>:</b>				
Delhi	:	:	:	:		: :		:	•
Madras	. 1,599,738	1,459,122	1,754,334	1,807,353	19	2,598,609	2.680.156	3.336.536	
N. W. F. Province	:	:	:	:					ereje toje
Punjab	:	:	:	:	:	;		•	
United Provinces	6670	7589	6729	6322	13,018	14410	12,984	12,245	19,558
Total including Manpur Pargana	2,123,962	962 2,061,19	2,061,199 2,441,943	43 2,586,342	12 2,754,463	3 3,767,480	30 3,863,486	86 4,700,241	41 5,401,499

\* Vide " Agricultural Statistics of India " Vol. I.

Table II—Continued

Provinces		1929-30	1930-31	1931–32	1932-33	1933-34	1934–35	1935–36	5 1936-37
Ajmer-Merwara	:	:	632	:	:	:	:	:	:
Assam	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	<b>:</b> ·
Bengal	:	200	700	300	700	1800	400	3100	<i>2</i> 700
Bihar	:	1200	1200	1200	1230	1200	1200	:	:
Bombay and Sind	:	1,067,758	220,666	989,224	1,194,639	1,291,776	862,341	891,671	987,046
Burma	:	570,610	564,523	408,309	521,850	640,188	624,558	660,141	764,600
C. P. and Berar	:	139,088	147,766	164,333	185,296	194,138	148,561	133,700	148,614
Coorg	:	:	:	:	i	:	:	:	:
Delhi	:	:	:	:	;	:	:	:	:
Madras	;	3,209,315	3,575,157	2,635,427	3,516,679	3,779,365	2,350,934	2,519,965	3,495,023
N. W. F. Province	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
Punjab .	i	:	:	:	:	•	:	:	:
United Provinces	:	23,922	21,399	27,214	47,609	40,424	55,830	87,947	106,945
Orissa	:	:	:	:	•	:	:	10,207	11,943
Sind	:	:	:	:	i	•	:	14	10
Total	:	5,012,393	5,310,454	4,226,008	5,467,973	5,948,891	4,043,824	4,306,745	5,516,881

[N. B. Bihar means :-Bihar & Orissa in 1930-31-32-33-34 and 35.]

Table III
Acreage under Groundnut in the Madras Presidency

(Compiled from Season and Crop Report)

Year	Anantapur	Cuddapah	Godavari	Krishna	South Arcot	Chingelput
1914–15	262764	160577	57	3356	410103	44541
15-16	159338	100805	4	2667	290035	21929
16-17	299903	201633	182	1440	355854	27516
17-18	168857	62944	114	955	332791	25296
18-19	40765	36106	65	807	303464	23792
19-20	68577	103407	24	1021	335350	22690
20-21	118370	144298	16	2091	438793	32590
21-22	108905	130094	11	2105	386659	25035
22-23	129109	194925	25	12832	384614	25395
23-24	158986	170378	44	13187	372893	30071
24-25	105360	137539	4384	7220	421969	34097
25-26	172498	223598	8300	8070	465954	52129
26-27	<b>255903</b>	251366	5448	8503	396841	50279
27-28	349455	270264	5359	15101	453282	56155
28-29	425439	272134	4730	26556	482978	58611
29-30	211011	163593	3034	30035	455721	62160
30-31	349557	235673	4317	52441	458750	50948
31-32	247702	183390	3264	43755	337745	27725
32-33	343535	264805	3856	70786	335235	33840
33-34	446507	229478	6612	109324	381960	38956
34-35	254055	126276	5414	92131	289794	33601
35-36	180308	117429	11080	102473	374869	41416
35-37	315639	202929	22592	160237	429814	65801
37-38	446448	287336	56136	208231	471274	80848
38–39	318069	184912	36103	162641	425725	71065

### Table III—Continued

Year	Ganjam	Vizagapatam	North Arcot	Chittoor	Trichy	Madura	Tinnevelly	Tanjore
1014 15		37045	22926	30333	97943	67557	311	77501
CI-11CT	:	24 5 2 2	105671	23011	76014	34025	218	64912
13-10	:	00200	184577	23013	92822	50554	313	74727
12-17	:	27040	178408	27925	95187	53043	528	77781
18-10	: :	34405	180165	27799	89243	34602	621	68305
10-20	: :	35387	146889	28266	93190	43287	1179.	74036
20-02	22216	38155	221705	38068	88176	68643	3003	87092
21-22	20739	43219	208779	3353	90424	45315	2197	81962
22-23	24948	50089	232679	43385	103198	62721	2339	85743
23-24	23252	59903	213275	49794	89026	48151	2347	83244
24-25	30740	69514	255970	56783	92416	49211	2575	83473
25-26	35088	89507	363845	88312	114702	53015	3909	92036
26-27	37017	91399	363820	108852	94142	49784	3481	90232
27-28	43626	88494	460984	138078	115307	70574	4368	91701
28-29	40714	96317	460772	136861	110971	76894	4641	90643
26-30	49427	112066	443098	120186	118790	91047	4468	91278
30-31	50893	133623	372030	84355	105970	10:814	5685	86666
31-32	44218	131025	247034	65405	82558	55540	5257	65568
32-33	52054	117947	305127	106634	85641	92323	7203	67100
32-34	49985	126352	295035	113826	63300	129310	12887	65061
34-35	51034	126307	218659	77646	84723	96099	10347	49610
35-36	5339	170349	275960	96493	114782	64383	8613	55069
36-37		183584	348560	141535	116877	87749	10707	62817
37-38		205122	439928	201888	133634	16101	22118	68892
38-39		220507	402333	174673	133400	140325	19178	63162
) )								

Table III-Continued

Year	Coimbatore	Salem	Guntur	Bellary	Kurnool	Nellore	Ramnad	Malabar	South
									Canara
1914-15	82958	104547	5450	80716	120245				
15-16	43671	28549	5667	00,100	124240	:	:	:	:
16 17	09000	200	2000	29/83	57041	:			
/1-01	20208	02953	5207	80128	170028		:	;	:
17-18	98273	75843	3628	54405	076071	:	:	:	:
18-19	41176	48524	0556	6000	56677	:	:	:	:
10-21	46041	14001	7220	6923	12462	:	;		•
13.60	14004	21995	3729	5464	29019	;	:	:	:
20-21	78828	88945	6464	19673	4670K	:	:	:	:
21-22	78623	66085	888	1002	06/00	:	:	:	:
22-23	108524	86587	10830	2000	30043	:	:	:	:
23-24	102567	0000	7070	100/0	137033	:	:	•	•
24.04	106201	11066	1318/	64065	199988	:		: ;	:
C7-17	108408	82602	36084	61522	279972		:	•	:
22-26	138679	130423	61171	107192	250100	:	:	:	:
26-27	125676	93787	77604	10000	20105	:	:	:	į
27-28	143206	142101	1007	180023	55/853	:	:	:	: ;
200	170.00	10101	13///2	279059	423664	:			:
67-07	1/1904	156029	221862	315603	478 80	;	•	:	:
29-30	174896	173884	238977	282275	200467	:	:	:	:
30-31	184747	1520C9	304834	320060	701077	:	:	:	:
31-32	126716	82108	20500	224000	442349	13819	46507	2921	8
32-33	16632	100205	10207	22/4/67	396321	7860	37166	2067	4
32_34	20002	151,000	318238	340352	614626	12116	49073	1022	- c
+0-00	400049	151480	352879	416641	480097	16595	5885	1405	ית
ברידי	134302	72854	184905	158479	270395	6000	- 6000	061	n
35-36	125100	97895	208367	10001	21,7303	/500	. 331/8	1135	11
36-37	141988	137820	2050307	10501	516584	11242	34828	868	1.5
37-38	200572	1002001	202020	668677	468195	18141	40895	3393	7
30-30	180440	194/92	41/567	376724	591918	(g)	:		3
20-23	744601	101109	313216	247894	410864	32452	59563	4930	: %

Percentage of Area under Groundnut to the Total Area Sown \*. (In Madras Presidency) Table IV

		1930–31	1931-32	1932-33	1933-34	1934–35	1935–36	1936-37	1937–38	1938-39
Vizagapatam	:	4	4	4	4	4	∞	<b>∞</b>	ŧ	10
Guntur	:	12	6	13	<b>1</b> 4	00	6	12	:	13
Kurnool	:	21	18	78	22	13	15	22	:	19
Bellary	÷	13	6	13	17	9	5	6	:	٥.
Anantapur	:	11	13	16	21	14	6	16	:	15
Cuddapah	i	20	16	<b>*</b> 2	70	11	10	. 81	:	16
South Arcot	:	53	22	77	25	19	24	28	:	88
Chittoor	:	60	∞	13	13	6	11	16	:	19
North Arcot	:	25	18	21	21	16	19	25	:	53
Salem	:	œ	<b>+</b>	7	6	4	3	7	:	6
Coimbatore	:	00	9	7	6	9	9	7	:	10
Trichinopoly	:	7	ဖ	9	9	9	ø	∞	:	6
Tanjore	:	9	*	+	4	6	4	4	:	+
Madura	i	7	<b>+</b>	7	6	5	5	9	:	10
Presidency		6	7	6	2.6	6.3	6.9	5.6	÷	10.5

\* Vide "Season & Crop Report of Madras Province"

Estimated Production of Groundnut in the Principal producing countries \* Table V

(undecorticated, in millions of tons)

		1924	1925	1926	1927	1928	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937
India	:	<b>±</b>	1.8	1.8	5.4	<b>5</b> .8	5.4	2.2	2.1	5,8	3.1	1.1	2.1	2.1	3.2
Burma	:	i	:	:	:	:	:	1.0	1.0	0.1	0.1	0.1	0,1	0.1	2.0
Nigeria	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	0.1	0.5	0.5	0.5	<b>E</b> .0	0.5	0.5	4.0
Gambia	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	20.	90.0	<b>£</b> 0.	90.0	80.0	0.03	0.02	0.02
Tanganyika	i	:	i	:	:	:	:	20.0	0.03	0.03	0.03	0.05	0.03	0.03	0.03
China	:	:	:	÷	:	:	. :	:	:	:	5.6	5.6	2.2	2.2	3.0
Senegal	:	4.0	4.0	4.0	9.0	9.2	9.0	9.2	0.1	4.0	9.2	4.0	9.0	0.5	:
U. S. A.	:	6.0	6.0	6.0	<b>4.</b> 0	4.0	<b>+.</b> 0	<b>£.</b> 0	4.0	4.0	<b>+.</b> 0	<b>+.</b> 0	0.2	0.2	0.2
East Indies	:	2.0	0.5	0.5	2.0	2.0	0.5	2.0	0.1	7.0	.03	0.5	<b>7.0</b>	0.5	:
Argentina	:	:	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	90.0	0.02	20.0	0.1	60.0	0.1	20.0	:

\* Vids Vegetable oils and oil-seeds, Vol. III.

Table VI

Yield of Groundnut in Provinces \*

(in Thousand tons)

		1919–20	1920-21	1921–22	1922-23	1923–24	1924-25	1925–26	1919-20 1920-21 1921-22 1922-23 1923-24 1924-25 1925-26 1926-27	1927–28	1928-29
Madras	:	569	740	829	823	744	948	1264	1207	1671	1830
Bombay (including Indian States)	:	151	167	177	287	213	361	549	649	860	1066
Burma	÷	102	115	95	110	115	165	165	165	145	160
Hyderabad	:	(a)	(a)	6	16	12	11	21	25	42	63
Total	:	822	1022	929	1236	1084	1485	1999	2046	2718	3119

(a) = not available. • Vide Estimate of Acreage and Yield of Principal crops in British India,

Table VI—Continued (In Thousand tons)

		1929–30	1930–31	1929-30 1930-31 1931-32 1932-33 1933-34	1932-33	1933–34	1934-35	1935-36	1936–37	1937-38	1938-39
BRITISH PROVINCES.											
Bombay	:	426	487	498	579	643	375	418	107	e c	i i
C. F. & Berar	:	:	(a)	33	45	53	, e	35	44 45	323	000 7.4
Madras	:	1522	1765	1234	1729	1777	920	1202	73.41	000	1/10
Orissa	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	707		عرابع (a)	1613
Total Br. Provinces	:	1948	2258	1765	2353	2473	1333	1655	2110	2640	2250
Indian States,											
Bombay States	:	87	175	173	173	263	156	144	050	076	,
Hyderabad	:	145	165	213	320	374	224	787	216	340 476	500 500 500 500 500 500 500 500 500 500
Mysore	:	:	÷	:	(g)	92	27	78	36	37	)3/ 41
Total Indian States	:	232	340	386	493	713	404	459	604	861	946
Grand Total	:	2180	2592	2151	2846	3186	1740	2114	2714	3501	3196
(a) = not available.	و ا										

Table VII

## Yield per acre of Groundnut in each province \* (In 1bs.)

		1919-20	1920-21	1921–22	1922-23	1919-20 1920-21 1921-22 1922-23 1923-24	1924-25	1925-26	1926-27	1927-28	1928-29
Madras	:	1114	1036	1041	1051	922	1115	1089	1009	1122	1114
Bombay	:	2088	1670	1778	1752	1193	2100	1795	1788	1811	1808
Burma	:	816	850	695	742	199	800	741	707	501	635
Hyderabad (b)	:	(2)	<u> </u>	129	199	132	184	248	184	194	217
Average	i	1161	1076	1002	1052	867	1153	1127	1061	1122	1124

<sup>(</sup>b)=The low out-turn is due to the crops being sown in dry lands. (c)=Not available.

<sup>•</sup> Vide "Estimate of Acreage and Yield of Crops," 1928-29,

Table VII-Contirued

# Yield per acre of Groundnut in each province \* (nuts in shell in lbs.)

• -		1929–30	1929-30 1930-31 1931-32 1932-33 1933-34 1934-35	1931–32	1932-33	1933-34	1934-35	1935-36	1936-37	1937–38	1938-39
PROVINCES & STATES.	_										
Bombay	:	893	1092	1128	1108	1115	974	1050	924	872	206
C. P. and Berar	:	:	૭	451	545	612	571	585	692	580	603
Coorg	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
Madras	:	1062	1107	1107	1101	1058	877	1068	1062	066	958
Orissa	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	છ	825
Average for British Provinces	:	1020	1020 1104 (e)	1044	1076	1052	88	1045	1021	950 (e)	726
Indian States.											
Bombay States	:	694	649	748	629	863	534	262	641	763	651
Cochin	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
Hyderabad (b)	:	525	535	616	641	605	522	209	742	741	791
Mysore	:	:	:	:	૭	2	371	335	404	419	429
Travancore	:	:	:	:	:	:	i	:	:	:	:
Average Indian States	:	577	588	699	647 (f)	688	512	623	999	726	706
Average India	:	943	(e) 066	948	( <b>J</b> ) 596	941	758	911	912	883	848

<sup>(</sup>b)=The low out-turn is due to the crop being sown in dry lands.
(c)=Excluding C. P. & Berar.
(e)= ... Orissa.
(f)= ... Mysore.

\* Vide Estimate of Acreage and Yield of Principal Crops in British India. (1938-39).

Table VIII
Warehouses (Progress Statement)

Warehouse,		Date of opening	Co-operative year ending	Quantity of Groundnut Sold	y of t Sold	Value of sale produce	Commission Collected
				Candies	lbs.	Rs.	Rs.
Tirnkoilur	;	6—1—1933	30-6-1933	828	353	21,227	202
		)	30-6-1934	647	248	12,283	162
			30-6-1935	1528	154	47,780	384
			30-6-1936	1471	437	46,039	368
			30-6-1937	2371	369	80,563	593
			30-6-1938	1982	375	48,740	. 496
			30-6-1939	3436	372	76,046	860
			30-9-1939	655	441	16,701	164
Cuddalore		8-12-1932	30-6-1933	137	29	3,507	47
			30-6-1934	1509	24	28,180	260
			30-6-1935	2610	130	64,975	959
			30-6-1936	2238	104	72,849	831
			30-6-1937	3722	52	1,29,302	1404
			30-6-1938	2038	=	55,594	789
			30-6-1939	666	400	66,074	101
			30-9-1939	320	328	8,055	118
Vriddhachalam	,	14-12-1932	30-6-1933	230	149	6,083	28
	:		30-6-1934	209	303	13,798	181
			30-6-1935	3662	154	1,16,398	926
			30-6-1936	4930	174	1,56,470	1184
•			30-6-1937	5731	217	1,95,795	1345
			30-6-1938	3501	343	84,858	878
			30-5-1939	6196	240	1,41,282	1554
			30-9-1939	740	241	19,317	270
77:11	;	19-11-1936	30-6-1938	334	247	7,678	<b>*</b>
A 111 a Dan Seri	•		30-6-1939	4592	395	1,13,662	1407
			30-9-1939	1607	303	40,748	481

The above table clearly recounts to the work done by the Warehouses.

### Total Exports of Groundnut from all ports in India (In Thousand Tons) Table IX

	British Ports	Portuguese		French Ports Kathiawar Ports Total Exports	Total Exports
1928–29	788	184	80	:	1052
1929-30	714	146	26	:	957
1930-31	601	165	70	:	836
1931–32	472	06	37	10	209
1932–33	433	48	25	30	536
1933–34	547	172	40	38	197
1934–35	511	34	57	57	629
1935–36	413	28	46	48	565
1936–37	740	28	75	54	927

Table X

## Distribution of Exports of Groundnut-Foreign countries

Maskat Territory & Tracial Oman        40       33         Iraq        40       41         French Indo-China         592       3026         Tunis              Morocco Fr. Protectorate             French West Africa	62 H 62 26	18 32 61  3299	53 22 78	C		
Native States in Arabia 40 40 40 40 592 592 592 592 592 592 592		32 61 3299 	22	n	33	27
40 592 592		61  3299 	78	10	<b>7</b> 7	88
592 592 co Fr. Protectorate		3299		119	133	163
co Fr. Protectorate		3299	:	:	25	•
co Fr. Protectorate		:	331	293	4572	25641
: :			:	:	143	88
:	:	:	:	:	:	438
	:	:	1909	:	:	:
U. S. A. (via) Atlantic coast	. 1100	2 <b>8</b>	. 131	6	1115	5027
" Pacific coast	:	:	:	:	:	23
Uruguay	:	:	:	:	:	822
Argentine Republic including Atlantic coast of Patagonia		:	:	:	:	1000
Other Foreign Countries 42 14	14 34	:	7	40	m	<b>5</b> 8
591,770 399,061	61 485,360	368,697	344,796	596,618	507,887	704,671
671,973 433,012	12 546,276	487,293	664,389	650,752	816,253	835,103

Note.—The above figures have been taken from "Sea-borne Trade of India." It should be noted however that there are slight discrepancies in the figures given in the "Sea-borne Trade of India." and in the "Review of Trade of India."

Table X—Continued
Distribution of Exports of Groundnut—Foreign countries

	1931–32	32 1932–33	1933–34	1934–35	1935–36	1936-37	1937-38	1938–39
Sweden	471		818					
Norway	7007			:	:	:	301	1210
D-1	96t	2496	2300	6201	2307	2016	2616	10012
icinging Danzig)	:	:	:	1550	į			
Denmark	4133	1501	6818	2806		:: 6	0 ;	:
Germany	121751	4	07240	0000	014	/04 <del>4</del>	5116	22902
Netherlands	•		21419	97110	71268	110056	107977	115210
	14/19 <i>z</i>	~	100855	114813	95161	175435	146455	231676
_	4457	8627	13491	13951	9196	38731	43730	66799
	223241	1 219447	188080	99262	140697	172072	2000	20100
Spain	100	:	;		•	112313	7.6313	149/83
				<b>:</b>	4-	2000	21	:
(including Azores & Madeira)	:	:	•	3709	4251	8896	5029	5236
		;						
in Times			:	:	:	:	999	400
ciuung riume)	80344	28214	72413	54370	17765	76140	111647	34576
	:	:	:	:	:	;	105	
Czechoslovakia	:	:	;		•	•	COT .	:
Greens (including Cates)	í	'	:	:	:	:	4722	33272
(alate)		10	268	325	537	365	157	oć.
ey (Asiatic)	:	:	4	ν	. 650	2380	254	• 5
Syria	95	6+	182	19	6	52	249	1030
						•	:	

Table X—Continued Exports of Groundnut—British Empire

10		1931–32	1932-33	1933–34	1934–35	1935–36	1936–37	1937–38	1938-39
United Kingdom (including Channel Islands)	-g:	77,933	31,643	52,821	134,196	62,399	134,930	94,624	96,406
Palestine	:	06	1083	4947	2050	:	4313	3752	7568
Aden & Dependencies	:	36	38	37	35	40	41	89	280
Ceylon (excluding Maldives)	:	523	389	637	979	935	467	700	806
Burma	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	5530	11,841
Straits settlements	:	193	29	674	3475	287	571	2027	1691
Federated Malay States	:	:	• :	132	202	437	503	356	112
Hong Kong	:	:	:	:	:	:	14	581	150
Union of South Africa	:	1400	700	950	700	1996	•	877	7,102
CANADA:									
(via) Atlantic coast	:	:	:	<b>+</b>	236	702	1470	2359	3,722
Pacific coast	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	45	295
Newfoundland & Labrador	:	:	:	:	:	:	30	:	:
British West India Islands (excluding Bahamas)	÷	18	17	m	:	4	20	68	80
British Guiana	:	:	:	:	:	:	10	103	36
Commonwealth of Australia	:	:	:	672	916	930	9	320	178
Other British Provinces	:	10	#	39	28	4	36	22	63
Total British Empire	:	80,203	33,951	60,916	142,497	67,771	142,865	111,483	130,432

### APPENDIX B

Abstract of the Report of the Administration of the South Arcot Groundnut Market Committee, Cuddalore, for the year ending 1940.

A study of the seasonal rainfall is an important factor in the cultivation of the crop. According to the report, the rainfall during the year under review was heavy but not evenly distributed. Scanty showers in summer delayed the preparation of land for cultivation, and a heavy downpour in November and December flooded the fields and also damaged the crop by delaying the harvest. The quantity of blacks showed an increase while the yield per acre declined. Thus an uneven distribution of rain adversely affects not only the production of the crop but the quality of the produce.

In 1940, the area under groundnut in the Madras Presidency is estimated at 3,820,000 acres, indicating an increase of 5.6% over the former year's acreage. During the same period, South Arcot had 375,000 acres under groundnut, which is nearly 9.8% of the total area devoted to this crop in the Presidency. In 1939, this area was 400,100 acres. The 1940 figure shows accordingly a decrease of 6.3%. The year's yield per acre is also said to be only 70% of the normal yield. This lower yield has been attributed to the uncertain climatic conditions of the year under review.

Discussing the position of the trade in the district, it has been observed that out of the total arrivals in all markets in the district which amounted to 64,500 tons of kernels, the exporters purchased 90% and the local press-owners and oil-crushers consumed 7.7%. About 14,000 tons have been estimated to be reserved as seed and the consumption of the nuts as food is nearly 1000 tons. Exports by sea have come to nearly 79,211 tons of kernels while 6,801 tons have moved to Madras and other places through inland traffic. For future sale the ryots have stored 7,000 tons and the exporting firms had on hand 16,806 tons at the close of the year. The figures cannot be taken as accurate, for exact information regarding the retention of the produce in the villages for future sale and for use as seeds, for food or for crushing by local chekkus, etc., is not forthcoming.

As regards prices, it was seen that in the beginning of 1940, the prices per candy was Rs. 30-3-0. But by the end of January, it fell to Rs. 20-3-0 owing to a decrease in demand. There was no change in February and the price went up in March owing to a new but limited demand from exporters and remained at Rs. 34-7-0 till the end of April. But soon the downward trend set in. The closure of foreign markets affected exports seriously and the price went as low as Rs. 22-12-0 in August. Except for a slight rise in September, the downward trend of the price continued owing to a glut in the market resulting from restricted exports and the arrival of fresh stocks for sale. In November and December the price was Rs. 19-3-0. Concerning the future of the price of groundnut, the Committee observe:—

"It is practically impossible to forecast with any degree of certainty the future of groundnut prices under the present international situation and the outlook continues to be obscure owing to the closure of Continental markets and the consequent falling off in export demand."

To increase the number of regulated markets, the Committee recently opened a market yard at Villupuram. This brings the number of such markets in the district to six. A comparative statement of the total quantity of groundnuts dealt within the market yards is given below:—

	No. of	Arrival	s in 1940.	
	premises doing business.	Market Centre (Tons).	Market. yard (Tons).	Percentage.
<del></del>	21	10,275	495	4.8
	13	8,800	938	10.7
	17	8,950	<b>520</b>	5·8
·	20	7,000	710	<b>10 · 1</b>
	8	19,500	760	4.0
	30	10,000	766	7.7
	••	doing business.  21 13 17 20 8	No. or premises Market doing Centre business. (Tons).  21 10,275 13 8,800 17 8,950 20 7,000 8 19,500	No. of premises Market Market. doing Centre yard business. (Tons). (Tons).  21 10,275 495 13 8,800 938 17 8,950 520 20 7,000 710 8 19,500 760

The arrivals at the market yard were satisfactory; but they would have been better if unhealthy competition from certain interested quarters and the antagonistic attitude of some of the traders could have been

### GROUNDNUT

Licences:

avoided. It is hoped that in subsequent years, the arrivals at the market yards will greatly increase, as the cultivators have already begun to understand the efficacy of the regulated market.

The petty traders found the license fees to be heavy and made a representation to this effect to the Committee. The licence fees have now been reduced. The following figures show the number of licences and registrations issued by the Market Committee:—

10/0

	1940
Licences [under section 4 (1)]	1614
Weighment	767
Brokers	17
Registrations:	
Buyers and sellers	2380
Buyers alone	42
Sellers alone	8
Authorisations issued	928

Malpractices in weights and measures prevail in villages; but it has been found difficult to check them as few who complained came forward with proofs. Whenever excess commissions were levied by the traders and brought to the purview of the Committee, the traders were asked to return the excess amount to the parties concerned. The weighmen were all severely warned when cases of incorrect weighments were found or reported. Many petty traders in the villages who were avoiding registration were found out and compelled to register themselves as traders.

Lastly, the Committee which has the power to revise contract forms under Rule 19 (A), have constituted a sub-committee to study the matter and evolve a suitable contract form. Suggestions from interested parties have been invited. The question is now on the anvil of the Committee.

The Committee hope for better progress in the years to come and they believe that such difficulties as are felt at present in their working are usual to similar services in their initial stages.

### APPENDIX C

### Questionnaire

- 1. What is the average yield per acre in different districts of the Presidency for a period of 20 years, i.e., from 1919 to 1940?
- 2. How much of total production of the Presidency is being retained in the villages and for what purposes?
- 3. How much of total production is being pressed
  - (1) by Village Chekkus (ghanis),
  - (2) by Presses;
  - (3) by Expellers.
- 4. To which foreign markets do our ports export from 1920?
- 5. Is there any import of groundnut into the Presidency from outside areas? Mention their quantity in respect of years from 1920 onwards.
  - (b) Why is it imported? Give reasons.
  - (c) What happens to this imported quantity?
- 6. Is any groundnut oil imported? Why?
- 7. Is there any import of cake? Why?

### Quality.

- 8. What are the varieties of groundnut grown and in what areas?
- 9. (a) Which kind yields maximum oil?
  - (b) What is the average yield and total production of each variety?

### Prices.

- 1. Is there any provision for market intelligence?
- 2. Record the Port prices and market prices of Cuddalore and Madras from 1919-41.

### GROUNDNUT

- Prices of London Market, German, Marseilles and other Continental markets.
- 4. Get contract forms—fixed and unfixed—from branches of Ralli, Luois Dreyfus, East Asiatic and other exporting firms dealing in groundnut.
- 5. What is the percentage of refraction prevalent in branch agencies of the same firms in Bombay? If possible give the contract forms.
- 6. What is the percentage of refraction allowed by the Home Office to the buying agencies of the above firms?
- 7. What are the reasons you attribute for seasonal variations in prices?
- 8. Give an idea of the cost of cultivation of an acre of Groundnut in the important growing centres of this Presidency, viz., South Arcot, North Arcot and Guntur under the following heads for the irrigated as well as rain-fed crops\*

### Preliminary cultivation

Number of ploughing, at what rate?

### Manures and manuring

Number of cart loads of what manure and at what rate? (including cart hire.)

Charges for spreading the manure.

### Seed and sowing.

Number of measures of pods at what cost?

Dibbling the seeds at so many coolies at what rate?

### After cultivation

Number of hoeings and weedings, by how many coolies and at what rate?

### Irrigation

Number of irrigations and cost of each.

\*N.B.—If Groundnut is sown as a mixed crop, say how much of the cost under each item should be allotted to Groundnut?

### Charges after harvesting

- Cost of winnowing of a bag of Groundnut or the produce of one acre approximately.
- 10. Assembling: What percentage of total produce of the Presidency brought to the market
  - (a) by cultivators;
  - (b) by village merchants and money-lenders;
  - (c) by wholesale dealers;
  - (d) by crushers' buying agents;
  - (e) by producers' co-operative societies;
  - (f) by Marketing Committees.
- 11. Markets: If there are any markets, e.g. shandies, an idea of the market practices and charges collected in various markets under the following heads:—
  - (a) Taxes and tolls;
  - (b) Commission and brokerage;
  - (c) Handling charges;
  - (d) Charges for other services;
  - (e) Charities;
  - (f) Quality and weight allowances;
  - (g) Miscellaneous.
- 12. 1. What are the impediments in the way of grading and standardization?
  - 2. Is there any discrimination in railway rates so as to favour exports instead of favouring internal consumption?
  - 3. What is the effect of storage on quality?

### GROUNDNUT

4. How many crushing establishments exist in this Presidency:—

Chekkus, Presses and Expellers.

- 5. What is the cost of crushing a unit of Groundnut per each method?
- 6. Is there any difference in quality of the oil obtained by the different methods?
- 7. What are the uses of the oil?
- 8. To which places is this oil exported?
- 9. What is the quantity of oil exported from 1920 onwards?
- 10. Mention the price of oil from 1920 onwards.
- 11. Is there any adulteration of the Groundnut oil?
- 12. How is it adulterated?
- 13. What is the total production of oil?

### Cake.

- 1. What is the total export of cake?
- 2. What are its uses internally?
- 3. Is there any difference in the price of cake produced by chekkus, and expellers?
- 4. If it be so, mention the prices.
- 5. What is the railway freight for oil and cake?
- 13. Weights and measures.

What are the weights used?

Are they checked?

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